1609/1812.

H. Gravelot inv. et delin. J. P. Le Bas Sculp.

ALEXANDER in the TENT of DARIUS.

Published February 1. 1754. by J. & P. Knapton.

1609/1812.

H. Gravelot inv. et delin. J. P. Le Bas Sculp.

ALEXANDER in the TENT of DARIUS.

Published February 1. 1754. by J. & P. Knapton.

THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, now Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles-Lettres.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

THE SEVENTH EDITION

Illuſtrated with COPPER-PLATES, and a Set of MAPS of Ancient Geography, coloured, drawn by the *Sieur D'Anville*, Geographer to the King of *France*.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. RIVINGTON AND SONS, W. OWEN, T. CASLON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, T. LOWNDES, G. ROBINSON, T. CARNAN, W. STUART, J. KNOX, H. GARDNER, W. FOX, E. JOHNSTON, AND R. BALDWIN.

M DCC LXXX.

APR 15 64

THE
ANCIENT HISTORY
OF THE
PERSIANS,
CHALDEANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES AND PERSIANS,
AND
GRECIANS
MACEDONIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
PARTHIANS,

CONTENTS to VOL. V.

BOOK XV. continued.

The History of Alexander.

Sect. XV. *Alexander sets out for India. A digression with regard to that country. He besieges and takes several cities which appeared impregnable, and is often in danger of his life. He crosses the river Indus, afterwards Hydaspes, and gains a signal victory over Porus, whom he restores to his throne* Page 1

XVI. *Alexander advances into India. A digression relating to the Brachmans. That prince resolves to march as far as the Ganges, which raises a general discontent in his army. Remonstrances being made to him on that account, he lays aside his design, and is contented with going no farther than the occean. He subdues all things in his way thither, and is exposed to great danger at the siege of the city of the Oxydracæ; and arriving at last at the ocean, he afterwards prepares for his return into Europe* 23

XVII. *Alexander, in his march through deserts, is grievously distressed by famine. He arrives at Pasagardæ, where Cyrus's monument stood. Orsines, a powerful lord, is put to death, by the clandestine intrigues of Bagoas the eunuch. Calanus the Indian ascends a funeral pile, where he puts himself to*

death. Alexander marries Statira the daughter of Darius. Harpalus arrives at Athens; Demoſthenes is baniſhed. The Macedonian ſoldiers make an inſurrection, which Alexander appeaſes. He recalls Antipater from Macedonia, and ſends Craterus in his room. The king's ſorrow for the death of Hephæſtion - - Page 43

Sect. XVIII. *Alexander enters Babylon, contrary to the ſiniſter predictions of the Magi and other ſoothſayers. He there forms the plans of ſeveral voyages and conqueſts. He ſets about repairing the breaches made in the piers of the Tigris and Euphrates, and rebuilding the temple of Belus. He abandons himſelf to immoderate drinking, which brings him to his end. The univerſal grief ſpread over the whole empire upon that account. Syſigambis is not able to ſurvive him. preparations are made to convey Alexander's corpſe to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Libya - - - 63*

XIX. *The judgement we are to form of Alexander* 79

XX. *Reflections on the Perſians, Greeks, and Macedonians, by Monſ. Boſſuet, biſhop of Meaux* 101

BOOK XVI.

CHAPTER I.

Sect. I. *Troubles which followed the death of Alexander. The partition of the provinces among the generals. Aridæus elected king. Perdiccas appointed his guardian, and regent of the empire - - 108*

II. *The revolt of the Greeks in Upper Aſia. The impreſſions occaſioned by the news of Alexander's death at Athens. The expedition of Antipater into Greece. He is firſt defeated, and afterwards victorious. Makes himſelf maſter of Athens, and leaves a garriſon there. The flight and death of Demoſthenes 115*

III. *Proceſſion at the funeral of Alexander. His body is conveyed to Alexandria. Eumenes is put into poſſeſſion*

BRITISH MUSEUM 15 APR 64

poſſeſſion of Cappadocia by Perdiccas. Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, confederate againſt each other. The death of Craterus. The unfortunate expedition of Perdiccas into Egypt. He is ſlain there - - Page 134

Sect. IV. *The regency is transferred to Antipater. Eumenes beſieged by Antigonus in Nora. Jeruſalem beſieged and taken by Ptolemy. Demades put to death by Caſſander. Antipater, on his death-bed, nominates Polyſperchon for his ſucceſſor in the regency. The latter recalls Olympias. Antigonus becomes very powerful - - - 145*

V. *The Athenians condemn Phocion to die. Caſſander makes himſelf maſter of Athens, where he eſtabliſhes Demetrius Phalereus in the government of that republick. His prudent adminiſtration. Eumenes quits Nora. Various expeditions of Antigonus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, againſt him. Olympias cauſes Aridæus to be ſlain, and is murthered in her turn by the orders of Caſſander. The war between him and Polyſperchon. The re-eſtabliſhment of Thebes. Eumenes is betrayed by his own troops, delivered up to Antigonus, and put to death 155*

VI. *Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lyſimachus, and Caſſander, form a confederacy againſt Antigonus; who deprives Ptolemy of Syria and Phœnicia, and makes himſelf maſter of Tyre, after a long ſiege. Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, begins to make himſelf known in Aſia Minor. He loſes a firſt battle, and gains a ſecond. Seleucus takes Babylon. A treaty of peace between the princes is immediately broken. Caſſander cauſes the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, to be put to death. Hercules another ſon of Alexander the Great, is likewiſe ſlain, with his mother Barſina, by Polyſperchon. Antigonus cauſes Cleopatra, the ſiſter of the ſame Alexander, to be put to death. The revolt of Ophellus in Libya 193*

VII. *Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, beſieges and takes Athens, and eſtabliſhes a democracy in that city. Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded there, retires*

to Thebes. He is condemned to ſuffer death, and his ſtatues are thrown down. He retires into Egypt. The exceſſive honours rendered by the Athenians to Antigonus and his ſon Demetrius. This latter obtains a great naval victory over Ptolemy, takes Salamina, and makes himſelf maſter of all the iſland of Cyprus. Antigonus and Demetrius aſſume the title of kings after this victory, and their example is followed by the other princes. Antigonus forms an enterpriſe againſt Egypt, which proves unſucceſsful Page 212

VIII. *Demetrius forms the ſiege of Rhodes, which he raiſes a year after, by concluding a treaty to the honour of the city. Helepolis a famous machine. The Coloſſus of Rhodes. Protogenes, a celebrated painter, ſpared during the ſiege* - - 228

IX. *The expedition of Seleucus into India. Demetrius compels Caſſander to raiſe the ſiege of Athens. The exceſſive honours paid him in that city. A league between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus, againſt Antigonus and Demetrius. The battle of Ipſus, a city of Phrygia, wherein Antigonus is ſlain, and Demetrius put to flight* - 250

CHAPTER II.

Sect. I. *The four victorious princes divide the empire of Alexander the Great into as many kingdoms. Seleucus builds ſeveral cities. Athens ſhuts her gates againſt Demetrius. He reconciles himſelf with Seleucus, and afterwards with Ptolemy. The death of Caſſander. The firſt actions of Pyrrhus. Athens taken by Demetrius. He loſes all he poſſeſſed almoſt at the ſame time* - - 258

II. *Diſputes between the ſons of Caſſander for the crown of Macedonia. Demetrius, being invited to the aſſiſtance of Alexander, finds means to deſtroy him, and is proclaimed king of the Macedonians. He makes great preparations for the conqueſt of Aſia. A powerful confederacy is formed againſt him. Pyrrhus and Lyſimachus deprive him of Macedonia, and divide it between themſelves. Pyrrhus is ſoon obliged*

obliged to quit those territories. Sad end of Demetrius, who dies in prison - Page 269

Sect. III. Ptolemy Soter resigns his kingdom to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus. The tower of Pharos built. The image of Serapis conveyed to Alexandria. The celebrated library founded in that city, with an academy of learned men. Demetrius Phalereus presides over both - - - - 281

IV. The magnificent solemnity of the inauguration of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt - 288

V. The commencement of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The death of Demetrius Phalereus. Seleucus resigns his queen and part of his empire to his son Antiochus. The war between Seleucus and Lysimachus; the latter of whom is slain in a battle. Seleucus is assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred a multitude of obligations. The two sons of Arsinoë are murthered by their brother Ceraunus, who also banishes that Princess. Ceraunus is soon punished for those crimes by the irruption of the Gauls, by whom he is slain in a battle. The attempt of that people against the temple of Delphos. Antigonus establishes himself in Macedonia - - - - 301

VI. Ptolemy Philadelphus causes the books of the holy scripture, preserved by the Jews with the utmost care to be translated into the Greek language, as an ornament to his library. This is called the Version of the Septuagint - - 319

VII. The various expeditions of Pyrrhus: first, into Italy; where he fights two battles with the Romans. The character and conduct of Cineas. Secondly, into Sicily, and then into Italy again. His third engagement with the Romans, wherein he is defeated. His expedition into Macedonia, of which he makes himself master for some time, after he had overthrown Antigonus. His expedition into Peloponnesus. He forms the siege of Sparta, but without success. Is slain at that of Argos. The deputation from

from Philadelphus to the Romans, and from the Romans to Philadelphus - Page 323

Sect. VIII. *Athens beſieged and taken by Antigonus. The juſt puniſhment inflicted on Sotades, a ſatyrick poet. The revolt of Magus from Philadelphus. The death of Philatcres, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus. The death of Antiochus Soter. He is ſucceeded by his ſon Antiochus, ſurnamed Theos. The wiſe meaſures taken by Ptolemy for the improvement of commerce. An accommodation effected between Magus and Philadelphus. The death of the former. The war between Antiochus and Ptolemy. The revolt of the Eaſt againſt Antiochus. Peace reſtored between the two kings. The death of Ptolemy Philadelphus* - - 336

IX. *Character and qualities of Ptolemy Philadelphus* 383

CHAPTER III.

Sect. I. *Antiochus Theos is poiſoned by his queen Loadice, who cauſes Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king. She alſo deſtroys Berenice and her ſon. Ptolemy Evergetes avenges their deaths, by that of Loadice, and ſeiſes part of Aſia. Antiochus Hierax, and Seleucus his brother, unite againſt Ptolemy. The death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia. He is ſucceeded by his ſon Demetrius. The war between the two brothers, Antiochus and Seleucus. The death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus ſucceeds him. The eſtabliſhment of the Parthian empire by Arſaces. Antiochus is ſlain by robbers. Seleucus is taken priſoner by the Parthians. Credit of Joſeph, the nephew of Onias, with Ptolemy. The death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antiochus ſeiſes the throne of that prince. The death of Seleucus* - - 387

II. *The eſtabliſhment of the republick of the Achæans. Aratus delivers Sicyon from tyranny. The character of that young Grecian. He is enabled, by the liberalities of Ptolemy Evergetes, to extinguiſh a ſedition*

dition ready to break out in Sicyon. Takes Corinth from Antigonus, king of Macedonia. Prevails on the cities of Megara, Trœzene, Epidaurus, and Megalopolis, to accede to the Achæan league, but is not ſo ſucceſsful with reſpect to Argos Page 403

Sect. III. *Agis king of Sparta attempts to reform the ſtate, and endeavours to revive the ancient inſtitutions of Lycurgus; in which he partly ſucceeds: But finds an entire change in Sparta, at his return from a campaign in which he had joined Aratus againſt the Ætolians. He is at laſt condemned to die, and executed accordingly* - 424

IV. *Cleomenes aſcends the throne of Sparta, and engages in a war againſt the Achæans, over whom he obtains ſeveral advantages. He reforms the government of Sparta, and re-eſtabliſhes the ancient diſcipline. Acquires new advantages over Aratus and the Achæans. Aratus applies for ſuccour to Antigonus, king of Macedonia, by whoſe aid the Achæans obtain repeated victories, and take ſeveral places from the enemy* - - 444

V. *The celebrated battle of Selaſia, wherein Antigonus defeats Cleomenes, who retires into Egypt. Antigonus makes himſelf maſter of Sparta, and treats that city with great humanity. The death of that prince, who is ſucceeded by Philip, the ſon of Demetrius. The death of Ptolemy Evergetes, to whoſe throne Ptolemy Philopator ſucceeds. A great earthquake at Rhodes. The noble generoſity of thoſe princes and cities who contributed to the reparation of the loſſes the Rhodians had ſuſtained by that calamity. The fate of the famous Coloſſus* 466

BOOK

BOOK XVII.

Sect. I. *Ptolemy Philopator reigns in Egypt. The ſhort reign of Seleucus Ceraunus. He is ſucceeded by his brother Antiochus, ſurnamed the* GREAT. *Achæus's fidelity to him. Hermias, his chief miniſter, firſt removes Epigenes, the ableſt of all his generals, and afterwards puts him to death. Antiochus ſubdues the rebels in the Eaſt. He rids himſelf of Hermias. He attempts to recover Cœloſyria from Ptolemy Philopator, and poſſeſſes himſelf of the ſtrongeſt cities in it. After a ſhort truce, a war breaks out again in Syria. Battle of Raphi, in which Antiochus is entirely defeated. The anger and revenge of Philopator againſt the Jews, for refuſing to let him enter the ſanctuary. Antiochus concludes a peace with Ptolemy. He turns his arms againſt Achæus, who had rebelled. He at laſt ſeiſes him treacherouſly, and puts him to death*

Page 473

II *The Ætolians declare againſt the Achæans. Battle of Caphia loſt by Aratus. The Achæans addreſs Philip, who undertakes their defence. Troubles break out in Lacedæmonia. The unhappy death of Cleomenes in Egypt. Two kings are elected in Lacedæmonia. That republick joins with the Ætolians*

504

III. *Various expeditions of Philip againſt the enemies of the Achæans. Appelles his prime miniſter abuſes his confidence in an extraordinary manner. Philip makes an inroad into Ætolia. Thermæ taken at the firſt aſſault. Exceſſes of Philip's ſoldiers in that city. Prudent retreat of that prince. Tumults in the camp. Puniſhment of thoſe who had occaſioned them. Inroad of Philip into Laconia. The conſpirators form new cabals. Puniſhment inflicted on them. A peace is propoſed between Philip and the Achæans*

Achæans on one ſide, and the Ætolians on the other, which at laſt is concluded - Page 513

Sect. IV. *Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal. The Romans gain a conſiderable victory over him in Apollonia. He changes his conduct. His breach of faith and irregularities. He cauſes Aratus to be poiſoned. The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans. Attalus king of Pergamus, and the Lacedæmonians accede to it. Machanidas uſurps a tyrannical power at Sparta. Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius the Roman prætor in one of which Philopæmen ſignaliſes himſelf* 542

V. *Education and great qualities of Philopæmen* 557

VI. *Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius. A digreſſion of Polybius upon ſignals made by fire* 567

VII. *Philopæmen gains a famous victory near Mantinæa, over Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta. The high regard paid to that general. Nabis ſucceeds Machanidas. Some inſtances of his avarice and cruelty. A general peace concluded between Philip and the Romans, in which the allies on both ſides are included* - - - 581

VIII. *The glorious expeditions of Antiochus into Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, and as far as India. At his return to Antioch, he receives advice of Ptolemy Philopator's death* - - 592

THE

15 64

BOOK XV. CONTINUED.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

SECT. XV. ALEXANDER *ſets out for India. A digreſſion with regard to that country. He beſieges and takes ſeveral cities which appeared impregnable, and is often in danger of his life. He croſſes the river Indus, afterwards the Hydaſpes, and gains a ſignal victory over* PORUS, *whom he reſtores to his throne.*

(*a*) ALEXANDER, to ſtop the murmurs and diſcontents which aroſe among his ſoldiers, ſet out for India. He himſelf wanted action and motion, for he always, when unemployed, loſt part of the glory he had acquired in war. An exceſs of vanity and folly prompted him to undertake this expedition; a project quite uſeleſs in itſelf, and attended with very dangerous conſequences. He had read in the ancient fables of Greece, that Bacchus and Hercules, both ſons of Jupiter, as himſelf was, had marched ſo far. He was determined not to be ſurpaſſed by them: and there were not wanting flatterers, who applauded this wild, chimerical deſign.

Theſe are the things that conſtitute the glory and merit of ſuch pretended heroes; and it is this which

(*a*) Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9

many people, dazzled by a falſe ſplendour, ſtill admire in Alexander: A ridiculous deſire of rambling up and down the world; of diſturbing the tranquillity of nations, who were not bound to him by any obligations; of treating all thoſe as enemies, who ſhould refuſe to acknowledge him for their ſovereign: of ranſacking and extirpating ſuch as ſhould preſume to defend their liberties, their poſſeſſions, and their lives, againſt an unjuſt invader, who came from the extremity of the earth to attack them, without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon. Add to this glaring injuſtice, the raſh and ſtupid project he had formed, of ſubduing, with infinite labour, and the utmoſt hazard, many more nations than it was poſſible for him to keep in ſubjection; and the ſad neceſſity to which he was reduced, of being perpetually obliged to conquer them a-new, and puniſh them for their rebellion. This is a ſketch of what the conqueſt of India will exhibit to us, after I ſhall have given ſome little account of the ſituation and manners of that country, and ſome of its rarities.

Ptolemy divides India into two parts; India on this, and India on the other ſide of the Ganges. Alexander did not go beyond the former, nor even ſo far as the Ganges. This firſt part is ſituated between two great rivers, Indus, whence this country receives its name, and the Ganges. Ptolemy ſays, the limits of it are, to the weſt, Paropamiſus, Arachoſia, and Gedroſia, which either form a part, or are upon the confines of the kingdom of Perſia: to the north, mount Imus, which is part of Great Tartary: to the eaſt, the Ganges: to the ſouth, the Ocean or Indian ſea.

(*b*) All the Indians are free, and, like the Lacedæmonians, have no ſlaves among them. The only difference is, the latter make uſe of foreign ſlaves, whereas there are none in India. They do not erect any monuments in honour of the dead, but are of opinion, that the reputation of illuſtrious men is their mauſoleum.

They

(*b*) Arrian. de India, p. 324—328

They may be divided into ſeven claſſes. The firſt and moſt honourable, though the ſmalleſt, is that of the Brachmans, who are, as it were, the guardians of religion. I ſhall have occaſion to mention them in the ſequel.

The ſecond and greateſt is that of the huſbandmen. Theſe are had in great veneration. Their only employment is to plough the fields, and they are never taken from this employment to carry arms and ſerve in the field in war time: It is an inviolable law, never to moleſt them on their lands.

The third is that of herdſmen and ſhepherds, who keep herds and flocks, and never come into the cities. They rove up and down the mountains, and often exerciſe themſelves in hunting.

The fourth is of traders and artificers, among whom pilots and ſeamen are included. Theſe three laſt orders pay a tribute to the king, and none are exempt from it but thoſe that make arms, who, inſtead of paying any thing, receive a ſtipend from the publick.

The fifth is of ſoldiers, whoſe only employment is war: they are furniſhed with all ſorts of neceſſaries; and, in time of peace, are abundantly ſupplied with all things. Their life, at all times, is free and diſengaged from cares of every kind.

The ſixth order is that of overſeers, (Ἐπίσκοποι) who ſuperintended the actions of others, and examine every tranſaction, either in cities or the country, and report the whole to the prince. The virtues and qualities required in theſe magiſtrates are exactneſs, ſincerity, probity, and the love of their country. None of theſe magiſtrates, ſays the hiſtorian, have ever been accuſed of telling an untruth. Thrice happy nation, were this really fact! However, this obſervation proves at leaſt that truth and juſtice where had in great honour in this country, and that knavery and inſincerity were deteſted in it.

Laſtly, the ſeventh claſs conſiſt of perſons employed in the publick councils, and who ſhare the cares of the government with the ſovereign. From this claſs are

taken magiſtrates, intendants, governours of provinces generals, and all military officers, whether for land or ſea; comptrollers of the treaſury, receivers, and all who are entruſted with the publick monies.

Theſe different orders of the ſtate never blend by marriage; and an artificer, for inſtance, is not allowed to take a wife from among the claſs of huſbandmen; and ſo of the reſt. None of theſe can follow two profeſſions at the ſame time, nor quit one claſs for another, it is natural to conclude, that this regulation muſt have contributed very much to the improvement of all arts and trades; as every one added his own induſtry and reflexions to thoſe of his anceſtors which were delivered down to him by an uninterrupted tradition.

Many obſervations might be made on theſe Indian cuſtoms, which I am obliged to omit, for the ſake of proceeding in my hiſtory. I only entreat the reader to obſerve, that in every wiſe government, every well-governed ſtate, the tilling of lands, and the graſing of cattle (two perpetual and certain ſources of riches and abundance) have always been one of the chief objects of the care of thoſe who preſide in the adminiſtration; and that the neglect of either, is erring againſt one of the moſt important maxims in policy.

I alſo admire very much that cuſtom of appointing overſeers, whether they are known for ſuch or not, who go upon the ſpot, in order to inſpect the conduct of governours, intendants, and judges; the only method to prevent the rapine and outrages to which unlimited authority, and the diſtance from a court, frequently give occaſion; the only method, at the ſame time, for a ſovereign to know the ſtate of his kingdom, without which it is impoſſible for him to govern happily the people whom Providence has entruſted to his care. This care regards him perſonally; and thoſe who act under him can no more diſpence with the diſcharge of it, than they can uſurp his diadem.

It

It is remarkable, that in India, from the month of June to thoſe of September and October, exceſſive rains fall very often, whereby the croſſing of rivers is rendered much more difficult, and frequent inundations happen. Hence we may judge how greatly, during all this ſeaſon, the armies of Alexander muſt have ſuffered, as they were at that time in the field.

Before I leave what relates in general to India, I ſhall ſay a few words concerning elephants, with which that country abounds more than any other. The elephant exceeds all terreſtrial animals in ſize. Some are thirteen or fifteen feet high. The female goes a whole year with her young. It lives ſometimes to the age of an hundred or an hundred and twenty years; nay much longer, if ſome ancient writers may be credited. Its noſe, called its trunk; (*proboſcis*) is long and hollow like a large trumpet, and ſerves the elephant inſtead of a * hand, which it moves with incredible agility and ſtrength, and thereby is of prodigious ſervice to it. The † elephant, notwithſtanding its prodigious ſize, is ſo tractable and induſtrious, that one would be almoſt apt to conclude it were formed with ſomething like human reaſon. It is ſuſceptible of affection, fondneſs, and gratitude, ſo far as to pine away with ſorrow when it as loſt its maſter, and even ſometimes to deſtroy itſelf when it happens to have abuſed or murthered him in the tranſport of its fury. There is no kind of thing which it cannot be taught. Arrian, whoſe authority is not to be queſtioned, relates, that he had ſeen an elephant dance with two ſymbals fixed to his legs, which he ſtruck one after the other in cadence with his trunk; and that the reſt danced round him, keeping time with a ſurpriſing exactneſs.

He deſcribes very particularly the manner in which they are taken. The Indians incloſe a large ſpot of

* Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles additus habebant ad paſtum. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib.* ii. *n.* 123.

† Elephanto belluarum nulla providentior. At figura quæ vaſtior? *De Nat. Deor. lib.* i. *n.* 97.

ground, with a trench about twenty feet wide, and fifteen high, to which there is acceſs but in one part, and this is a bridge, and is covered with turf; in order that theſe animals, who are very ſubtle, may not ſuſpect what is intended. Of the earth that is dug out of the trench, a kind of wall is raiſed, on the other ſide of which a little kind of chamber is made, where people conceal themſelves in order to watch theſe animals, and its enterance is very ſmall. In this incloſure two or three tame female elephants are ſet. The inſtant the wild elephants ſee or ſmell them, they run and whirl about ſo much, that at laſt they enter the incloſure, upon which the bridge is immediately broke down; and the people upon the watch fly to the neighbouring villages for help. After they have been broke for a few days by hunger and thirſt, people enter the incloſure upon tame elephants, and with theſe they attack them. As the wild ones are by this time very much weakened, it is impoſſible for them to make a long reſiſtance. After throwing them on the ground, men get upon their backs, having firſt made a deep wound round their necks, about which they throw a rope, in order to put them to great pain, in caſe they attempt to ſtir. Being tamed in this manner, they ſuffer themſelves to be led quietly to the houſes with the reſt, where they are fed with graſs and green corn, and tamed inſenſibly by blows and hunger, till ſuch time as they obey readily their maſter's voice, and perfectly underſtand his language.

Every one knows the uſe that was formerly made of theſe animals in battle; however, they frequently made greater havock in the army to which they belonged, than in that of the enemy. Their teeth, or rather tuſhes furniſh us with ivory. But it is time to return to Alexander.

(*c*) This prince having entered India*, all the petty kings

(*c*) Quint. Curt. l. viii. c. 9—14. Arrian. l. iv. p. 182—195. l. v. p. 195—221. Plut. in Alex. p. 697—699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 557—559. Juſtin l. xii. c. 7, 8.

* *Quintus Curtius ſuppoſes, that ſeveral countries on the other ſide of the Indus, but adjacent to that river, belonged to India, and made part of it*

kings of theſe countries came to meet him, and make their ſubmiſſions. They declared that he was the third ſon of Jupiter, * who had arrived in their country: That they had known Bacchus and Hercules no otherwiſe than by fame; but as for Alexander, they had the happineſs to ſee him, and enjoy his preſence. The king received them with the utmoſt humanity, commanding them to accompany him, and ſerve him as guides. As no more of them came in to pay their homage, he detached Hephæſtion and Perdiccas with part of his forces, commanding them to ſubdue all who ſhould refuſe to ſubmit. But finding he was obliged to croſs ſeveral rivers, he cauſed boats to be built in ſuch a form, that they could be taken to pieces; the ſeveral parts of them to be carried upon waggons, and afterwards put together again. Then, having commanded Craterus to follow him with his phalanx, he himſelf marched before, with his cavalry and light-armed troops; and, after a ſlight engagement, he defeated thoſe who had dared to make head againſt him, and purſued them to the next city, into which they fled. Craterus being come up, the king, in order to terrify, on a ſudden, thoſe nations who had not yet felt the power of the Macedonian arms, commanded his ſoldiers to burn down the fortifications of that place, which he beſieged in a regular way, and to put all the inhabitants of it to the ſword. But as he was going round the walls on horſeback, he was wounded by an arrow. Notwithwanding this accident, he took the city, after which he made dreadful havock of all the ſoldiers and inhabitants, and did not ſo much as ſpare the houſes.

After ſubduing this nation, which was of great conſequence, he marched towards the city of Nyſa, and encamped pretty near its walls, behind a foreſt that hid it. In the mean time, it grew ſo very cold in the night, that they had never yet felt ſo exceſſive a chill; but, very happily for them, a remedy was

* *Could theſe Greek names of gods be known to the Indians?*

near at hand. They felled a great number of trees, and lighted up ſeveral fires, which proved very comfortable to the whole army. The beſieged having attempted a ſally with ill ſucceſs, a faction aroſe in the city, ſome being of opinion, that it would be beſt for them to ſurrender, whilſt others were for holding out the ſiege. This coming to the king's ear, he only blocked up the city, and did not do the inhabitants any further injury; till at laſt, tired out with the length of the ſiege, they ſurrendered at diſcretion, and accordingly were kindly treated by the conqueror. They declared that their city had been built by Bacchus. The whole army for ſix days together, celebrated games, and made rejoicings on this mountain, in honour of the god who was there worſhipped.

A. M. 3677. Ant. J. C. 327. He marched from thence to a country called Dædala, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled for ſhelter to inacceſſible mountains, as alſo thoſe of Acedera, into which he afterwards entered. This obliged him to change his method of war and to diſperſe his forces in different places, by which means the enemy were all defeated at once: No reſiſtance was made any where, and thoſe who were ſo courageous as to wait the coming up of the Macedonians, were all cut to pieces. Ptolemy took ſeveral little cities the inſtant he ſat down before them: Alexander carried the large ones, and, after uniting all his forces, paſſed the river * Choaſpes, and left Cœnus to beſiege a rich and populous city, called Bazica by the inhabitants.

He afterwards marched towards Magoſa, whoſe king, called Aſſacanus, was lately dead, and Cleophes, his mother, ruled the province and city. There were thirty thouſand foot in it, and both nature and art ſeemed to have united their endeavours in raiſing its fortifications; for towards the eaſt, it is ſurrounded with a very rapid river, the banks of which are ſteep, and difficult of acceſs; and on the weſt are high, craggy rocks, at the foot whereof are caves, which, through

* *This is not the Choaſpes which runs by Suſa.*

through length of time, had increaſed into a kind of abyſſes; and where theſe fail, a trench, of an aſtoniſhing height, is raiſed with incredible labour.

Whilſt Alexander was going round the city, to view its fortifications, he was ſhot by an arrow in the calf of his leg; but he only pulled out the weapon; and, without ſo much as binding up the wound, mounted his horſe, and continued to view the outward fortifications of the city. But as he rode with his leg downward, and the congealing of the blood put him to great pain, it is related that he cried, * *Every one ſwears that I am the ſon of Jupiter, but my wound makes me ſenſible that I am a man.* However, he did not leave the place till he had ſeen every thing; and given all the neceſſary orders. Some of the ſoldiers, therefore, demoliſhed ſuch houſes as ſtood without the city, and with the rubbiſh of them they filled up the gulphs above mentioned. Others threw great trunks of trees and huge ſtones into them; and all laboured with ſo much vigour, that in nine days the works were completed, and the towers were raiſed upon them.

The king, without waiting till his wound was healed, viſited the works, and after applauding the ſoldiers for their great diſpatch, he cauſed the engines to be brought forward, whence a great number of darts were diſcharged againſt thoſe who defended the walls. But that which moſt terrified the Barbarians, was thoſe towers of a vaſt height, which ſeemed to them to move of themſelves. This made them imagine, that they were made to advance by the gods; and that thoſe battering rams which beat down walls, and the javelins thrown by engines, the like of which they had never ſeen, could not be the effect of human ſtrength; ſo that, perſuaded that it would be impoſſible for them to defend the city, they withdrew into the citadel; but not finding themſelves more ſecure there, they ſent ambaſſadors to propoſe a ſurrender.

* Omnes jurant me Jovis eſſe filium, ſed vulnus hoc hominem eſſe me clamat. *Senec. Epiſt.* lix.

render. The queen afterwards came and met Alexander, attended by a great number of ladies, who all brought him wine in cups, by way of ſacrifice. The king gave her a very gracious reception, and reſtored her to her kingdom.

From hence Polyſperchon was ſent with an army to beſiege the city of Ora, which he ſoon took. Moſt of its inhabitants had withdrawn to the rock called Aornos. There was a tradition, that Hercules having beſieged this rock, an earthquake had forced him to quit the ſiege. There are not on this rock, as on many others, gentle declivities of eaſy acceſs; but it riſes like a bank; and being very wide at bottom, grows narrower all the way to the top, which terminates in a point. The river Indus, whoſe ſource is not far from this place, flows at the bottom, its ſides being perpendicular and high; and on the other ſide were vaſt moraſſes, which it was neceſſary to fill up before the rock could be taken. Very happily for the Macedonians, they were near a foreſt. This the king had cut down, commanding his ſoldiers to carry off nothing but the trunks, the branches of which were lopped, in order that they might be carried with the leſs difficulty; and he himſelf threw the firſt trunk into the moraſs. The army ſeeing this, ſhouted for joy, and every ſoldier labouring with incredible diligence, the work was finiſhed in ſeven days; immediately after which the attack began. The officers were of opinion, that it would not be proper for the king to expoſe himſelf on this occaſion, the danger being evidently too great. However, the trumpet had no ſooner ſounded, but this prince, who was not maſter of his courage, commanded his guards to follow, himſelf firſt climbing the rock. At this ſight it appeared no longer inacceſſible, and every one flew after him. Never were ſoldiers expoſed to greater danger; but they were all reſolved to conquer or die. Several fell from the rock into the river, whoſe whirlpools ſwallowed them up. The Barbarians rolled great ſtones on the foremoſt, who being ſcarce able

to keep upon their feet (the rock was ſo ſlippery) fell down the precipices, and were daſhed to pieces. No ſight could poſſibly be more diſmal than this; the king, greatly afflicted at the loſs of ſo many brave ſoldiers, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded. Nevertheleſs, though he had loſt all hopes of taking the place, and was determined to raiſe the ſiege, he acted as if he intended to continue it, and accordingly gave orders for bringing forward the towers and other engines. The beſieged, by way of inſult, made great rejoicings; and continued their feſtivity for two days and two nights, making the rock, and the whole neighbourhood, echo with the ſound of their drums and cymbals. But the third night they were not heard, and the Macedonians were ſurpriſed to ſee every part of the rock illuminated with torches. The king was informed, that the Indians had lighted them to aſſiſt their flight, and to guide them the more eaſily in thoſe precipices, during the obſcurity of the night. Immediately the whole army, by Alexander's order, ſhouted aloud, which terrified the fugitives ſo much, that ſeveral of them fancying they ſaw the enemy, flung themſelves from the top of the rock, and periſhed miſerably. The king having ſo happily and unexpectedly poſſeſſed himſelf of the rock, in an almoſt miraculous manner, thanked the gods, and offered ſacrifices in their honour.

From hence he marched and took Ecbolimus; and after ſixteen days march arrived at the river Indus, where he found that Hephæſtion had got all things ready for his paſſage, purſuant to the orders given him. The king of the country, called Omphis, whoſe father died ſome time before, had ſent to Alexander, to know whether he would give him leave to wear the crown. Notwithſtanding the Macedonian told him he might, he nevertheleſs delayed putting it on till his arrival. He then went to meet him, with his whole army; and when Alexander was advanced pretty near, he puſhed forward his horſe, came up ſingly to him, and the king did the ſame. The Indian then told him

by

by an interpreter, "That he was come to meet him "at the head of his army, in order to deliver up all "his forces into his hands. That he ſurrendered his "perſon and his kingdom to a monarch, who, he "was ſenſible, fought only with the view of ac-"quiring glory, and dreaded nothing ſo much as "treachery." The king greatly ſatisfied with the frankneſs of the Barbarian, gave him his hand, and reſtored him his kingdoms. He then made Alexander a preſent of fifty-ſix elephants, and a great number of other animals of prodigious ſize. Alexander aſking him which were moſt neceſſary to him, huſbandmen or ſoldiers? he replied, That as he was at war with two kings, the latter were of greateſt ſervice to him. Theſe two monarchs were Abiſares and Porus, the latter of whom was moſt powerful, and the dominions of both were ſituated on the other ſide of the Hydaſpes. Omphis aſſumed the diadem, and took the name of Taxilus, by which the kings of that country were called. He made magnificent preſents to Alexander, who did not ſuffer himſelf to be exceeded in generoſity.

The next day, ambaſſadors from Abiſares waiting upon the king, ſurrendered up to him, purſuant to the power given them, all the dominions of their ſovereign; and after each party had promiſed fidelity on both ſides, they returned back.

Alexander expecting that Porus, aſtoniſhed with the report of his glory, would not fail to ſubmit to him, ſent a meſſage to that prince, as if he had been his vaſſal, requiring him to pay tribute, and meet him upon the frontiers of his dominions. Porus anſwered with great coldneſs, that he would do ſo, but it ſhould be ſword in hand. At the ſame time a reinforcement of thirty elephants, which were of great ſervice, were ſent to Alexander. He gave the ſuperintendance of all his elephants to Taxilus, and advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaſpes. Porus was encamped on the other ſide of it, in order to diſpute the paſſage with him; and had poſted at the head

head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious ſize, and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded by thirty thouſand foot; not having, at moſt, above ſeven thouſand horſe. This prince was mounted on an elephant of a much larger ſize than any of the reſt, and he himſelf exceeded the uſual ſtature of men; ſo that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and ſilver, he appeared at the ſame time terrible and majeſtick. The greatneſs of his courage equalled that of his ſtature, and he was as wiſe and prudent as it was poſſible for the monarch of ſo barbarous a people to be.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to paſs. It was four furlongs wide (about four hundred fathoms) and ſo deep in every part, that it looked like a ſea, and was no where fordable. It was vaſtly impetuous, notwithſtanding its great breadth; for it rolled with as much violence, as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, diſcovered that it was full of ſtones and rocks. However, nothing was ſo dreadful as the appearance of the ſhore, which was quite covered with men, horſes, and elephants. Thoſe hideous animals ſtood like ſo many towers, and the Indians exaſperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with greater terrour. However, this could not intimidate an army of men, whoſe courage was proof againſt all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted ſeries of proſperities; but then they did not think it would be poſſible for them, as their barks were ſo crazy, to ſurmount the rapidity of the ſtream, or land with ſafety.

This river was full of little iſlands, to which the Indians and Macedonians uſed to ſwim, with their arms over their heads; and ſlight ſkirmiſhes were every day fought in the ſight of the two kings, who were well pleaſed to make thoſe ſmall excurſions of their reſpective forces, and to form a judgement from ſuch ſkirmiſhes, of the ſucceſs of a general battle.

There

There were two young officers in Alexander's army, Egeſimachus and Nicanor, men of equal intrepidity, and who, having been ever ſucceſsful, deſpiſed dangers of every kind. They took with them the braveſt youths in the whole army: and, with no other weapons than their javelins, ſwam to an iſland in which ſeveral of the enemy were landed; where, with ſcarce any other aſſiſtance but their intrepidity, they made a great ſlaughter. After this bold ſtroke, they might have retired with glory, were it poſſible for raſhneſs, when ſucceſsful, to keep within bounds. But as they waited with contempt, and an inſulting air, for thoſe who came to ſuccour their companions, they were ſurrounded by a band of ſoldiers, who had ſwam unperceived to the iſland, and overwhelmed with the darts which were ſhot from far. Thoſe who endeavoured to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, were either carried away by the waves, or ſwallowed up by the whirlpools. The courage of Porus, who ſaw all this from the ſhore, was ſurpriſingly increaſed by this ſucceſs.

Alexander was in great perplexity; and finding he could not paſs the Hydaſpes by force of arms, he therefore reſolved to have recourſe to artifice. Accordingly he cauſed his cavalry to attempt ſeveral times to paſs it in the night, and to ſhout as if they really intended to ford the river, all things being prepared for that purpoſe. Immediately Porus hurried thither with his elephants, but Alexander continued in battle-array on the bank. This ſtratagem having been attempted ſeveral times, and Porus finding the whole but mere noiſe and empty menaces, he took no further notice of theſe motions, and only ſent ſcouts to every part of the ſhore. Alexander, being now no longer apprehenſive of having the whole army of the enemy fall upon him, in his attempting to croſs the river in the night, began to reſolve ſeriouſly to paſs it.

There was in this river, at a conſiderable diſtance from Alexander's camp, an iſland of a greater extent than

than any of the reſt. This being covered with trees, was very proper for him to cover and conceal his deſign, and therefore he reſolved to attempt the paſſage that way. However, the better to conceal the knowledge of it from the enemy, and deceive them on this occaſion, he left Craterus in his camp with a great part of the army, with orders for them to make a great noiſe, at a certain time which ſhould be appointed, in order to alarm the Indians, and make them believe that he was preparing to croſs the river; but that he would not attempt this, till ſuch time as Porus ſhould have raiſed his camp, and marched away his elephants, either to withdraw or advance towards thoſe Macedonians who ſhould attempt the paſſage. Between the camp and the iſland he had poſted Meleager and Gorgias with the foreign horſe and foot, with orders for them to paſs over in bodies, the inſtant they ſhould ſee him engaged in battle.

After giving theſe orders, he took the reſt of his army, as well cavalry as infantry; and, wheeling off from the ſhore, in order to avoid being perceived, he advanced in the night-time towards the iſland into which he was reſolved to go; and the better to deceive the enemy, Alexander cauſed his tent to be pitched in the camp where he had left Craterus, which was oppoſite to that of Porus. His life-guards were drawn up round, in all the pomp and ſplendour with which the majeſty of a great king is uſually ſurrounded. He alſo cauſed a royal robe to be put upon Attalus, who was of the ſame age with himſelf, and ſo much reſembled the king, both in ſtature and features, eſpecially at ſo great a diſtance as the breadth of the river, that the enemy might ſuppoſe Alexander himſelf was on the bank, and was attempting the paſſage in that place. He however was by this time got to the iſland above-mentioned; and immediately landed upon it from boats, with the reſt of his troops, whilſt the enemy was employed in oppoſing Craterus. But now a furious ſtorm aroſe, which ſeemed as if it would retard the execution of his project, yet proved of

of advantage to it; for ſo fortunate was this prince, that obſtacles changed into advantages, and ſuccours in his favour: The ſtorm was ſucceeded by a very violent ſhower, with impetuous winds, flaſhes of lightning and thunder, inſomuch that there was no hearing or ſeeing any thing. Any man but Alexander would have abandoned his deſign; but he, on the contrary, was animated by danger, not to mention that the noiſe, the confuſion, and the darkneſs, aſſiſted his paſſage. He thereupon made the ſignal for the embarkation of his troops, and went off himſelf in the firſt boat. It is reported, that it was on this occaſion he cried out, *O Athenians, could you think I would expoſe myſelf to ſuch dangers, to merit your applauſe!* And, indeed, nothing could contribute more to eternize his name, than the having his actions recorded by ſuch great hiſtorians as Thucydides and Xenophon *(d)*; and ſo anxious was he about the character which would be given him after his death, that he wiſhed it were poſſible for him to return again into the world only ſo long as was neceſſary to know what kind of impreſſion the peruſal of his hiſtory made on the minds of men.

Scarce any perſon appeared to oppoſe their deſcent, becauſe Porus was wholly taken up with Craterus, and imagined he had nothing to do but to oppoſe his paſſage. Immediately this general, purſuant to his orders, made a prodigious clamour, and ſeemed to attempt the paſſage of the river. Upon this all the boats came to ſhore, one excepted, which the waves daſhed to pieces againſt a rock. The moment Alexander was landed, he drew up in order of battle his little army, conſiſting of ſix thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. He himſelf headed the latter; and, having commanded the foot to make all imaginable diſpatch after him, he marched before. It was his firm opinion, that in caſe the Indians ſhould oppoſe him with their whole force, his cavalry would give him infinite advantage over them; and that, be this

(d) Lucian de conſcrib. hiſt. p. 694.

this as it would, he might eaſily continue fighting till his foot ſhould come up; or, that in caſe the enemy, alarmed at the news of his paſſing, ſhould fly, it would then be in his power to purſue, and make a great ſlaughter of them.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had paſſed the river, had ſent againſt him a detachment, commanded by one of his ſons, of two thouſand horſe, and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at firſt to be the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them; but, being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with ſuch vigour, that Porus's ſon was killed upon the ſpot, with four hundred horſes, and all the chariots were taken. Each of theſe chariots carried ſix men; two were armed with bucklers, two bowmen ſat on each ſide, and two guided the chariot, who nevertheleſs always fought when the battle grew warm, having a great number of darts which they diſcharged at the enemy. But all theſe did little execution that day, becauſe the rain, which fell in great abundance, had moiſtened the earth to ſuch a degree, that the horſes could ſcarce ſtand upon their legs; and the chariots being very heavy, moſt of them ſunk very deep into the mud.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his ſon, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, was in doubt whether it would be proper for him to continue in his poſt, becauſe Craterus, with the reſt of the Macedonian army, made a feint as if they intended to paſs the river. However, he at laſt reſolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he juſtly ſuppoſed to be at the head of the choiceſt troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuſe thoſe who were poſted on the oppoſite ſhore, he ſet out with thirty thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, three thouſand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, ſandy ſoil, in which his horſes and chariots might wheel about with eaſe, he drew up his army in battle-

array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He poſted in front, and on the firſt line, all the elephants at a hundred feet diſtance one from the other, in order that they might ſerve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in theſe intervals, becauſe of the fear thoſe horſes would have of the elephants; and much leſs the infantry, when they ſhould ſee that of the enemy poſted behind the elephants, and in danger of being trod to pieces by thoſe animals. He had poſted ſome of his foot on the ſame line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of horſe, before which the chariots were poſted. Such was the order and diſpoſition of Porus's army.

Alexander being come in ſight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmoſt diligence, and arrived a little after: And in order that they might have time to take breath, and not to be led, as they were very much fatigued, againſt the enemy, he cauſed his horſe to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having ſufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the ſignal of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were poſted, for the very reaſon which had made Porus draw them up in that manner: But his cavalry being ſtronger, he drew out the greateſt part of them; and marching againſt the left wing, ſent Cœnus with his own regiment of horſe, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the ſame time; ordering him to attack that cavalry on the left, behind, during which he himſelf would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to ſtir from their poſts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into diſorder.

Being

Being come within arrow-ſhot, he detached a thouſand bowmen on horſeback, with orders for them to make their diſcharge on the horſe of Porus's left wing, in order to throw it into diſorder, whilſt he himſelf ſhould charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians, having joined again their ſquadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compaſs, advanced againſt Alexander. At that inſtant Cœnus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; inſomuch that the Indians were obliged to face about on all ſides, to defend themſelves from the thouſand bowmen, and againſt Alexander and Cœnus. Alexander, to make the beſt advantage of the confuſion into which this ſudden attack had thrown them, charged with great vigour thoſe that made head againſt him, who being no longer able to ſtand ſo violent an attack, were ſoon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance againſt the enemy's horſe; but, that very inſtant, the Macedonian phalanx moving on a ſudden, ſurrounded thoſe animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themſelves and their leaders. This battle was very different from all thoſe which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants ruſhing upon the battalions, broke, with inexpreſſible fury, the thickeſt of them; when the Indian horſe, ſeeing the Macedonian foot ſtopped by the elephants, returned to the charge: However, that of Alexander being ſtronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a ſecond time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants; upon which the Macedonian horſe being all united in one body, ſpread terrour and confuſion wherever they attacked. The elephants being all covered with wounds, and the greateſt part having loſt their leaders, they did not obſerve their uſual order; but, diſtracted as it were with pain, no longer diſtinguiſhed friends from foes, but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way.

The Macedonians, who had purpoſely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them wherever they came forward, or charged with darts thoſe that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having ſurrounded the enemy with his horſe, made a ſignal to his foot to march up with all imaginable ſpeed, in order to make a laſt effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force, all which they executed very ſucceſsfully. In this manner the greateſt part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which ſuſtained no leſs loſs, ſeeing themſelves charged on all ſides, at laſt fled. Craterus, who had continued in the camp with the reſt of his army, ſeeing Alexander engaged with Porus, croſſed the river, and charging the routed ſoldiers with his troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat, as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians loſt on this occaſion twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe; not to mention the chariots which were all broke to pieces, and the elephants that were either killed or taken. Porus's two ſons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governour of the province; all the colonels of horſe and foot, and thoſe who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he loſt but fourſcore of the ſix thouſand ſoldiers who were at the firſt charge, ten bowmen of the horſe, twenty of his horſe-guards, and two hundred common ſoldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a ſoldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, ſeeing all his horſe defeated, and the greateſt part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius, who, on a like diſaſter, was the firſt that fled: On the contrary, he continued in the field, as long as one battalion or ſquadron ſtood their ground; but at laſt, having received a wound in the ſhoulder, he retired upon his elephant; and was eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by the greatneſs of his ſtature, and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander;

der, finding who he was by thoſe glorious marks, and being deſirous of ſaving this king, ſent Taxilus after him, becauſe he was of the ſame nation. The latter advancing as near to him as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to ſtop, in order to hear the meſſage he had brought him from Alexander. Porus turning back, and ſeeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy; *How!* ſays he, *is it not Taxilus that calls, that traitor to his country and kingdom?* Immediately after which, he would have transfixed him with his dart, had he not inſtantly retired. Notwithſtanding this, Alexander was ſtill deſirous to ſave ſo brave a prince, and thereupon diſpatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who beſought him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to wait upon a conqueror, altogether worthy of him. After much intreaty, Porus conſented, and accordingly ſet forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards in order to receive him with ſome of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander ſtopped, purpoſely to take a view of his ſtature and noble mien, he being about five cubits in height *. Porus did not ſeem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a reſolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whoſe courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the eſteem of the brave prince who had taken him priſoner. Alexander ſpoke firſt, and with an auguſt and gracious air, aſked him how he deſired to be treated? *Like a king*, replied Porus. *But*, continued Alexander, *do you aſk nothing more? No*, replied Porus; *all things are included in that ſingle word.* Alexander, ſtruck with this greatneſs of ſoul, the magnanimity of which ſeemed heightened by diſtreſs, did not only reſtore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the higheſt teſtimonies of honour, eſteem, and friendſhip. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to ſay,

* *Seven feet and a half.*

whether the victor or the vanquiſhed beſt deſerved praiſe on this occaſion.

Alexander built a city on the ſpot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had croſſed the river. He called the one Nicæa from his victory; and the other Bucephalon, in honour of his horſe who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the laſt duties to ſuch of his ſoldiers as had loſt their lives in battle, he ſolemnized games, and offered up ſacrifices of thanks, in the place where he had paſſed the Hydaſpes.

This prince did not know to whom he was indebted for his victories. We are aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of Alexander's conqueſts; the eaſe with which he ſurmounts the greateſt obſtacles, and forces almoſt impregnable cities; the uninterrupted and unheard-of felicity that extricates him out of thoſe dangers into which his raſhneſs plunges him, and in which, one would have concluded, he muſt a hundred times have periſhed. But to unravel theſe myſterious kinds of events, ſeveral of which are repugnant to the uſual courſe of things, we muſt go back to a ſuperior cauſe, unknown to the profane hiſtorians, and to Alexander himſelf. This monarch was, like Cyrus, the miniſter and inſtrument of the ſovereign diſpoſer of empires, who raiſes and deſtroys them at pleaſure. He had received the ſame orders to overthrow the Perſian and eaſtern empires, as Cyrus to deſtroy that of Babylon. The ſame power conducted their enterpriſes, aſſured them of ſucceſs, protected and preſerved them from all dangers, till they had executed their commiſſion and completed their miniſtry. We may apply to Alexander, the words which God ſpake to Cyrus in Iſaiah (*k*) *Cyrus, whoſe right hand I have holden, to ſubdue nations before him; and I will cauſe the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be ſhut: I will go before thee, and make the crooked paths ſtraight: I will break*

(*k*) Chap. xlv. 1 5.

break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut in ſunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden treaſures of ſecret places.——I girded thee, though thou haſt not known me. This is the true and only cauſe of the incredible ſucceſs with which this conqueror was attended; of his unparalleled bravery; the affection his ſoldiers had for him, the fore-knowledge of his felicity, and his aſſurance of ſucceſs, which aſtoniſhed his moſt intrepid captains.

SECT. XVI. ALEXANDER *advances into India. A digreſſion relating to the Brachmans. That prince reſolves to march as far as the Ganges, which raiſes a general diſcontent in his army. Remonſtrances being made to him on that account, he lays aſide his deſign, and is contented with going no farther than the ocean. He ſubdues all things in his way thither, and is expoſed to great danger at the ſiege of the city of the Oxydracæ; and arriving at laſt at the ocean, he afterwards prepares for his return into Europe.*

(*l*) ALEXANDER, after his famous victory over Porus, advanced into India, where he ſubdued a great many nations and cities. He looked upon himſelf as a conqueror by profeſſion as well as by his dignity, and engaged every day in new exploits with ſo much ardour and vivacity, that he ſeemed to fancy himſelf inveſted with a perſonal commiſſion, and that there was an immediate obligation upon him to ſtorm all cities, to lay waſte all provinces, to extirpate all nations, which ſhould refuſe his yoke; and that he ſhould have conſidered himſelf as guilty of a crime, had he forbore viſiting every corner of the earth, and carrying terrour and deſolation wherever he went. He paſſed the Aceſines, and afterwards the Hydraotes, two conſiderable rivers. Advice was then brought him, that a great number of free Indians had made a confederacy to defend their liberties; and among the reſt, the Caytheans, who were the moſt valiant and moſt ſkilful of thoſe nations in the art of war;

A. M. 3678. Ant. J. C. 326.

(*l*) Q. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 1.

war; and that they were encamped near a ſtrong city, called Sangala. Alexander ſet out againſt theſe Indians, defeated them in a pitched battle, took the city, and razed it to the very foundations.

(*m*) One day, as he was riding at the head of his army, ſome philoſophers, called Brachmans in the language of that country, were converſing together, as they were walking in a meadow. The inſtant they perceived him, they all ſtamped againſt the ground with their feet. Alexander, ſurpriſed at this extraordinary geſture, demanded the cauſe of it. They anſwered, pointing to the ground with their fingers, "That no man poſſeſſed any more of that element "than he could enjoy: That the only difference be- "tween him and other men, was, that he was more "reſtleſs, and ambitious than they, and over-ran all "ſeas and lands, merely to harm others and himſelf: "And yet—he would die at laſt, and poſſeſs no "greater part of the earth than was neceſſary for his "interment." The king was not diſpleaſed at this anſwer: But he was hurried on by a torrent of glory, and his actions were the very reverſe of what he approved.

Theſe Brachmans, ſays Arrian, are in great veneration in their country. They do not pay any tribute to the prince, but aſſiſt him with their counſel, and perform the ſame offices as the Magi do to the kings of Perſia. They aſſiſt at the publick ſacrifices; and if a perſon deſires to ſacrifice in private, one of theſe muſt be preſent, otherwiſe the Indians are perſuaded they would not be agreeable to the gods. They apply themſelves particularly to conſulting the ſtars; none but themſelves pretend to divination; and they foretel, chiefly, the change of weather and of the ſeaſons. If a Brachman has failed thrice in his predictions, he is ſilenced for ever.

Their ſentiments, according to Strabo, are not very different from thoſe of the Greeks. They believe

(*m*) Arrian. lib. vii. p. 275, 276. Id. in Indic. p. 324. Strab. lib. xv. p. 715—717. Plut. in Alex. p. 701. Q. Curt. lib. viii. c. 9.

lieve that the world had a beginning; that it will end; that its form is circular; that it was created by God, who preſides over, and fills it with his majeſty; and that water is the principle of all things. With regard to the immortality of the ſoul, and the puniſhment of the wicked in hell, they follow the doctrine of Plato; intermixing it, like that philoſopher, with ſome fictions, in order to expreſs or deſcribe thoſe puniſhments.

Several among them go always naked, whence the Greeks give them the name of Gymnoſophiſts. Many incredible particulars are related, concerning the auſterity of their lives and their prodigious patience. Their only meat and drink is roots and water. As they admit the metemphychoſis, and believe that the ſouls of men tranſmigrate into thoſe of beaſts, they abſtain from the fleſh of animals. It is thought, that Pythagoras borrowed this doctrine from the Brachmans. They continue whole days ſtanding with their faces towards the ſun, and that in the ſeaſon when this planet darts its rays with the greateſt violence. Perſuaded that it is beneath the dignity of a man to wait calmly for death, when he finds himſelf oppreſſed by age or ſickneſs, they hold it glorious to prevent their laſt hour, and burn themſelves alive; and, indeed, they pay no honours to thoſe who die merely of old age; and imagine they would pollute their funeral pile, and the fire that is to burn them to aſhes, ſhould they go into it otherwiſe than full of life and vigour. Other Brachmans, more judicious and humane than the former, live in cities, and aſſociate with their own ſpecies; and ſo far from conſidering ſelf-murther as a virtuous or brave action, they look upon it as a weakneſs in man not to wait patiently the ſtroke of death, and as a crime to dare to anticipate the will of the gods.

Cicero admires, in his Tuſculan queſtions, the invincible patience, not only of the Indian ſages, but alſo of the * women of that country, who uſed to conteſt for

* Mulieres in India, cum eſt certamen judiciumque veniunt, eujuſque earum vir mortuus, in quam plurimum ille dilexerit: plures

for the honour of dying with their common huſband. This privilege was reſerved for that wife whom the huſband had loved moſt affectionately; and was given in her favour by the ſentence of perſons appointed for that purpoſe, who never gave a judgement till ſuch time as they made a ſtrict examination, and heard the allegations on all ſides. The wife on whom the preference was beſtowed, ran to meet death, and aſcended the funeral pile with incredible joy and patience; whilſt the ſurviving wives withdrew in the deepeſt tranſports of affliction, and with their eyes bathed in tears.

The deſcription which (*n*) Porphyrius has left us of theſe philoſophers, reſembles in many particulars that given above. According to this author, the Brachmans live on herbs, roots, and fruits. They abſtain from animals of every kind, and if they touch any, they thereby render themſelves unclean. They ſpend the greateſt part of the day and night in ſinging hymns in honour of their gods. They faſt and pray perpetually. The greateſt part of them live alone, and in the deepeſt ſolitude, and neither marry nor profeſs any thing. They wiſh for nothing ſo earneſtly as death; and conſidering this life as a burthen, they wait impatiently for the moment when the ſoul will leave the body.

Theſe philoſophers exiſt ſtill in India, where they are called *Bramins*; and retain, in many points, the tradition and tenets of the ancient Brachmans.

Alexander, paſſing near a city wherein ſeveral of theſe Brachmans dwelt, was very deſirous to converſe with them, and, if poſſible, to prevail with ſome of them to follow him. Being informed that theſe philoſophers never made viſits, but that thoſe who had an inclination to ſee them muſt go to their houſes, he concluded, that it would be beneath his dignity to

(*n*) Lib. de Abſtin. Animal.

plures enim ſingulis ſolent eſſe viro in rogum imponitur: illa nuptæ. Quæ eſt victrix ea læta, victa, mœſta diſcedit. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* proſequentibus ſuis, unà cum *lib.* v. *n.* 78.

to go to them; and not juſt, to force theſe ſages to any thing contrary to their laws and uſages. Oneſicritus, who was a great philoſopher, and had been a diſciple of Diogenes the Cynick, was deputed to them. He met, not far from the city, with fifteen Bramins, who from morning till evening ſtood always naked, in the ſame poſture in which they at firſt had placed themſelves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addreſſed himſelf firſt to Calanus, and told him the occaſion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Oneſicritus's clothes and ſhoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, "That "anciently the earth had been covered with barley and "wheat, as it was at that time with duſt; that be-"ſides water, the rivers uſed to flow with milk, ho-"ney, oil, and wine. That man's guilt had occa-"ſioned a change of this happy condition; and that "Jupiter, to puniſh their ingratitude, had ſentenced "them to a long, painful labour. That their re-"pentance afterwards moving him to compaſſion, he "had reſtored them their former abundance; how-"ever, that by the courſe of things, they ſeemed to "be returning to their ancient confuſion." This relation ſhows evidently, that theſe philoſophers had ſome notion of the felicity of the firſt man, and of the evil to which he had been ſentenced for his ſins.

After this firſt converſation, Oneſicritus ſpoke to Mandanis, the chief, and as it were, the ſuperior of the band. This Brachman ſaid, "That he thought "Alexander worthy of admiration, in ſeeking thus "for wiſdom in the midſt of the cares of his govern-"ment: * That he was the firſt, who had ever united "in himſelf the two characters of conqueror and phi-"loſopher; that it were to be wiſhed, that the latter "character were the attribute of thoſe who could in-"ſpire the wiſdom which they themſelves poſſeſſed, "and command it by their authority." He added, That he could not conceive the motive which had prompted Alexander to undertake ſo long and labori-

ous

* Μόνον γὰρ ἴδοι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφοῦντα.

ous a journey, nor what he came in ſearch of, in ſo remote a country.

Oneſicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their auſtere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, ſaying, that they would find in him a generous maſter and benefactor, who would heap upon them honours and riches of all kinds. Then Mandanis aſſuming a haughty, philoſophical tone, anſwered, "That he did not want Alexander, and "was the ſon of Jupiter as well as himſelf: That he "was exempted from want, deſire, or fear: That ſo "long as he ſhould live, the earth would furniſh him "all things neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence, and that "death would rid him of a troubleſome companion "(meaning his body) and ſet him at full liberty." Caladanus appeared more tractable; and, notwithſtanding the oppoſition, and even the prohibition of his ſuperior, who reproached him for his abject ſpirit, in ſtooping ſo low as to ſerve another maſter beſides God, he followed Oneſicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonſtrations of joy.

We find by hiſtory, that this people uſed often to employ parables and ſimilitudes for conveying their thoughts. One day as he was diſcourſing with Alexander, upon the maxims of wiſe policy and a prudent adminiſtration, he exhibited to that prince a ſenſible image, and a natural emblem of his empire. He laid upon the ground a great ox-hide, which was very dry and ſhrunk up, and then ſet his foot upon one end of it. The hide being preſſed ſo gave way, and all the other ends flew up: Going thus quite round the hide, and preſſing the ſeveral ends of it, he made him obſerve, that whilſt he lowered it on one ſide, all the reſt roſe up, till treading at laſt upon the middle, the hide fell equally on all ſides. By this image he hinted to him, that it would be proper for him to reſide in the centre of his dominions, and not undertake ſuch long journies. We ſhall ſoon ſhow the reader, the manner in which this philoſopher ended his days.

Alexander

(*o*) Alexander being determined to continue the war as long as he ſhould meet with new nations, and to look upon them as enemies whilſt they ſhould live independent on him, was meditating about paſſing the Hyphaſus. He was told, that after paſſing that river he muſt travel eleven days through deſarts, and that then he would arrive at the Ganges, the greateſt river in all India. That farther in the country lived the *Gangaridæ* and the *Praſii*, whoſe king was preparing to oppoſe his entering his dominions, at the head of twenty thouſand horſe, and two hundred thouſand foot, re-inforced by two thouſand chariots; and, which ſtruck the greateſt terrour, with three thouſand elephants. A report of this being ſpread through the army, ſurpriſed all the ſoldiers, and raiſed a general murmur. The Macedonians, who, after having travelled through ſo many countries, and being grown grey in the field, were inceſſantly directing their eyes and wiſhes towards their dear, native country, made loud complaints, that Alexander ſhould every day heap war upon war, and danger on danger. They had undergone, but juſt before, inexpreſſible fatigues, having been expoſed to rain, accompanied with ſtorms and thunder, for above two months. Some bewailed their calamities in ſuch terms as raiſed compaſſion; others inſolently cried aloud, that they would march no farther.

Alexander, being informed of this tumult, and that ſecret aſſemblies were formed in his camp, to prevent the ill conſequences of them, ſent for the officers into his tent, and commanding them to call the ſoldiers together, he made the following ſpeech: "I "am not ignorant, O ſoldiers, that the Indians have "publiſhed ſeveral things, purpoſely to terrify us; "but ſuch diſcourſes and artifices are not unuſual to "you. Thus the Perſians deſcribed the ſtraits at "Cilicia, the vaſt plains of Meſopotamia, the rivers "Tygris

(*o*) Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1—9. Arrian. l. v. p. 221—234. & l. vi, p. 255—259. Plut. in Alex. p. 699, 701. Diod. l. xvii. p. 559—570. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 9, 10.

" Tygris and Euphrates, as ſo many inſurmountable
" difficulties, and yet your bravery conquered them.
" Do you repent you have followed me thus far? As
" your glorious deeds have ſubdued for you a multi-
" tude of provinces, as you have extended your con-
" queſts beyond the Iaxarthes and mount Caucaſus;
" as you ſee the rivers of India flow through the
" midſt of your empire; why are you afraid of croſ-
" ſing the Hyphaſus, and of ſetting up your trophies
" on the banks of it, as on thoſe of the Hydaſpes?
" What! can the elephants, whoſe number is ſo
" falſely augmented, terrify you to ſuch a degree?
" But has not experience taught you, that they are
" more deſtructive to their own maſters than to the
" enemy? Endeavours are uſed to intimidate you by
" the dreadful idea of innumerable armies; but are
" they more numerous than thoſe of Darius? It is
" ſure too late for you to count the legions of the
" enemy, after your victories have made Aſia a deſart.
" It was when you croſſed the Helleſpont that you
" ought to have reflected on the ſmall number of
" your forces: But now the Scythians form part of
" our army; the Bactrians, the Sogdians, and the
" *Dahæ* are with us, and fight for our glory. I, how-
" ever, do not depend on thoſe Barbarians. It is on
" you only that I rely; your victorious arms only are
" preſent to my imagination, and your courage alone
" aſſures me ſucceſs. So long as I ſhall be ſurrounded
" with you in fight, I ſhall not have any occaſion to
" count the number of my troops nor that of the ene-
" my, provided you go on to battle with the ſame
" marks of joy and confidence you have hitherto diſ-
" covered. Not only our glory, but even our ſafety, is
" at ſtake. Should we now retreat, it will be ſup-
" poſed that we fly before our enemies, and from that
" moment we ſhall appear as mean as the enemy will
" be judged formidable; for you are ſenſible, that in
" war reputation is every thing. It is in my power
" to make uſe of authority, and yet I employ en-
" treaties only. Do not abandon (I conjure you) I

" do

" do not ſay your king and maſter, but your pupil " and companion in battles. Do not break to pieces " in my hand that glorious palm, which will ſoon " unleſs envy rob me of ſo great a glory, equal me " to Hercules, and to Bacchus." As the ſoldiers ſtood with their eyes caſt on the ground, and did not once open their lips—What!" continued he, " do I " then ſpeak to the deaf? Will no one liſten to me, " nor condeſcend to anſwer? Alas! I am abandoned, " I am betrayed, I am delivered up to the enemy. " But——I will advance ſtill farther, though I go " alone. The Scythians and Bactrians, more faith- " ful than you, will follow me whitherſoever I lead " them. Return then to your country, and boaſt, " ye deſerters of your king, that you have abandoned " him. As for myſelf, I will here meet either with " the victory you deſpair of, or with a glorious death, " which henceforwards ought to be the ſole object of " my wiſhes."

Notwithſtanding this lively, pathetick ſpeech, the ſoldiers ſtill kept a profound ſilence. They waited in expectation of hearing their commanders and chief officers remonſtrate to the king, that their affection was as ſtrong as ever; but that as their bodies were covered with wounds, and worn out with toils, it would be impoſſible for them to continue the war. However, not one of them preſumed to addreſs him in their favour. The example of Clitus, and that of Calliſthenes, were ſtill recent. The officers, who were then with him, had an hundred times ventured their lives in battle for their prince; but they had not the courage to hazard the loſing of their fortunes by telling him the truth. Whilſt therefore the ſoldiers, as well as officers, continued dumb, without once daring to lift up their eyes, there roſe on a ſudden a murmur, which increaſing by inſenſible degrees, broke into ſuch deep groans and floods of tears, that the king himſelf, whoſe anger was now changed into compaſſion, could not forbear weeping.

At

At laſt, whilſt the whole aſſembly were in tears, and in deep ſilence, Cœnus took courage, and drew near to the throne, diſcovering by his air and action, that he deſired to ſpeak. And when the ſoldiers ſaw him take off his helmet, that being the cuſtom when any perſon ſpoke to the king, they beſought him to plead the cauſe of the army; and accordingly he ſpoke as follows: "No, Sir, we are not changed with regard to our affection for you: God forbid that ſo great a calamity ſhould ever befal us. We ſhall always retain the ſame zeal, the ſame affection and fidelity. We are ready to follow you at the hazard of our lives, and to march whitherſoever you ſhall think fit to lead us. But, if your ſoldiers may be allowed to lay before you their ſentiments ſincerely, and without diſguiſe, they beſeech you to condeſcend ſo far as to give ear to their reſpectful complaints, which nothing but the moſt extreme neceſſity could have extorted from them. The greatneſs, Sir, of your exploits has conquered, not only your enemies, but even your ſoldiers themſelves. We have done all that it was poſſible for men to do. We have croſſed ſeas and lands. We ſhall ſoon have marched to the end of the world; and you are meditating the conqueſt of another, by going in ſearch of new Indias, unknown to the Indians themſelves. Such a thought may be worthy of your valour, but it furpaſſes ours, and our ſtrength ſtill more. Behold thoſe ghaſtly faces, and thoſe bodies covered over with wounds and ſcars. You are ſenſible how numerous we were at your firſt ſetting out, and you ſee what now remains of us. The few, who have eſcaped ſo many toils and dangers, are neither brave nor ſtrong enough to follow you. All of them long to reviſit their relations and country, and to enjoy in peace the fruit of their labours and your victories. Forgive them a deſire natural to all men. It will be glorious, Sir, for you to have fixed ſuch boundaries to your fortune, as only your moderation

"could

"could preſcribe you; and to have vanquiſhed your-
"ſelf, after having conquered all your enemies."

Cœnus had no ſooner ſpoke, but there were heard, on all ſides, cries and confuſed voices intermixed with tears, calling upon the king as *their lord and their father*. Afterwards, all the reſt of the officers, eſpecially thoſe who aſſumed a greater authority becauſe of their age, and for that reaſon could be better excuſed the freedom they took, made the ſame humble requeſt: But ſtill the king would not comply with it. It muſt coſt a monarch many pangs, before he can prevail with himſelf to comply with things repugnant to his inclination. Alexander therefore ſhut himſelf up two days in his tent, without once ſpeaking to any one, not even to his moſt familiar friends, in order to ſee whether ſome change might not be wrought in the army, as frequently happens on ſuch occaſions. But finding it would be impoſſible to change the reſolution of the ſoldiers, he commanded them to prepare for their return. This news filled the whole army with inexpreſſible joy; and Alexander never appeared greater, or more glorious, than on this day, in which he deſigned, for the ſake of his ſubjects, to ſacrifice ſome part of his glory and grandeur. The whole camp echoed with praiſes and bleſſings of Alexander, for having ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by his own army, who was invincible to the reſt of the world. No triumph is comparable to thoſe acclamations and applauſes that come from the heart, and which are the lively and ſincere overflowings of it; and it is great pity that princes are not more affected with them.

Alexander had not ſpent above three or four months, at moſt, in conquering all the country between the Indus and the Hyphaſus, called to this day *Pengab* that is, *the five waters*, from the five rivers which compoſe it. Before his ſetting out, he raiſed twelve altars, to ſerve as ſo many trophies and thankſgivings for the victories he had obtained.

Theſe inſtances of gratitude, in regard to the gods, were attended with the moſt incredible marks of vanity. The altars which he erected in their honour were ſeventy-five feet high. He cauſed a camp to be marked out, three times as large again as his own, and ſurrounded it with foſſes fifty feet in depth by ten broad. He ordered the foot to prepare, and leave each in his tent two beds, ſeven feet and a half in length: And the cavalry to make mangers for the horſes of twice the uſual dimenſions. Every thing elſe was in proportion. Alexander's view in theſe orders, which flowed from an extravagance of vanity, was to leave poſterity monuments of his heroick and more than human grandeur, and to have it believed, that himſelf and his followers were ſuperior to all other mortals.

He afterwards croſſed the Hydraotes, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered, as far as the Hyphaſus. He alſo reconciled this monarch with Taxilus, and ſettled a peace between them by means of an alliance, equally advantageous to both. (*p*) From thence he went and encamped on the banks of the Aceſines; but great rains having made this river overflow its banks, and the adjacent countries being under water, he was obliged to remove his camp higher up. Here a fit of ſickneſs carried off Cœnus, whoſe loſs was bewailed by the king and the whole army. There was not a greater officer among the Macedonians, and he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very peculiar manner in every battle in which he engaged. He was one of thoſe ſingularly good men, zealous for the publick, all whoſe actions are free from ſelf-intereſted or ambitious views, and who bear ſo great a love to their king, as to dare to tell him the truth, be the conſequence what it will. But now Alexander was preparing for his departure.

His fleet conſiſted of eight hundred veſſels, as well gallies as boats, to carry the troops and proviſions. Every thing being ready, the whole army embarked, about

(*p*) Arr. in Ind. p. 319. Strab. lib. xv. p. 692.

about the ſetting of the Pleiades or ſeven ſtars, according to Ariſtobulus, that is, about the end of October. The fifth day, the fleet arrived where the Hydaſpes and Aceſines mix their ſtreams. Here the ſhips were very much ſhattered, becauſe theſe rivers unite with ſuch prodigious rapidity, that as great ſtorms ariſe in this part, as in the open ſea. At laſt he came into the country of the *Oxydracæ* and the *Malli*, the moſt valiant people in thoſe parts. Theſe were perpetually at war one with another; but, having united for their mutual ſafety, they had drawn together ten thouſand horſe, and fourſcore thouſand foot, all vigorous young men, with nine hundred chariots. However, Alexander defeated them in ſeveral engagements, diſpoſſeſſed them of ſtrong holds, and at laſt marched againſt the city of the *Oxydracæ*, whither the greateſt part were retired. Immediately he cauſes the ſcaling-ladders to be ſet up; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forces one of the ſcaling-ladders from the ſoldier; runs up the firſt (covered with his ſhield) and gets to the top of the wall, followed only by Peuceſtes and Limneus. The ſoldiers, believing him to be in danger, mounted ſwiftly to ſuccour him; but the ladders breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, ſeeing himſelf the butt, againſt which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was ſo raſh, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crowded with the enemy, having nothing to expect, but to be either taken or killed before it would be poſſible for him to riſe, and without once having an opportunity to defend himſelf, or revenge his death. But, happily for him, he poiſed his body in ſuch a manner, that he fell upon his feet; and finding himſelf ſtanding, ſword in hand, he repulſed ſuch as were neareſt him, and even killed the general of the enemy who advanced to run him through. Happily for him a ſecond time, not far from thence there ſtood a great tree, againſt the trunk of which he leaned, his ſhield receiving all the darts that were

ſhot at him from a diſtance; for no one dared to approach him, ſo great was the dread which the boldneſs of the enterpriſe, and the fire that ſhot from his eyes, had ſtruck into the enemy. At laſt an Indian let fly an arrow three feet long (that being the length of their arrows) which piercing his coat of mail, entered a conſiderable way into his body, a little above the right ſide. So great a quantity of blood iſſued from the wound, that he dropped his arms, and lay as dead. Behold then this (q) mighty conqueror, this vanquiſher of nations, upon the point of loſing his life, not at the head of his armies, but in a corner of an obſcure city, into which his raſhneſs had thrown him. The Indian who had wounded Alexander, ran, in the greateſt tranſports of joy, to ſtrip him; however, Alexander no ſooner felt the hand of his enemy upon him, but, fired with the thirſt of revenge, he recalled his ſpirits; and, laying hold of the Indian, as he had no arms, he plunged his dagger into his ſide. Some of his chief officers, as Peuceſtes, Leonatus, and Timæus, who had got to the top of the wall with ſome ſoldiers, came up that inſtant, and attempting impoſſibilities, for the ſake of ſaving their ſovereign's life, they form themſelves as a bulwark round his body, and ſuſtain the whole effort of the enemy. It was then that a mighty battle was fought round him. In the mean time the ſoldiers, who climbed up with the officers above mentioned, having broke the bolts of a little gate ſtanding between two towers, they, by that means, let in the Macedonians. Soon after the town was taken, and the inhabitants were put to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex.

The firſt care they took was to carry Alexander into his tent. Being got into it, the * ſurgeons cut off, ſo very dexterouſly, the wood of the ſhaft which had been ſhot into his body, that they did not move the ſteel point; and, after undreſſing him, they found it

(q) Plut. de fortun. Alex. p. 344.

* *In theſe ages they and phyſicians were the ſame thing.*

it was a bearded * arrow; and that it could not be pulled out, without danger, unleſs the wound were widened. The king bore the operation with incredible reſolution, ſo that there was no occaſion for people to hold him. The inciſion being made, and the arrow drawn out, ſo great an effuſion of blood enſued, that the king fainted away. Every one thought him dead; but the blood being ſtopped, he recovered by degrees, and knew the perſons about him. All that day, and the whole night after, the army continued under arms round his tent; and would not ſtir from their poſts, till certain news was brought of his being better, and that he began to take a little reſt.

At the end of the ſeven days he had employed for his recovery, before his wound was cloſed, as he knew that the report of his death increaſed among the Barbarians, he cauſed two veſſels to be joined together, and had his tent pitched in the middle, in ſight of every one; purpoſely to ſhew himſelf to thoſe who imagined him dead, and to ruin, by this means, all their projects, and the hopes with which they flattered themſelves. He afterwards went down the river, going before at ſome diſtance from the reſt of the fleet, for fear leſt the noiſe of the oars ſhould keep him from ſleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the ſoldiers, who were upon guard, brought him his litter, but he refuſed it, and calling for his horſe, mounted him. At this ſight, all the ſhore, and the neighbouring foreſts echoed with the acclamations of the army, who imagined they ſaw him riſe, in a manner, from the grave. Being come near his tent, he alighted, and walked a little way, ſurrounded with a great number of ſoldiers, ſome of whom kiſſed his hands, whilſt others claſped his knees; others again were contented with only touching his clothes, and with ſeeing him; but all in general burſt into tears, and calling for a thouſand

* *So arrows are called that have barbs at their points like fiſh-hooks.* Animadvertunt hamos inesſe telo.

bleſſings from heaven, wiſhed him long life, and an uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity.

At this inſtant deputies came from the *Malli*, with the chiefs of the *Oxydracæ*, being one hundred and ſixty, beſides the governors of the cities and of the province, who brought him preſents, and paid him homage, pleading in excuſe for not having done it before, their ſtrong love of liberty. They declared, that they were ready to receive for their governor, whomſoever he pleaſed to nominate; that they would pay him tribute, and give him hoſtages. He demanded a thouſand of the chief perſons of their nation, whom he alſo might make uſe of in war, till he had ſubjected all the country. They put into his hands ſuch of their countrymen as were handſomeſt and beſt ſhaped, with five hundred chariots, though not demanded by him; at which the king was ſo much pleaſed, that he gave them back their hoſtages, and appointed Philip their governor.

Alexander, who was overjoyed at this embaſſy, and found his ſtrength increaſe daily, taſted with ſo much the greater pleaſure the fruits both of his victory and health, as he had like to have loſt them for ever. His chief courtiers, and moſt intimate friends, thought it a proper juncture, during this calm and ſerenity of his mind, for them to unboſom themſelves, and expoſe their fears to him: It was Craterus ſpoke on this occaſion. "We begin, royal Sir, to breathe "and live, now we find you in the condition to "which the goodneſs of the gods has reſtored you. "But how great were our fears and our griefs! How "ſeverely did we reproach ourſelves, for having "abandoned, in ſuch an extremity, our king, our "father! It was not in our power to follow him; "but this did not extenuate our guilt, and we look "upon ourſelves as criminals, in not having attempted impoſſibilities for your ſake. But, Sir, never "plunge us in ſuch deep affliction hereafter. Does a "wretched paltry town deſerve to be bought at ſo "dear a price as the loſs of your life? Leave thoſe

"petty

" petty exploits and enterpriſes to us, and preſerve
" your perſon for ſuch occaſions only as are worthy of
" you. We ſtill ſhudder with horror, when we reflect
" on what we ſo lately were ſpectators of. We have
" ſeen the moment, when the moſt abject hands
" upon earth were going to ſeiſe the greateſt prince
" in the univerſe, and deſpoil him of his royal
" robes. Permit us, Sir, to ſay, you are not your
" own maſter, but that you owe yourſelf to us: We
" have a right over your life, ſince ours depends on
" it; and we dare take the freedom to conjure you,
" as being your ſubjects and your children, to be
" more careful of ſo precious a life, if not for your
" own ſake, at leaſt for ours, and for the felicity of
" the univerſe."

The king was ſtrongly touched with theſe teſtimonies of their affection, and having embraced them ſeverally with inexpreſſible tenderneſs, he anſwered as follows: " I cannot enough thank all preſent, who
" are the flower of my citizens and friends, not only
" for your having this day preferred my ſafety to your
" own, but alſo for the ſtrong proofs you have given
" me of your zeal and affection, from the beginning
" of this war; and if any thing is capable of making
" me wiſh for a longer life, it is the pleaſure of en-
" joying, for years to come, ſuch valuable friends as
" you. But give me leave to obſerve, that in ſome
" caſes we differ very much in opinion. You wiſh
" to enjoy me long; and even, if it were poſſible,
" for ever; but as to myſelf, I compute the length
" of my exiſtence, not by years, but by glory. I
" might have confined my ambition within the nar-
" row limits of Macedonia; and, contented with the
" kingdom my anceſtors left me, have waited, in the
" midſt of pleaſures and indolence, an inglorious old
" age. I own, that if my victories, not my years, are
" computed, I ſhall ſeem to have lived long; but can
" you imagine, that after having made Europe and
" Aſia but one empire, after having conquered the
" two nobleſt parts of the world, in the tenth year

" of my reign, and the thirtieth of my age, that it " will become me to ſtop in the midſt of ſo ex- " alted a career, and diſcontinue the purſuit of glory, " to which I have entirely devoted myſelf? Know, " that this glory ennobles all things, and gives a true " and ſolid grandeur to whatever appears inſigni- " ficant. In what place ſoever I may fight, I ſhall " fancy myſelf upon the ſtage of the world, and in " preſence of all mankind. I confeſs that I have " achieved mighty things hitherto; but the country " we are now in, reproaches me that a woman has " done ſtill greater. It is Semiramis I mean. How " many nations did ſhe conquer! How many cities " were built by her! What magnificent and ſtu- " pendous works did ſhe finiſh! How ſhameful is it, " that I ſhould not yet have attained to ſo exalted " a pitch of glory! Do but ſecond my ardour, and " I ſhall ſoon ſurpaſs her. Defend me only from ſe- " cret cabals, and domeſtick treaſons, by which moſt " princes loſe their lives, I take the reſt upon my- " ſelf, and will be anſwerable to you for all the " events of the war."

This ſpeech gives us a perfect idea of Alexander's character. He had no notion of true glory. He did not know either the principle, the rule, or end of it. He certainly placed it where it was not. He was ſtrongly prejudiced in vulgar error, and cheriſhed it. He fancied himſelf born merely for glory; and that none could be acquired but by unbounded, unjuſt, and irregular conduct. In his impetuous ſallies after a miſtaken glory, he followed neither reaſon, virtue, nor humanity; and, as if his ambitious caprice ought to have been a rule and ſtandard to all other men, he was ſurpriſed that neither his officers nor ſoldiers would enter into his views; and they lent themſelves very unwillingly, to ſupport his ridiculous enterpriſes.

Alexander, after having ended his ſpeech, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and continued encamped for ſeveral days in this place. He afterwards went upon the river, and his army marched after him upon the banks,

banks. He then came among the *Sabractæ*, a powerful nation of Indians. Theſe had levied ſixty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, and re-inforced them with five hundred chariots; however, the arrival of Alexander ſpread a terrour through the whole country, and accordingly they ſent ambaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſion. After having built another city, which he alſo called Alexandria, he arrived in the territories of Muſicanus, a very rich prince, and afterwards in thoſe of the king of Samus. At the ſiege of one of this king's towns, Ptolemy was dangerouſly wounded; for the Indians had poiſoned all their arrows and ſwords, ſo that the wounds they made were mortal. Alexander, who had the higheſt love and eſteem for Ptolemy, was very much afflicted, and cauſed him to be brought in his bed near him, that he himſelf might have an eye to his cure. He was his near relation, and, according to ſome writers, a natural ſon of Philip. Ptolemy was one of the braveſt men in the army, was highly eſteemed in war, and had greater talents for peace. He was averſe to luxury, vaſtly generous, eaſy of acceſs, and did not imitate the pomp, which wealth and proſperity had made the reſt of the Macedonian noblemen aſſume: In a word, it is hard to ſay, whether he were more eſteemed by his ſovereign or his country. We are told, there appeared to him in a dream a dragon, which preſented him an herb, as an effectual remedy; and that upon his waking, he ordered it to be ſent for; when laying it upon the wound, it was healed in a few days, to the univerſal joy of the army.

(*r*) The king continuing his voyage, arrived at Patala, about the beginning of the dog-days, that is, about the end of July; ſo that the fleet was nine months at leaſt from its ſetting out, till its arrival at that place. There the river Indus divides into two large arms, and forms an iſland, but much larger, like the Delta of the Nile; and hence the city above mentioned received its name, *Patala*, according to Arrian,

(*r*) Strab. l. xv. p. 692.

(s) Arrian, ſignifying, in the Indian tongue, the ſame as *Delta* in the Greek. Alexander cauſed a citadel to be built in Patala, as alſo an harbour and an arſenal for the ſhipping. This being done, he embarked on the right arm of the river, in order to ſail as far as the ocean, expoſing in this manner ſo many brave men to the mercy of a river with which they were wholly unacquainted. The only conſolation they had in this raſh enterpriſe, was, Alexander's uninterrupted ſucceſs. When he had ſailed * twenty leagues, the pilots told him that they began to perceive the ſea-air, and therefore believed that the ocean could not be far off. Upon this news, leaping for joy, he beſought the ſailors to row with all their ſtrength, and told the ſoldiers, "That they at laſt were come to the "end of their toils, which they had ſo earneſtly de-"ſired; that now nothing could oppoſe their valour, "nor add to their glory; that without fighting any "more, or ſpilling of blood, they were maſters of "the univerſe; that their exploits had the ſame "boundaries with nature; and that they would be "ſpectators of things, known only to the immortal "gods."

Being come nearer the ſea, a circumſtance new and unheard of by the Macedonians, threw them into the utmoſt confuſion, and expoſed the fleet to the greateſt danger; and this was the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Forming a judgement of this vaſt ſea, from that of the Mediterranean, the only one they knew, and whoſe ebbings are imperceptible, they were very much aſtoniſhed when they ſaw it riſe to a great height, and overflow the country; and conſidered it as a mark of the anger of the gods, to puniſh their raſhneſs. They were no leſs ſurpriſed and terrified, ſome hours after, when they ſaw the ebbing of the ſea, which now withdrew as it had before advanced, leaving thoſe lands uncovered it had ſo lately overflowed. The fleet was very much ſhattered, and the ſhips being now upon

(s) Arrian in Indic. p. 314.

* *Four hundred furlongs.*

upon dry land, the fields were covered with clothes, with broken oars and planks, as after a great ſtorm.

At laſt Alexander, after having ſailed full nine months in rivers, arrived at the ocean, where gazing with the utmoſt eagerneſs upon that vaſt expanſe of waters, he imagined that this ſight, worthy ſo great a conqueror as himſelf, greatly overpaid all the toils he had undergone, and the many thouſand men he had loſt, to arrive at it. He then offered ſacrifices to the gods, and particularly to Neptune; threw into the ſea the bulls he had ſlaughtered, and a great number of golden cups; and beſought the gods not to ſuffer any mortal after him, to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conqueſts to the extremities of the earth on that ſide, he imagined he had completed his mighty deſign; and, highly delighted with himſelf, he returned to rejoin the reſt of his fleet and army, which waited for him at Patala, and in the neighbourhood of it.

SECT. XVII. ALEXANDER, *in his march through deſarts, is grievouſly diſtreſſed by famine. He arrives at Paſagardæ, where* CYRUS's *monument ſtood.* ORSINES, *a powerful lord, is put to death by the clandeſtine intrigues of* BAGOAS *the eunuch.* CALANUS *the Indian aſcends a funeral pile, where he puts himſelf to death.* ALEXANDER *marries* STATIRA, *the daughter of* DARIUS. HARPALUS *arrives at Athens*; DEMOSTHENES *is baniſhed. The Macedonian ſoldiers make an inſurrection, which* ALEXANDER *appeaſes. He recalls* ANTIPATER *from Macedonia, and ſends* CRATERUS *in his room. The king's ſorrow for the death of* HEPHÆSTION.

(*t*) ALEXANDER being returned to Patala, prepared all things for the departure of his fleet. He appointed Nearchus admiral of it, who was the only officer that had the courage to accept of this commiſſion, which was a very hazardous one, becauſe they were to ſail over a ſea entirely unknown to them,

(*t*) Arrian. in Indic. p. 334.

them. The king was very much pleaſed at his accepting of it; and, after teſtifying his acknowledgement upon that account in the moſt obliging terms, he commanded him to take the beſt ſhips in the fleet, and to go and ſound the ſea-coaſt extending from the Indus to the bottom of the Perſian gulph: And, after having given theſe orders, he ſet out by land for Babylon.

(*u*) Nearchus did not leave the Indus at the ſame time with Alexander. It was not yet the ſeaſon proper for ſailing. It was ſummer, when the ſouthern ſea-winds riſe; and the ſeaſon of the north-winds, which blow in winter, was not yet come. He therefore did not ſet ſail till about the end of September, which was too ſoon; and accordingly he was incommoded by winds ſome days after his departure, and obliged to ſhelter himſelf for twenty-four days.

We are obliged for theſe particulars to Arrian, who has given us an exact journal of this voyage, copied from that of Nearchus the admiral.

Alexander, after having left Patala, marched through the country of the *Oritæ*, the capital whereof was called Ora or Rhambacis. Here he was in ſuch want of proviſion, that he loſt a great number of ſoldiers; and brought back from India ſcarce the fourth part of his amy, which had conſiſted of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe. Sickneſs, bad food, and the exceſſive heats, had ſwept them away in multitudes; but famine made a ſtill greater havock among the troops in this barren country, which was neither plowed nor ſowed; its inhabitants being ſavages, who fared very hard, and led a moſt uncomfortable life. After they had eaten all the palm-tree roots that could be met with, they were obliged to feed upon the beaſts of burthen, and next upon their war-horſes; and when they had no beaſts left to carry their baggage, they were forced to burn thoſe rich ſpoils, for the ſake of which the Macedonians had ran to the extremities of the earth, The

(*u*) Arrian. p. 335.

The plague, a diſeaſe which generally accompanies famine, completed the calamity of the ſoldiers, and deſtroyed great numbers of them.

After marching threeſcore days, Alexander arrived on the confines of Gedroſia, where he found plenty of all things: For the ſoil was not only very fruitful, but the kings and great men, who lay neareſt that country, ſent him all kind of proviſions. He continued ſome time here, in order to refreſh his army. The governours of India having ſent, by his order, a great number of horſes, and all kinds of beaſts of burthen, from the ſeveral kingdoms ſubject to him, he remounted his troops; equipped thoſe who had loſt every thing; and ſoon after preſented all of them with arms, as beautiful as thoſe they had before, which it was very eaſy for him to do, as they were upon the confines of Perſia, at that time in peace, and in a very flouriſhing condition.

He arrived in Carmania, now called Kerman, and went through it, not with the air and equipage of a warrior and a conqueror, but in a kind of maſquerade, and Bacchanalian feſtivity; committing the moſt riotous and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horſes, himſelf being ſeated on a magnificent chariot, above which a ſcaffold was raiſed, in the form of a ſquare ſtage, where he paſſed the days and nights in feaſts and carouſing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others, ſome of which, in the ſhape of tents, were covered with rich carpets, and purple coverlets; and others, ſhaped like cradles, were overſhadowed with branches of trees. On the ſides of the roads, and at the doors of houſes, a great number of caſks ready broached were placed, whence the ſoldiers drew wine in large flaggons, cups, and goblets, prepared for that purpoſe.

The whole country echoed with the ſound of inſtruments, and the howling of the Bacchanals, who, with their hair diſhevelled, and like ſo many frantick creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themſelves in every kind of licentiouſneſs. All this he did in

in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, croſſed all Aſia in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous, diſſolute march laſted ſeven days, during all which time the army was never ſober. It was very happy, ſays Quintus Curtius, for them, that the conquered nations did not think of attacking them in this condition; for a thouſand reſolute men, well armed, might with great eaſe have defeated the conquerors of the world, whilſt thus plunged in wine and exceſs.

(*x*) Nearchus ſtill keeping along the ſea-coaſt, from the mouth of the Indus, came at laſt into the Perſian gulph, and arrived at the iſland of Harmuſia, now called Ormus. He there was informed, that Alexander was not above five days journey from him. Having left the fleet in a ſecure place, he went to meet Alexander, accompanied only by four perſons. The king was very anxious about his fleet. When news was brought him that Nearchus was arrived almoſt alone, he imagined that it had been entirely deſtroyed, and that Nearchus had been ſo very happy as to eſcape from the general defeat. His arrival confirmed him ſtill more in his opinion, when he beheld a company of pale, lean creatures, whoſe countenances were ſo much changed, that it was ſcarce poſſible to know them again. Taking Nearchus aſide, he told him, that he was overjoyed at his return, but at the ſame time was inconſolable for the loſs of his fleet. *Your fleet, royal Sir*, cried he immediately, *thanks to the gods, is not loſt*: Upon which he related the condition in which he had left it. Alexander could not refrain from tears, and confeſſed, that this happy news gave him greater pleaſure than the conqueſt of all Aſia. He heard, with uncommon delight, the account Nearchus gave of his voyage, and the diſcoveries he had made; and bid him return back, and go quite up the Euphrates as

(*x*) Arrian. in Indic. p. 348—352.

as far as Babylon, purſuant to the firſt orders he had given him.

In Carmania, many complaints were made to Alexander, concerning governours and other officers, who had grievouſly oppreſſed the people of various provinces during his abſence: For, fully perſuaded he would never return, they had exerciſed every ſpecies of rapine, tyranny, cruelty, and oppreſſion. But Alexander, ſtrongly affected with their grievances, and pierced to the very ſoul with their juſt complaints, put to death as many as were found guilty of mal-adminiſtration, and with them ſix hundred ſoldiers, who had been the inſtruments of their exactions and other crimes. He even afterwards treated with the ſame ſeverity, all ſuch of his officers as were convicted of the like guilt, ſo that his government was beloved by all the conquered nations. He was of opinion, that a prince owes theſe examples of ſeverity to his equity, which ought to check every kind of irregularity; to his glory, to prove he does not connive, or ſhare in the injuſtice committed in his name; to the conſolation of his ſubjects, whom he ſupplies with a vengeance themſelves ought never to exerciſe; in fine, to the ſafety of his dominions, which, by ſo equitable an adminiſtration, is ſecured from many dangers, and very often from inſurrections. It is a great unhappineſs to a kingdom, when every part of it reſounds with exactions, vexations, oppreſſions, and corruption, and not ſo much as a ſingle man is puniſhed, as a terrour to the reſt; and that the whole weight of the publick authority falls only upon the people, and never on thoſe who ruin them.

The great pleaſure Alexander took, in the account which Nearchus gave him of his ſucceſsful voyage, made that prince have a great inclination to go upon the ocean. He propoſed no leſs than to ſail from the Perſian gulph, round Arabia and Africa, and to return into the Mediterranean by the Straits of Gibraltar, called at that time Hercules's pillars; a voyage

voyage which had been ſeveral times attempted, and once performed, by order of a king of Egypt, called Nechao, as I have obſerved elſewhere. It was afterwards his deſign, when he ſhould have humbled the pride of Carthage, againſt which he was greatly exaſperated, to croſs into Spain, called by the Greeks Iberia, from the river Iberus: He next was to go over the Alps, and coaſt along Italy, where he would have had but a ſhort paſſage into Epirus, and from thence into Macedonia. For this purpoſe, he ſent orders to the viceroys of Meſopotamia and Syria, to build in ſeveral parts of the Euphrates, and particularly at Thapſacus, ſhips ſufficient for that enterpriſe; and he cauſed to be felled, on mount Libanus, a great number of trees, which were to be carried into the above-mentioned city. But this project, as well as a great many more which he meditated, were all defeated by his early death.

Continuing his march, he went to Paſſagardæ, a city of Perſia. Orſines was governour of the country, and the greateſt nobleman in it. He deſcended from Cyrus; and, beſides the wealth he inherited from his anceſtors, he himſelf had amaſſed great treaſures, having, for many years, ruled a large country. He had done the king a ſignal piece of ſervice. The perſon, who governed the provinces during Alexander's expedition into India, happened to die; when Orſines obſerving, that, for want of a governour, all things were running to confuſion, took the adminiſtration upon himſelf, compoſed matters very happily, and preſerved them in the utmoſt tranquillity, till Alexander's arrival. He went to meet him, with preſents of all kinds for himſelf, as well as his officers. Theſe conſiſted of a great number of fine managed horſes, chariots enriched with gold and ſilver, precious moveables, jewels, gold vaſes of prodigious weight, purple robes, and four thouſand talents of ſilver in ſpecie *. However, this generous magnificence proved fatal to him; for he preſented ſuch

* *About* 600,000l.

ſuch gifts to the principal grandees of the court, as infinitely exceeded their expectations, but gave nothing to the eunuch Bagoas, the king's favourite; and this not through forgetfulneſs, but out of contempt. Some perſons telling him how much the king loved Bagoas, he anſwered, "I honour the king's friends, "but not an infamous eunuch." Theſe words being told Bagoas, he employed all his credit to ruin a prince deſcended from the nobleſt blood in the Eaſt and irreproachable in his conduct. He even bribed ſome of Orſines's attendants, giving them inſtructions how to impeach him at a proper ſeaſon; and in the mean time, whenever he was alone with the king, he filled his mind with ſuſpicions and diſtruſt, letting drop ambiguous expreſſions of that nobleman, as if by chance; and diſſembling very artfully the motives of his diſcontent. Nevertheleſs, the king ſuſpended his judgement for the preſent, but diſcovered leſs eſteem than before for Orſines, who knew nothing of what was plotting againſt him, ſo ſecretly the affair was carried on; and the eunuch, in his private diſcourſes with Alexander, was perpetually charging him either with exactions or treaſon.

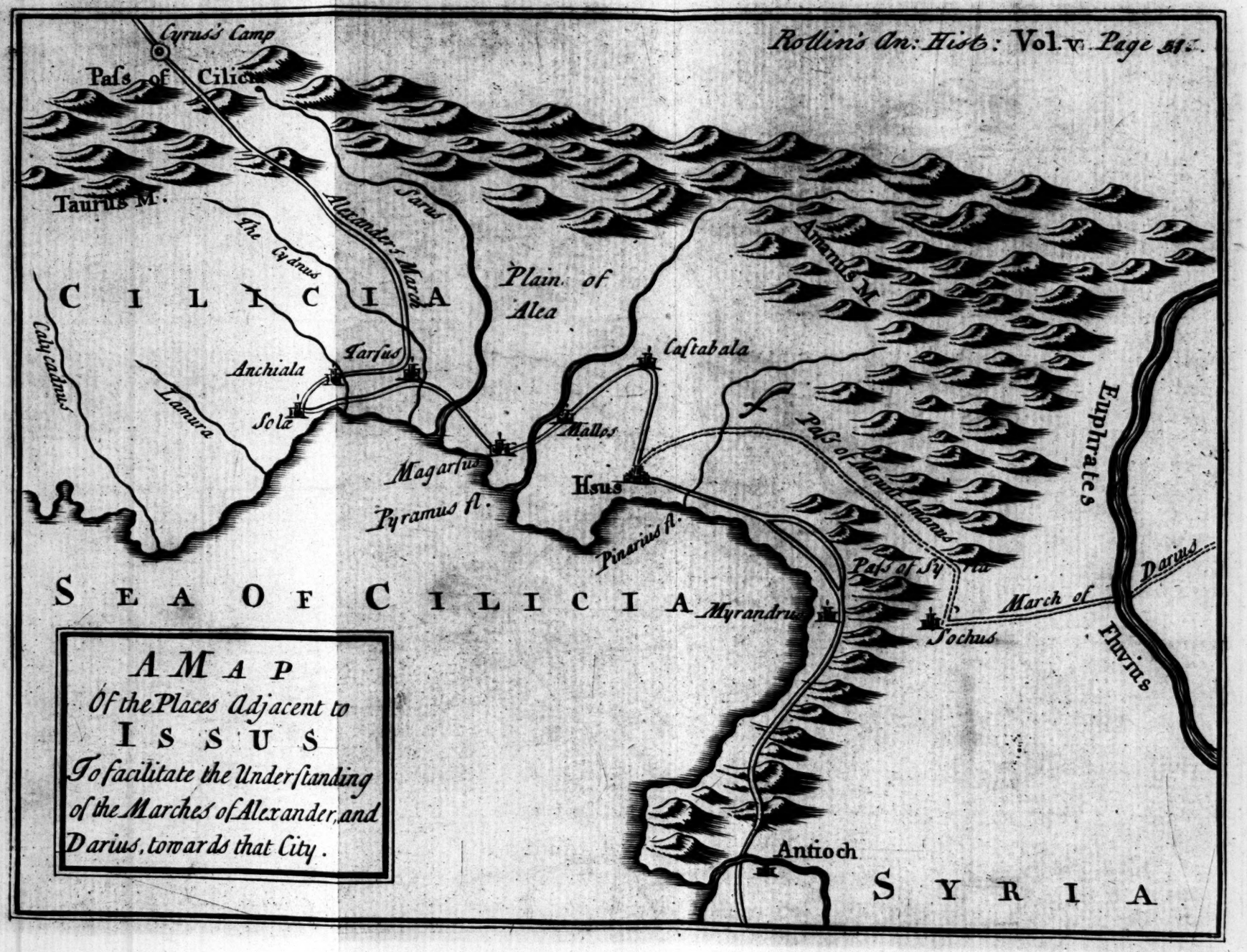
The great danger to which princes are expoſed, is the ſuffering themſelves to be prejudiced and overreached in this manner by their favourites; a danger ſo common that St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, (y) aſſures him, that if he were exempt from this weakneſs, he may boaſt himſelf to be the only man in the world that is ſo. What is here ſpoken of princes, is applicable to all who repreſent them. Great men generally liſten with pleaſure to the ſlanderer; and for this reaſon, becauſe he generally puts on the maſk of affection and zeal, which ſooths their pride. Slander always makes ſome impreſſion on the moſt equitable minds; and leaves behind it ſuch dark and gloomy traces, as raiſe ſuſpicions, jealouſies, and diſtruſts. The artful ſlanderer is bold and indefatigable, becauſe he is ſure to eſcape unpuniſhed; and

(y) De Conſider. lib. ii. c. 14.

is ſenſible, that he runs but very little danger, in greatly prejudicing others. With regard to the great, they ſeldom enquire into ſecret calumnies, either from indoleneſs, giddineſs, or ſhame, to appear ſuſpicious, fearful, or diffident; in a word from their unwillingneſs to own that they were impoſed upon, and had abandoned themſelves to a raſh credulity. In this manner, the moſt unſullied virtue, and the moſt irreproachable fidelity, are frequently brought to inevitable ruin.

Of this we have a ſad example on the preſent occaſion. Bagoas, after having taken his meaſures at diſtance, at laſt gave birth to his dark deſign. Alexander, having cauſed the monument of Cyrus to be opened, in order to perform funeral honours to the aſhes of that great prince, found nothing in it, but an old rotten ſhield, two Scythian bows, and a ſcymitar; whereas he hoped to find it full of gold and ſilver, as the Perſians had reported. The king laid a golden crown on his urn, and covered it with his cloak; vaſtly ſurpriſed that ſo powerful and renowned a prince had not been buried with greater pomp than a private man. Bagoas thinking this a proper time for him to ſpeak, "Are we to wonder," ſays he, "to find the tombs of kings ſo empty, ſince the "houſes of governors and provinces are filled with "the gold of which they have deprived them? I, "indeed, had never ſeen this monument; but I have "heard Darius ſay, that immenſe treaſures were bu"ried in it. Hence flowed the unbounded liberality "and profuſion of Orſines, who, by beſtowing what "he could not keep, without ruining himſelf, thought "to make a merit of this in your ſight." This charge was without the leaſt foundation; and yet the Magi, who guarded the ſepulchre, were put to the torture, but all to no purpoſe; and nothing was diſcovered relating to the pretended theft. Their ſilence, on this occaſion, ought naturally to have cleared Orſines; but the artful, inſinuating diſcourſes of Bagoas, had made a deep impreſſion on Alexander's mind,

MUSEUM
15
61
APR



A MAP
Of the Places Adjacent to
ISSUS
To facilitate the Understanding of the Marches of Alexander, and Darius, towards that City.

mind, and by that means given calumny an eaſy acceſs to it. The accuſers, whom Bagoas had ſuborned, having made choice of a favourable moment, came and impeached Orſines, and charged him with the commiſſion of ſeveral odious crimes, and amongſt the reſt, with ſtealing the treaſures of the monument. At this charge, the matter appeared no longer doubtful, and the indications were thought ſufficient; ſo that this prince was loaded with chains, before he ſo much as ſuſpected that any accuſation had been brought againſt him; and was put to death, without being ſo much as heard, or confronted with his accuſers. Too unhappy fate of kings, who do not hear and examine things in perſon; and who ſtill continue infatuated, notwithſtanding the numberleſs examples they read in hiſtory, of princes who have been betrayed in the like manner.

I have already ſaid, that there had followed the king an Indian, called Calanus, reputed the wiſeſt man of his country, who, though he profeſſed the practice of the moſt ſevere philoſophy, had however been perſuaded, in his extreme old age, to attend upon the court. (z) This man, having lived fourſcore and three years, without having been ever afflicted with ſickneſs; and having a very ſevere fit of the colick, upon his arrival at Paſſagarda, he reſolved to put himſelf to death. Reſolutely determined not to let the perfect health he had always enjoyed, be impaired by lingering pains; and being alſo aſſured of falling into the hands of phyſicians, and of being tortured with loads of medicine, he beſought the king to order the erecting of a funeral pile for him; and deſired, that after he had aſcended it, fire might be ſet to it. Alexander imagined Calanus might eaſily be diſſuaded from ſo dreadful a deſign; but finding, in ſpite of all the arguments he could uſe, that Calanus was ſtill inflexible, he at laſt was obliged to acquieſce with it. Calanus then rode on horſeback to

(z) Arrian. lib. vii. p. 276. Diod. lib. vii. p. 573, 574. Plut. in Alex. p. 703.

the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; cauſed libations to be performed upon himſelf, and the reſt of the ceremonies to be obſerved which are practiſed at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, in imitation of victims; embraced ſuch of his friends as were preſent; intreated them to be merry that day, to feaſt and carouſe with Alexander; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that he would ſoon ſee that prince in Babylon. After ſaying theſe words he aſcended, with the utmoſt chearfulneſs, the funeral pile, laid himſelf down upon it, and covered his face; and, when the flame catched him, he did not make the leaſt motion; but with a patience and conſtancy that ſurpriſed the whole army, continued in the poſture in which he at firſt had laid himſelf; and completed his ſacrifice, by dying purſuant to the cuſtom practiſed by the ſages of his country.

(*a*) The hiſtorian informs us, that people differed very much in opinion with reſpect to this action. Some condemned it, as ſuiting only a frantick, ſenſeleſs wretch; others imagined, he was prompted to it out of vain-glory, merely for the ſake of being gazed at, and to paſs for a miracle in conſtancy (and theſe were not miſtaken): In fine others applauded this falſe heroiſm, which had enabled him to triumph in this manner over ſorrow and death.

Alexander, being returned into his tent, after this dreadful ceremony, invited ſeveral of his friends and general officers to ſupper; and in compliance with Calanus's requeſt, and to do him honour, he propoſed a crown, as a reward for him who ſhould quaff moſt. He who conquered on this occaſion, was Promachus, who ſwallowed four meaſures of wine, that is, eighteen or twenty pints. After receiving the prize, which was a crown worth a * talent, he ſurvived his victory but three days. Of theſe gueſts, forty-one died of their intemperance: A ſcene, worthy of cloſing that which Calanus had a little before exhibited!

From

(*a*) Diodore. * *A thouſand crowns*

(*b*) From Paſſagarda, Alexander came to Perſepolis; and, ſurveying the remains of the conflagration, was exaſperated againſt himſelf, for his folly in ſetting it on fire. From hence he advanced towards Suſa. Nearchus, in compliance with his orders, had begun to ſail up the Euphrates with his fleet; but, upon advice that Alexander was going to Suſa, he came down again to the mouth of the Paſi-tigris, and ſailed up this river to a bridge, where Alexander was to paſs it. Then the naval and land armies joined. The king offered to his gods ſacrifices, by way of thanks for his happy return, and great rejoicings were made in the camp. Nearchus received the honours due to him, for the care he had taken of the fleet; and for having conducted it ſo far ſafe, through numberleſs dangers.

Alexander found in Suſa all the captives of quality he had left there. He married Statira, Darius's eldeſt daughter, and gave the youngeſt to his dear Hephæſtion. And in order that, by making theſe marriages more common, his own might not be cenſured, he perſuaded the greateſt noblemen in his court, and his principal favourites, to imitate him. Accordingly they choſe from among the nobleſt families of Perſia, about fourſcore young maidens, whom they married. His deſign was, by theſe alliances, to cement ſo ſtrongly the union of the two nations, that they ſhould henceforward form but one, under his empire. The nuptials were ſolemnized after the Perſian manner. He likewiſe feaſted all the reſt of the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related that there were nine thouſand gueſts at this feaſt, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for the libations.

Not ſatisfied with this bounty, he would alſo pay his ſoldiers debts. But finding that ſeveral would not declare the ſum they owed, for fear of its being an artifice merely to diſcover thoſe among them who were too laviſh of their money, he appointed in his

(*b*) Arrian. de Indic. p. 357. 358.

camp, offices, where all debts were paid, without aſking the name either of the debtor or creditor. His liberality was very great on this occaſion, and gave prodigious ſatisfaction; we are told that it amounted to near ten thouſand talents *; but his indulgence, in permitting every perſon to conceal his name, was a ſtill more agreeable circumſtance. He reproached the ſoldiers, for their ſeeming to ſuſpect the truth of his promiſe, and ſaid to them, † *That a king ought never to forfeit his word with his ſubjects; nor his ſubjects ſuſpect that he could be guilty of ſo ſhameful a prevarication.* A truely royal maxim, as it forms the ſecurity of a people, and the moſt ſolid glory of a prince; which, at the ſame time, may be renounced for ever, by the violation of a ſingle promiſe; which in affairs of government is the moſt fatal of all errors.

And now there arrived at Suſa thirty thouſand Perſian young men, moſt of the ſame age, and called *Epigones*, that is *ſucceſſors*; as coming to relieve the old ſoldiers in their duty and long fatigues. Such only had been made choice of, as were the ſtrongeſt and beſt ſhaped in all Perſia; and had been ſent to the governours of ſuch cities as were either founded or conquered by Alexander. Theſe had inſtructed them in military diſcipline, and in all things, relating to the ſcience of war. They were all very neatly dreſſed, and armed after the Macedonian manner. Theſe came and encamped before the city, where, drawing up in battle-array, they were reviewed; and performed their exerciſes before the king, who was extremely well pleaſed, and very bountiful to them afterwards, at which the Macedonians took great umbrage. And indeed Alexander obſerving theſe were harraſſed and tired out with the length of the war, and often vented murmurs and complaints in the aſſemblies; he for that reaſon was deſirous of training up

* *About fifteen hundred thouſand pounds.*

† Οὐ γὰρ χρῆναι ποτ' ἂν τὴν βασιλέα ἀλλό τι ἢ ἀληθείειν πρὸς τὺς ὑπηκόους, ὔτε τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὰ ἄλλό τι ἢ ἀληθείειν δοκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα. Arrian.

up theſe new forces, purpoſely to check the licentiouſneſs of the veterans. It is dangerous to diſguſt a whole nation, and to favour foreigners too openly.

(*c*) In the mean time Harpalus, whom Alexander, during his expedition into India, had appointed governour of Babylon, quitted his ſervice. Flattering himſelf with the hopes that this prince would never return from his wars in that country, he had given a looſe to all kinds of licentiouſneſs, and conſumed in his infamous revels part of the wealth with which he had been entruſted. As ſoon as he was informed that Alexander in his return from India, puniſhed very ſeverely ſuch of his lieutenants as had abuſed their power, he meditated how he might beſt ſecure himſelf; and for this purpoſe amaſſed five thouſand talents, that is, about ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; aſſembled ſix thouſand ſoldiers, withdrew into Attica, and landed at Athens. (*d*) Immediately all ſuch orators as made a trade of eloquence, ran to him in crowds, all ready to be corrupted by bribes, as they were before by hopes of them. Harpalus did not fail to diſtribute a ſmall part of his wealth among theſe orators, to win them over to his intereſt, but he offered Phocion ſeven hundred * talents, and even put his perſon under his protection, well knowing the prodigious authority he had over the people.

The fame of his probity, and particularly of his diſintereſtedneſs, had gained him this credit. Philip's deputies had offered him great ſums of money in that prince's name, and entreating him to accept them, if not for himſelf, at leaſt for his children, who were ſo poor, that it would be impoſſible for them to ſupport the glory of his name: † *If they reſemble me*, replied Phocion, *the little ſpot of ground, with the produce of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raiſed me to*

(*c*) Plut. in Demoſth. p. 857, 858. (*d*) Plut. in Phoc. p. 751.

* *Seven hundred thouſand crowns.*

† Si mei ſimiles erunt, idem hic, inquit, aggellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit: ſin diſſimiles ſunt futuri, nolo meis impenſis illorum ali augerique luxuriam. *Cor. Nep. in Phoc.* c. i.

the glory you mention, will be ſufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely to foment and heighten their luxury. (*e*) Alexander having likewiſe ſent him an hundred * talents, Phocion aſked thoſe who brought them, upon what deſign Alexander ſent him ſo great a ſum, and did not remit any to the reſt of the Athenians? *It is,* replied they, *becauſe Alexander looks upon you as the only juſt and virtuous man.* Says Phocion, *Let him ſuffer me ſtill to enjoy that character, and be really what I am taken for.*

The reader will ſuppoſe, that he did not give a more favourable reception to the perſons ſent by Harpalus. And indeed he ſpoke to them in very harſh terms, declaring, that he ſhould immediately take ſuch meaſures as would be very diſagreeable to the perſon on whoſe errand they came, in caſe he did not leave off bribing the city; ſo that Harpalus loſt all hopes from that quarter.

Demoſthenes did not at firſt ſhow more favour to Harpalus. He adviſed the Athenians to drive him out from their city, and not to involve it in a war, upon a very unjuſt occaſion, and at the ſame time without the leaſt neceſſity.

Some days after, Harpalus, as an inventory was taking of his goods, having obſerved that Demoſthenes took a particular pleaſure in viewing one of the king's cups of ſolid gold, and that he admired the faſhion, and the beauty of the workmanſhip, deſired him to take it in his hand, and tell him *the weight of it.* Demoſthenes taking the cup, was ſurpriſed at its heavineſs, and accordingly aſked how much it weighed? Harpalus anſwered with a ſmile, *Twenty* † *talents, I believe*; and that very evening ſent him that ſum with the cup: For ſo great was Harpalus's penetration, that he could diſcover by the air, and certain glances, the foible of a man ſtruck with the charms of gold. Demoſthenes could not reſiſt its power

(*e*) Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

* *An hundred thouſand crowns.* † *Twenty thouſand crowns.*

power; but, overcome by this preſent, and being * no longer maſter of himſelf, he joined on a ſudden with Harpalus's party; and the very next morning, wrapping his neck well in woollen cloths, he went to the aſſembly. The people then ordered him to riſe and make a ſpeech, but he refuſed, making ſigns that he had loſt his voice; upon which ſome wags cried aloud, that their orator had been ſeiſed in the night, not with a † *ſquinancy*, but an *argyrancy*; thereby intimating, that Harpalus's money had ſuppreſſed his voice.

The people being told next day of the gift which had been ſent to Demoſthenes were highly exaſperated, and refuſed to hear his juſtification. Harpalus was thereupon expelled the city; and in order to diſcover the perſons who had taken bribes, the magiſtrates commanded a ſtrict ſearch to be made in all houſes, that of Caricles excepted, who having married but a little before, was exempt from this enquiry, out of reſpect to his bride. The politeneſs ſhown on this occaſion does honour to Athens, and is not always exerciſed elſewhere.

Demoſthenes, to prove his innocence, propoſed a decree, by which the ſenate of the Areopagus was impowered to take cognizance of this matter. He was the firſt they tried, and fined upon being convicted fifty ‡ talents, for the payment of which he was thrown into priſon; however he found means to eſcape, and left his country. Demoſthenes did not behave with reſolution and magnanimity in his baniſhment, reſiding generally at Ægina or Trezena; and every time he caſt his eyes on Attica, his face would be covered with tears; and he ſuffered ſuch words to drop from him, as were unworthy a brave man;

* *The expreſſion in the Greek is full of beauty and ſpirit. Plutarch compares the gold which had been accepted by Demoſthenes, to a garriſon (of the enemy) which a governor had received into his city, and thereby diſpoſſeſſed himſelf of the command of it.* πλήγεις ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας, ὥσπερ παραδεξάμενος φρουράν.

† *It is impoſſible to tranſlate the agreeable play of theſe Greek words.* Οὐχ ὑπὸ συναγχης ἐφρασεν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀργυρᾳγχης εἰληφθαι νύκτως τὸν δημαγωγόν.

‡ *Fifty thouſand crowns.*

man; words which by no means correſpond with his reſolute and generous behaviour during his adminiſtration. Cicero was reproached with the ſame weakneſs in his exile, which ſhows that great men are not ſuch at all times, and on all occaſions.

(f) It were to be wiſhed, for the honour of eloquence, that what Pauſanias relates in juſtification of Demoſthenes, were true; and it is very probable it was ſo. According to this author, Harpalus, after flying from Athens, was ſeiſed by Philoxenus the Macedonian; and being racked, to extort from him the names of ſuch Athenians as had been bribed by him, he did not once mention Demoſthenes, whoſe name, had he been guilty, he would not have ſuppreſſed before Philoxenus, as that orator was his enemy.

Upon the firſt report of Harpalus's flying to Athens, Alexander, fully determined to go in perſon to puniſh Harpalus and the Athenians, had commanded a fleet to be equipped. But after news was brought that the people in their aſſembly had ordered him to depart their city, he laid aſide all thoughts of returning into Europe.

Alexander, having ſtill a curioſity to ſee the ocean, came down from Suſa, upon the river Eulæus; and after having coaſted the Perſian gulph to the mouth of the Tigris, he went up that river towards the army, which was encamped on the banks of it, near the city of Opis, under the command of Hephæſtion.

Upon his arrival there, he publiſhed a declaration in the camp, by which all the Macedonians, who, by reaſon of their age, wounds, or any other infirmity, were unable to ſupport any longer the fatigues of the ſervice, were permitted to return into Greece; declaring, that his deſign was to diſcharge them, to be bountiful to them, and ſend them back to their native country in a ſafe and honourable manner. His intention was, in making this declaration, to oblige, and at the ſame time give them the ſtrongeſt proof how

(f) Pauſan. l. ii. p. 148.

how greatly they were in his eſteem. However, the very contrary happened: For being already diſguſted upon ſome other accounts, eſpecially by the viſible preference which Alexander gave to foreigners, they imagined, that his reſolution was to make Aſia the ſeat of his empire, and to diſengage himſelf from the Macedonians; and that the only motive of his doing this, was, that they might make room for the new troops he had levied in the conquered countries. This alone was ſufficient to exaſperate them to fury. Upon which, without obſerving the leaſt order or diſcipline, or regarding the remonſtrances of their officers, they went to the king with an air of inſolence which they had never aſſumed till then, and with ſeditious cries unanimouſly demanded to be diſcharged; ſaying further, that ſince he deſpiſed the ſoldiers who had gained him all his victories, he and his father Ammon might carry on the war againſt whomſoever, and in what manner they pleaſed: But as for themſelves, they were fully determined not to ſerve him any longer.

The king, no way ſurpriſed, and without once heſitating, jumps from his tribunal; cauſes the principal mutineers, whom he himſelf pointed out to his guards, to be immediately ſeiſed, and orders thirteen to be puniſhed. This bold and vigorous action, which thunderſtruck the Macedonians, ſuppreſſed their courage in an inſtant. Quite amazed and confounded, and ſcarce daring to look at one another, they ſtood with downcaſt eyes, and were ſo diſpirited, and trembled ſo prodigiouſly, that they were unable either to ſpeak or even to think. Seeing them in this condition, he re-aſcended his tribunal, where, after repeating to them, with a ſevere countenance, and a menacing tone of voice, the numerous favours which Philip his father had beſtowed upon them, and all the marks of kindneſs and friendſhip by which he himſelf had diſtinguiſhed them, he concluded with theſe words: "You all deſire a diſcharge; I grant it "you. Go now, and publiſh to the whole world, that

"you

" you have left your prince to the mercy of the na-
" tions he had conquered, who were more affection-
" ate to him than you." After ſpeaking this, he returned ſuddenly into his tent; caſhiers his old guard; appoints another in its place, all compoſed of Perſian ſoldiers; ſhuts himſelf up for ſome days, and would not ſee any perſon all the time.

Had the Macedonians been ſentenced to die, it could not have ſurpriſed them more than when news was brought them, that the king had confided the guard of his perſon to the Perſians. They could ſuppreſs their grief no longer, ſo that nothing was heard but cries, groans, and lamentations. Soon after, they all run together to the king's tent, throw down their arms, confeſſing their guilt; acknowledging their fault with tears and ſighs; declare that the loſs of life will not be ſo grievous as the loſs of honour; and proteſt that they will not leave the place till the king has pardoned them. At laſt, Alexander could no longer reſiſt the tender proofs they gave of their ſorrow and repentance; ſo that when he himſelf, at his coming out of his tent, ſaw them in this dejected condition, he could not refrain from tears; and, after ſome gentle reproaches, which were ſoftened by an air of humanity and kindneſs, he declared ſo loud as to be heard by them all, that he reſtored them to his friendſhip. This was reſtoring them to life, as was manifeſt from their ſhouts.

He afterwards diſcharged ſuch Macedonians as were no longer able to carry arms, and ſent them back to their native country with rich preſents. He commanded, that at the exhibiting of the publick games, they ſhould be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there ſit with crowns on their heads; and gave orders, that the children of thoſe who had loſt their lives in his ſervice, ſhould receive, during their minority, the ſame pay which had been given their fathers. Such ſupport and honours granted to veterans, muſt neceſſarily ennoble, in a very conſpicuous manner, the military profeſſion! It is not poſſible for a go-

a government to enrich every ſoldier in particular; but it may animate and conſole him by marks of diſtinction, which inſpire a ſtronger ardour for war, more conſtancy in the ſervice, and nobler ſentiments and motives.

Alexander appointed Craterus commander of theſe ſoldiers, to whom he gave the government of Macedonia, Theſſaly, and Thrace, which Antipater had enjoyed; and the latter was commanded to bring the recruits inſtead of Craterus. The king had long ſince been quite tired with the complaints of his mother and Antipater, who could not agree. She charged Antipater of aſpiring at ſovereign power, and the latter complained of her violent and untractable diſpoſition; and had often declared in his letters, that ſhe did not behave in a manner ſuitable to her dignity. It was with ſome reluctance Antipater reſigned his government.

From Opis, Alexander arrived at Ecbatana in Media, where, after having diſpatched the moſt urgent affairs of the kingdom, he again ſolemnized games and feſtivals: There had come to him from Greece, three thouſand dancers, makers of machinery, and other perſons ſkilled in diverſions of this kind. It happened very unluckily, during the celebration of theſe feſtivals, that Hephæſtion died of a diſeaſe which he brought upon himſelf. Alexander abandoning himſelf to immoderate drinking, his whole court followed his example, and ſometimes ſpent whole days and nights in theſe exceſſes. In one of them Hephæſtion loſt his life. He was the moſt intimate friend the king had, the confident of all his ſecrets, and, to ſay all in a word, a ſecond ſelf. Craterus only ſeemed to diſpute this honour with him. A few words, which one day eſcaped that prince, ſhows the difference he made between theſe two courtiers. *Craterus*, ſays he, *loves the king, but Hephæſtion loves Alexander*. This expreſſion ſignifies, if I miſtake not, that Hephæſtion had devoted himſelf, in a tender and affectionate manner, to the perſon of Alexander; but that A. M. 3680. Ant. J. C. 325.

that Craterus loved him as a king, that is, was concerned for his reputation, and ſometimes was leſs obſequious to his will, than he was zealous for his glory and intereſt. An excellent character, but very uncommon.

Hephæſtion was as much beloved by all the courtiers, as by Alexander himſelf. Modeſt, even-tempered, beneficent; free from pride, avarice, and jealouſy; he never abuſed his credit, nor preferred himſelf to thoſe officers, whoſe merit made them neceſſary to his ſovereign. He was univerſally regretted; but his death threw Alexander into exceſſive ſorrow, to which he abandoned himſelf in ſuch a manner, as was unworthy ſo great a king. He ſeemed to receive no conſolation, but in the extraordinary funeral honours he paid to his friend at his arrival in Babylon, whither he commanded Perdiccas to carry his corpſe.

In order to remove, by buſineſs and employment, the melancholy ideas which the death of his favourite perpetually awakened in his mind, Alexander marched his army againſt the *Coſſæi*, a warlike nation inhabiting the mountains of Media, whom not one of the Perſian monarchs had ever been able to conquer. However, the king reduced them in forty days, afterwards paſſed the Tigris, and marched towards Babylon.

SECT. XVIII. ALEXANDER *enters Babylon, contrary to the ſiniſter predictions of the Magi and other ſooth-ſayers. He there forms the plans of ſeveral voyages and conqueſts. He ſets about repairing the breaches made in the piers of the Tigris and Euphrates, and rebuilding the temple of* BELUS. *He abandons himſelf to immoderate drinking, which brings him to his end. The univerſal grief ſpread over the whole empire upon that account.* SYSIGAMBIS *is not able to ſurvive him. Preparations are made to convey* ALEXANDER's *corpſe to the temple of* JUPITER-AMMON *in Libya.*

(*g*) ALEXANDER being arrived within a league and a half of Babylon, the Chaldeans who pretended to know futurity by the ſtars, deputed to him ſome of their old men, to acquaint him, that he would be in danger of his life, in caſe he entered that city; and were very urgent with him to go on farther. The Babyloniſh aſtrologers were held in ſuch great reputation, that this advice made a prodigious impreſſion on his mind, and filled him with confuſion and dread. Upon this, after ſending ſeveral of the grandees of his court to Babylon, he himſelf went another way; and having marched about ten leagues, he ſtopped for ſome time in the place where he had encamped his army. The Greek philoſophers, being told the foundation of his fear and ſcruples, waited upon him; when ſetting, in the ſtrongeſt light, the principles of Anaxagoras, whoſe tenets they followed, they demonſtrated to him, in the ſtrongeſt manner, the vanity of aſtrology; and made him have ſo great a contempt for divination in general, and for that of the Chaldeans in particular, that he immediately marched towards Babylon with his whole army. (*h*) He knew that there were arrived in that city, ambaſſadors from all parts of the world, who waited for his coming; the whole

(*g*) Arrian. lib. vii. p. 294—309. Q. Curt. lib. x. c. 4—7. Plut. in Alex. p. 705—707. (*h*) Diod. lib. xvii. p. 577—583. Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 13—16.

whole earth echoing ſo much with the terrour of his name, that the ſeveral nations came, with inexpreſſible ardour, to pay homage to Alexander, as to him who was to be their ſovereign. This view, which agreeably ſoothed the ſtrongeſt of all his paſſions, contributed very much to ſtifle every other reflection, and to make him careleſs of all advice that might be given him; ſo that he ſet forward with all poſſible diligence towards that great city, there to hold the ſtates-general, in a manner, of the world. After making a moſt magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambaſſadors, with the grandeur and dignity ſuitable to a great monarch, and, at the ſame time, with the affability and politeneſs of a prince, who is deſirous of winning the affection of all. He loaded thoſe of Epidaurus with great preſents for the deity who preſides over their city, as well as over health, but reproached him at the ſame time. *Æſculapius*, ſays he, *has ſhowed me but very little indulgence, in not preſerving the life of a friend, who was as dear to me as myſelf.* In private, he diſcovered a great friendſhip for ſuch of the deputies of Greece, as came to congratulate him on his victories, and his happy return; and he reſtored them all the ſtatues, and other curioſities, which Xerxes had carried out of Greece, that were found in Suſa, Babylon, Paſſagarda, and other places. We are told, that among theſe were the ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, and that they were brought back to Athens.

The ambaſſadors from Corinth having offered him, in the name of their city, the freedom of it, he laughed at an offer which ſeemed altogether unworthy of one who had attained ſo exalted a pitch of grandeur and power. However, when Alexander was told that Corinth had granted this privilege to Hercules only, he accepted it with joy; and piqued himſelf upon treading in his ſteps, and reſembling him in all things. But, cries * Seneca, in what did this frantick young man,

* Quid illi ſimile habebat ve- erat felix temeritas? Hercules ſanus adoleſcens, cui pro virtute nihil ſibi vicit. Orbem terrarum tranſivit,

man, with whom ſucceſsful temerity paſſed for virtue, reſemble Hercules? The latter, free from all ſelf-intereſted views, travelled through the world, merely to ſerve the ſeveral nations he viſited, and to purge the earth of ſuch robbers as infeſted it: Whereas Alexander, who is juſtly entitled the plunderer of nations, made his glory to conſiſt in carrying deſolation into all places, and in rendering himſelf the terrour of mankind.

At the ſame time he wrote a letter, which was to have been read publickly in the aſſembly of the Olympick games, whereby the ſeveral cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, thoſe excepted who had committed ſacrilege, or any other crime deſerving death; and ordered Antipater to employ an armed force againſt ſuch cities as ſhould refuſe to obey. This letter was read in the aſſembly. But as for the Athenians and Etolians, they did not think themſelves obliged to put orders in execution, which ſeemed to interfere with their liberty.

Alexander, after having diſpatched theſe affairs, finding himſelf now at leiſure, began to think of Hephæſtion's burial. This he ſolemnized with a magnificence, the like of which had never been ſeen. As he himſelf undertook the management of this funeral, he commanded all the neighbouring cities to contribute their utmoſt in exalting the pomp of it. He likewiſe ordered all the nations of Aſia to extinguiſh what the Perſians call the *ſacred fire*, till the ceremony of the interment ſhould be ended; which was conſidered as an ill omen, it being never practiſed in Perſia, except at the death of its monarchs. All the officers and courtiers, to pleaſe Alexander, cauſed images to be carved of that favourite, of gold, ivory, and other precious materials.

tranſivit, non concupiſcendo, ſed vindicando —— malorum hoſtis, bonorum vindex, terrarum mariſque pacator. At hic à pueritia latro gentiumque vaſtator —— ſummum bonum duxit, terrori eſſe cunctis mortalibus. *Senec. de Benef. lib.* I. *cap.* 13.

At the ſame time the king, having produced a great number of architects, and ſkilful workmen, firſt cauſed near ſix furlongs of the wall of Babylon to be beat down; and, having got together a great number of bricks, and levelled the ſpot deſigned for the funeral pile, he had a moſt magnificent monumental ſtructure erected over it.

This edifice was divided into thirty parts, in each whereof was raiſed an uniform building, the roof of which was covered with great planks of palm-tree wood. The whole formed a perfect ſquare, the circumference of which was adorned with extraordinary magnificence. Each ſide was a furlong, or an hundred fathoms, in length. At the foot of it, and in the firſt row, were ſet two hundred and forty-four prows of ſhips gilded, on the * buttreſſes, or ſupporters whereof, the ſtatues of two archers, four cubits high, with one knee on the ground, were fixed; and two other ſtatues, in an upright poſture, completely armed, bigger than the life, being five cubits in height. The ſpaces between the prows were ſpread and adorned with purple cloth. Over theſe prows was a colonade of large flambeaux, the ſhafts of which were fifteen cubits high, embelliſhed with crowns of gold at the part where they are held. The flame of thoſe flambeaux ending at top, terminated towards eagles, which, with their heads turned downward, and extended wings, ſerved as capitals. Dragons fixed near, or upon the baſe, turned their heads upwards towards the eagles. Over this colonade ſtood a third, in the baſe of which was repreſented, in relievo, a party of hunting animals of every kind. On the ſuperior order, that is the fourth, the combat of the Centaurs was repreſented in gold. Finally, on the fifth, golden figures, repreſenting lions and bulls, were placed alternately. The whole edifice terminated with military trophies, after the Macedonian and Barbarian faſhion, as ſo many ſymbols of the victory

* *In* Greek Ἐπωτίδες, *or* ears. *Theſe are two pieces of timber, which project to the right and left of the prow.*

tory of the former, and defeat of the latter. On the entablatures and roof were repreſented Syrens, the hollow bodies of which were filled (but in an imperceptible manner) with muſicians, who ſang mournful airs and dirges in honour of the deceaſed. This edifice was upwards of one hundred and thirty cubits high, that is, above an hundred and ninety-five feet.

The beauty of the deſign of this ſtructure, the ſingularity and magnificence of the decorations, and the ſeveral ornaments of it, ſurpaſſed the moſt wonderful productions of fancy, and were all in an exquiſite taſte. Alexander had appointed to ſuperintend the building of this edifice, Staſicrates, a great architect, and admirably well ſkilled in mechanicks, in all whoſe inventions and deſigns there appeared, not only prodigious magnificence and ſurpriſing boldneſs, but ſuch a greatneſs as was ſcarce conceivable.

(*i*) It was this artiſt, who, diſcourſing ſome time before with Alexander, had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, none would ſo well admit of being cut into the ſhape of a man, as mount Athos in Thrace: That, if he therefore pleaſed but to give orders, he would make this mountain the moſt durable of all ſtatues, and that which would lie moſt open to the view of the univerſe. In its left hand it ſhould hold a city, conſiſting of ten thouſand inhabitants; and from its right ſhould pour a great river, whoſe waters would diſcharge themſelves in the ſea. One would have thought that this project would have pleaſed Alexander, who ſought for the great and marvellous in all things; nevertheleſs, he rejected it, and wiſely anſwered, that it was enough there was one prince, whoſe folly mount Athos would eterniſe. This was meant of Xerxes, who having endeavoured to cut through the Iſthmus of that mountain, wrote a * letter to it in the moſt proud and ſenſeleſs terms. *With*

(*i*) Plut. de fortun. Alex. ſerm. i. p. 335.

* *Proud Athos, who liſteſt thy head to heaven, be not ſo bold as to oppoſe to my workmen ſuch rocks and ſtones as they cannot cut; otherwiſe, I will cut thee quite to pieces, and throw thee into the ſea.* Plutarch. de ira cohib. p. 555.

regard to myſelf, ſays Alexander, *mount Caucaſus, the river * Tanais, the Caſpian ſea, all which I paſſed in triumph, ſhall be my monument.*

The expence of the ſplendid monument which this prince erected in honour of Hephæſtion, with that of the funeral, amounted to upwards of twelve thouſand talents, that is, more than one million eight hundred thouſand pounds. But what man was ever ſo ridiculouſly and extravagantly profuſe! All this gold, all this ſilver, was no other than the blood of nations, and the ſubſtance of provinces, which were thus ſacrificed to a vain oſtentation.

To crown the affection which Alexander had for his deceaſed friend, ſomething was ſtill wanting to the honours he paid him, to raiſe them above human nature; and this was what he propoſed, and for that purpoſe had ſent to the temple of Ammon a truſty perſon, named Philip, to enquire the will of the god. It doubtleſs was the echo of that of Alexander; and the anſwer was, that ſacrifices might be offered to Hephæſtion, as a demi-god. Theſe were not ſpared in any manner; Alexander himſelf firſt ſetting the example, when he made a great feaſt, to which upwards of ten thouſand perſons were invited. At the ſame time he wrote to Cleomenes, governour of Egypt, commanding him to build a temple to Hephæſtion in Alexandria, and another in the iſle of Pharos. In this letter (which is ſtill extant) to excite his diligence, and haſten the work, he grants the governour, who was deſpiſed univerſally for his injuſtice and rapine, a general pardon for all his crimes, paſt, preſent, and future; provided that, at his return, the temple and city ſhould be completed. And now nothing was ſeen but new altars, temples, and feſtivals; no oaths were adminiſtered but in the name of the new deity: To queſtion his divinity was a capital crime. An old officer (a friend of Hephæſtion) having bewailed him as dead, in paſſing before his tomb, had like to have been put to death for it; nor would he

* *The Iaxarthes is here meant.*

he have been pardoned, had not Alexander been aſſured, that the officer wept, merely from ſome remains of tenderneſs, and not as doubting Hephæſtion's divinity. I cannot ſay, whether Alexander prevailed ſo far, as to make any one give credit to Hephæſtion's divinity; but he himſelf appeared, or at leaſt endeavoured to appear, firmly perſuaded of it; and gloried, not only that he had a god for his father, but that he himſelf could make gods. How ridiculous is all this!

During almoſt a year which Alexander continued in Babylon, he revolved a great number of projects in his mind; ſuch as to go round Africa by ſea; to make a complete diſcovery of all the nations lying round the Caſpian ſea, and inhabiting its coaſts; to conquer Arabia; to make war with Carthage, and to ſubdue the reſt of Europe. The very thoughts of ſitting ſtill fatigued him, and the great vivacity of his imagination and ambition would never ſuffer him to be at reſt; nay, could he have conquered the whole world, he would have ſought a new one, to ſatiate the avidity of his deſires.

The embelliſhing of Babylon alſo employed his thoughts very much. Finding it ſurpaſſed in extent, in conveniency, and in whatever can be wiſhed, either for the neceſſities or pleaſures of life, all the other cities of the Eaſt, he reſolved to make it the ſeat of his empire; and for that purpoſe, was deſirous of adding to it all the conveniencies and ornaments poſſible.

This city, as well as the country round about it, had ſuffered prodigiouſly by the breaking of the bank or dike of the Euphrates, at the head of the canal called Pallacopa. The river running out of its uſual channel by this breach, overflowed the whole country; and forcing its way perpetually, the breach grew at laſt ſo wide, that it would have coſt almoſt as much to repair the bank, as the raiſing of it had done at firſt. So little water was left in the channel of the Euphrates about Babylon, that there was ſcarce depth

enough for ſmall boats, which conſequently was of great prejudice to the city.

Alexander undertook to remedy this, for which purpoſe he embarked upon the Euphrates, in order to take a view of the place. It was on this occaſion that he reproached, in a ludicrous, inſulting tone of voice, the Magi and Chaldeans who accompanied him, for the vanity of their predictions; ſince, notwithſtanding the ill omens they had endeavoured to terrify him with (as if he had been a credulous woman) he however had entered Babylon, and was returned from it very ſafe. Attentive to nothing but the ſubject of his voyage, he went and reviewed the breach, and gave the proper orders for repairing and reſtoring it to its former condition.

This deſign of Alexander merited the greateſt applauſe. Such works are truely worthy great princes, and give immortal honour to their name, as not being the effect of a ridiculous vanity, but entirely calculated for the publick good. By the execution of this project, he would have recovered a whole province which lay under water; and have made the river more navigable, and conſequently of greater ſervice to the Babylonians, by turning it all again into its channel as before.

This work, after having been carried on the length of thirty furlongs (a league and a half) was ſtopped by difficulties owing to the nature of the ſoil; and the death of this prince, which happened ſoon after, put an end to this project, and ſeveral others he had formed. A ſupreme cauſe, unknown to men, prevented its execution. The real obſtacle to the ſucceſs of it, was the curſe which God had pronounced againſt this city; an anathema which no human power could divert or retard. (*k*) *I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant*, had the Lord of hoſts ſworn above three hundred years before: *I will alſo make it a poſſeſſion for the bittern, and pools of water: And I will ſweep it with the beſom of deſtruction*—(*l*) *It ſhall*

(*k*) Iſa. c. 14. ver. 22, 23. (*l*) Chap. 13. ver. 20.

ſhall never be inhabited, neither ſhall it be dwelt in from generation to generation—neither ſhall the ſhepherds make their fold there. Heaven and earth would ſooner have paſſed away, than Alexander's deſign been put in execution. No river was now to flow by Babylon; the places round it were to be overflowed and changed into uninhabitable fens; it was to be rendered inacceſſible, by the prodigious quantities of mud and dirt; and the city, as well as the country about it, were to be covered with ſtagnated waters, which would make all acceſs to it impracticable. * Thus it now lies; and all things were to conſpire to reduce it to this dejected ſtate, in order that the prophecy might be completely fulfilled; (*m*) *for the Lord of hoſts hath purpoſed, and who ſhall diſannul it? And his hand is ſtretched out, and who ſhall turn it back?* Nothing ſhows more evidently the ſtrength and weight of this invincible curſe, than the efforts of the moſt powerful prince that ever reigned; a prince, the moſt obſtinate that ever was, with regard to the carrying on his projects; a prince, of whoſe enterpriſes none had ever miſcarried; and who failed in this only, though it did not ſeem ſo difficult as the reſt.

Another deſign which Alexander meditated, and had moſt at heart, was the repairing the temple of Belus. Xerxes had demoliſhed it in his return from Greece, and it had lain in ruins ever ſince. Now Alexander was reſolved, not only to rebuild it, but even to raiſe a much more magnificent temple. Accordingly, he had cauſed all the rubbiſh to be removed; and finding that the Magi, to whoſe care he had left this, went on but ſlowly, he made his ſoldiers work. Notwithſtanding ten thouſand of them were daily employed at it, for two months ſucceſſively, the work was not finiſhed at the death of this prince, ſo prodigious were its ruins. (*n*) When it came to the turn of the Jewiſh ſoldiers, who were in his army, to work as the reſt had done, they could

(*m*) Iſa. ch. 14. ver. 27. (*n*) Joſephus contra Appion. lib. i. cap. 8.

* *See what is ſaid on this ſubject in the hiſtory of Cyrus.*

not be prevailed upon to give their aſſiſtance; but excuſed themſelves with ſaying, that as idolatry was forbid by the tenets of their religion, they therefore were not allowed to aſſiſt in building of a temple, deſigned for idolatrous worſhip; and accordingly not one lent a hand on this occaſion. They were puniſhed for diſobedience, but all to no purpoſe; ſo that, at laſt, Alexander admiring their perſeverance, diſcharged, and ſent them home. This delicate reſolution of the Jews is a leſſon to many Chriſtians, as it teaches them, that they are not allowed to join or aſſiſt in the commiſſion of an action that is contrary to the law of God.

One cannot forbear admiring the conduct of Providence on this occaſion. God had broke to pieces, by the hand of his ſervant Cyrus, the idol * Belus, the god who rivalled the Lord of Iſrael: He afterwards cauſed Xerxes to demoliſh his temple. Theſe firſt blows which the Lord ſtruck at Babylon, were ſo many omens of its total ruin; and it was as impoſſible for Alexander to complete the re-building of this temple, as for Julian, ſome centuries after, to reſtore that of Jeruſalem.

Although Alexander employed himſelf in the works above mentioned, during his ſtay in Babylon, he ſpent the greateſt part of his time in ſuch pleaſures as that city afforded; and one would conclude, that the chief aim, both of his occupations and diverſions, was to ſtupify himſelf, and to drive from his mind the melancholy and afflicting ideas of an impending death, with which he was threatened by all the predictions of the Magi and other ſoothſayers: For though, in certain moments, he ſeemed not to regard the various notices which had been given him, he was however ſeriouſly affected with them inwardly; and theſe gloomy reflections were for ever returning to his mind. They terrified him at laſt to ſuch a degree, that whenever the moſt inſignificant thing happened (if ever ſo little extraordinary and unuſual

* *God gives him this name in Iſaiah.*

unuſual) his imagination ſwelled it immediately to a prodigy, and interpreted it into an unhappy omen. The palace was now filled with ſacrifices, with perſons whoſe office was to perform expiations and purifications, and with others who pretended to propheſy. It was certainly a ſpectacle worthy a philoſophick eye, to ſee a prince, at whoſe nod the world trembled, abandoned to the ſtrongeſt terrours; ſo true is it, ſays Plutarch, that if the contempt of the gods, and the incredulity which prompts us neither to fear or believe any thing, be a great misfortune, the ſuperſtitious man, whoſe ſoul is a prey to the moſt abject fears, the moſt ridiculous follies, is equally unhappy. It is plain that God, by a juſt judgement, took a pleaſure in degrading, before all ages and nations, and in ſinking lower than the condition of the vulgar, the man who had affected to ſet himſelf above human nature, and equal himſelf to the Deity. This prince had ſought, in all his actions, that vain glory of conqueſts which men moſt admire; and to which they affix, more than to any thing elſe, the idea of grandeur: And God delivers him up to a ridiculous ſuperſtition, which virtuous men of good ſenſe and underſtanding deſpiſe moſt, and than which nothing can be more weak or groveling.

Alexander was therefore for ever ſolemnizing new feſtivals, and perpetually at new banquets, in which he quaffed with his uſual intemperance. After having ſpent a whole night in carouſing, a ſecond was propoſed to him. He met accordingly, and there were twenty gueſts at table. He drank to the health of every perſon in company, and then pledged them ſeverally. After this, calling for Hercules's cup, which held ſix bottles, it was filled, when he poured it all down, drinking to a Macedonian of the company, Proteas by name, and afterwards pledged him again, in the ſame furious bumper. He had no ſooner ſwallowed it, but he fell upon the floor. "Here

"then,"

"then," cries * Seneca, (deſcribing the fatal effects of drunkenneſs) "is this hero; invincible to all the "toils of prodigious marches, to the dangers of "ſieges and combats, to the moſt violent extremes "of heat and cold; here he lies, conquered by his "intemperance, and ſtruck to the earth by the fatal "cup of Hercules."

In this condition he was ſeiſed with a violent fever, and carried half dead to his palace. The fever continued, though with ſome good intervals, in which he gave the neceſſary orders for the ſailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land-forces, being perſuaded he ſhould ſoon recover. But at laſt, finding himſelf paſt all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he drew his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, with orders to convey his corpſe to the temple of Ammon.

Notwithſtanding † his great weakneſs, he however ſtruggled with death, and raiſing himſelf upon his elbow, preſented his ſoldiers (to whom he could not refuſe this laſt teſtimony of friendſhip) his dying hand to kiſs. After this, his principal courtiers aſking to whom he left the empire; he anſwered, *To the moſt worthy*; adding, that he foreſaw the deciſion of this would give occaſion to ſtrange funeral games after his deceaſe. And Perdiccas, enquiring further at what time they ſhould pay him divine honours; he replied, *When you are happy*. Theſe were his laſt words, and ſoon after he expired. He was thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve. He died in the middle of the ſpring, the firſt year of the CXIVth Olympiad.

No

* Alexandrum tot itinera, tot prælia, tot hiemes, per quas, victa temporum locorumque difficultate, tranſierat, tot flumina ex ignoto cadentia, tot maria tutum dimiſerunt; intemperantia bibendi, & ille Herculaneus ac fatalis ſcyphus condidit. *Senec. Epiſt.* 83.

† Quanquam violentia morbi dilabebatur, in cubitum tamen erectus, dextram omnibus, qui eam contingere vellent, porrexit. Quis autem illam oſculari non curreret, quæ jam fato oppreſſa, maximi exercitus complexui, humanitate quàm ſpiritu vividiore, ſufficit? *Val. Max.* l. v. c. 1.

No one, ſays Plutarch and Arrian, ſuſpected then that Alexander had been poiſoned; and yet it is at this time that ſuch reports generally prevail. But the ſtate of his body proved that he did not die that way: For all his chief officers diſagreeing among themſelves, the corpſe, though it lay quite neglected for ſeveral days in Babylon, which ſtands in a hot climate, did not ſhow the leaſt ſymptoms of putrefaction. The true poiſon which brought him to his end was wine, which has killed many thouſands beſides Alexander. It was nevertheleſs believed afterwards, that this prince had been poiſoned by the treachery of Antipater's ſons: That Caſſander, the eldeſt of them, brought the * poiſon from Greece; that Iolas, his younger brother, threw the fatal draught into Alexander's cup, of which he was the bearer; and that he cunningly choſe the time of the great feaſt mentioned before, in order that the prodigious quantity of wine he then drank, might conceal the true cauſe of his death. The ſtate of Antipater's affairs, at that time, gave ſome grounds for this ſuſpicion. He was perſuaded that he had been recalled with no other view than to ruin him, becauſe of his mal-adminiſtration during his vice-royalty; and it was not altogether improbable, that he commanded his ſons to commit a crime, which would ſave his own life, by taking away that of his ſovereign. An undoubted circumſtance is, that he could never waſh out this ſtain; and that as long as he lived, the Macedonians deteſted him as a traitor who had poiſoned their king. Ariſtotle was alſo ſuſpected, but with no great foundation. A. M. 3613. Ant. J. C. 328.

Whether Alexander loſt his life by poiſon, or by exceſſive drinking, it is ſurpriſing to ſee the prediction of the Magi and ſoothſayers, with regard to his dying

* *It is pretended that this poiſon was an extremely cold water, which diſtils drop by drop, from a rock in Arcadia, called Nonacris. Very little of it falls; and it is ſo vaſtly ſharp, that it corrodes whatever veſſel receives it, thoſe excepted which are made of a mule's hoof. We are told, that it was brought for this horrid purpoſe from Greece to Babylon, in a veſſel of the latter ſort.*

ing in Babylon, ſo exactly fulfilled. It is certain and indiſputable, that God has reſerved to himſelf only the knowledge of futurity; and if the ſoothſayers and oracles have ſometimes foretold things which really came to paſs, they could do it no other way than by their impious correſpondence with devils, who, by their penetration and natural ſagacity, find out ſeveral methods whereby they dive to a certain degree into futurity, with regard to approaching events; and are enabled to make predictions, which though they appear above the reach of human underſtanding, are yet not above that of malicious ſpirits of darkneſs. The knowledge * thoſe evil ſpirits have of all the circumſtances which precede and prepare an event; the part they frequently bear in it, by inſpiring ſuch of the wicked as are given up to them, with the thoughts and deſire of doing certain actions, and committing certain crimes; an inſpiration to which they are ſure thoſe wicked perſons will conſent: By theſe things, devils are enabled to foreſee and foretel certain particulars. They, indeed, often miſtake in their conjectures, but † God alſo ſometimes permits them to ſucceed in them, in order to puniſh the impiety of thoſe, who, in contradiction to his commands, enquire their fate of ſuch lying ſpirits.

The moment that Alexander's death was known, the whole palace echoed with cries and groans. The vanquiſhed bewailed him with as many tears as the victors. The grief for his death occaſioning the remembrance of his many good qualities, all his faults were forgotten. The Perſians declared him to have been the moſt juſt, the kindeſt ſovereign that ever reigned over them; the Macedonians the beſt, the moſt

* Dæmones perverſis (ſolent) malefacta ſuadere, de quorum moribus certi ſunt quòd ſint eis talia ſuadentibus conſenſuri. Suadent autem miris & inviſibilibus modis. *S. Auguſt. de Divinat. Dæmon.* p. 509.

† Facile eſt & non incongruum, ut omnipotens & juſtus, ad eorum pœnam quibus iſta prædicuntur—occulto apparatu miniſteriorum ſuorum etiam ſpiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat. *S. Aug. de Div. Quæſt. ad Simplic.* l. ii. *Quæſt.* 3.

moſt valiant prince in the univerſe; and all exclaimed againſt the gods, for having enviouſly bereaved mankind of him, in the flower of his age, and the height of his fortune. The Macedonians imagined they ſaw Alexander, with a firm and intrepid air, ſtill lead them on to battle, beſiege cities, climb walls, and reward ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves. They then reproached themſelves for having refuſed him divine honours; and confeſſed they had been ungrateful and impious, for bereaving him of a name he ſo juſtly merited.

After paying him this homage of veneration and tears, they turned their whole thoughts and reflections on themſelves, and on the ſad condition to which they were reduced by Alexander's death. They conſidered, that they were on the farther ſide (with reſpect to Macedonia) of the Euphrates, without a leader to head them; and ſurrounded with enemies, who abhorred their new yoke. As the king died without nominating his ſucceſſor, a dreadful futurity preſented itſelf to their imagination; and exhibited nothing but diviſions, civil wars, and a fatal neceſſity of ſtill ſhedding their blood, and of opening their former wounds, not to conquer Aſia, but only to give a king to it; and to raiſe to the throne perhaps ſome mean officer or wicked wretch.

This great mourning was not confined merely to Babylon, but ſpread over all the province; and the news of it ſoon reached Darius's mother. One of her daughters was with her, who being ſtill inconſolable for the death of Hephæſtion her huſband, the ſight of the publick calamity recalled all her private woes. But Syſigambis bewailed the ſeveral misfortunes of her family; and this new affliction awaked the remembrance of all its former ſufferings. One would have thought that Darius was but juſt dead, and that this unfortunate mother ſolemnized the funeral of two ſons at the ſame time. She wept the living no leſs than the dead: *Who now*, would ſhe ſay, *will take care of my daughters? Where ſhall we find another Alexander?* She would

would fancy ſhe ſaw them again reduced to a ſtate of captivity, and that they had loſt their kingdom a ſecond time; but with this difference, that now Alexander was gone, they had no refuge left. At laſt, ſhe ſunk under her grief. This princeſs, who had borne with patience the death of her father, her huſband, of fourſcore of her brothers, who were murthered in one day by Ochus, and, to ſay all in one word, that of Darius her ſon, and the ruin of her family; though ſhe had, I ſay, ſubmitted patiently to all theſe loſſes, ſhe however had not ſtrength of mind ſufficient to ſupport herſelf after the death of Alexander. She would not take any ſuſtenance, and ſtarved herſelf to death, to avoid her ſurviving this laſt calamity.

After Alexander's death, great contentions aroſe among the Macedonians, about appointing him a ſucceſſor, of which I ſhall give an account in its proper place. After ſeven days ſpent in confuſion and diſputes, it was agreed that Arideus, baſtard brother to Alexander, ſhould be declared king; and that in caſe Roxana, who was eight months gone with child, ſhould be delivered of a ſon, he ſhould ſhare the throne in conjunction with Arideus, and that Perdiccas ſhould have the care of both; for Arideus was a weak man, and wanted a guardian as much as a child.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans having embalmed the king's corpſe after their manner, Arideus was appointed to convey it to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. (*o*) Two whole years were employed in preparing for this magnificent funeral, which made Olympias bewail the fate of her ſon, who having had the ambition to rank himſelf among the gods, was ſo long deprived of burial, a privilege allowed to the meaneſt of mortals.

(*o*) Ælian l. xiii. c. 30.

SECT.

SECT. XIX. *The judgement we are to form of* ALEXANDER.

THE reader would not be ſatisfied, if, after having given a detail of Alexander's actions, I ſhould not take notice of the judgement we are to form of them; eſpecially as authors have entirely differed in their opinions, with regard to the merits of this prince. Some have applauded him with a kind of extaſy, as the model of a perfect hero, which opinion ſeems to have prevailed: Others, on the contrary, have repreſented him in ſuch colours, as at leaſt ſully, if not quite eclipſe, the ſplendour of his victories.

This diverſity of ſentiments denotes that Alexander's qualities; and it muſt be confeſſed, that good and evil, virtues and vices, were never more equally blended, than in * the prince whoſe hiſtory we have written. But this is not all; for Alexander appears very different, according to the times or ſeaſons in which we conſider him, as Livy has very juſtly obſerved. In the enquiry he makes concerning the fate of Alexander's arms, ſuppoſing he had turned them towards Italy, he † diſcovers in him a kind of double Alexander; the one wiſe, temperate, judicious, brave, intrepid, but at the ſame time prudent and circumſpect: The other immerſed in all the wantonneſs of an haughty proſperity; vain, proud, arrogant, fiery; ſoftened by delights, abandoned to intemperance and exceſſes; in a word, reſembling Darius rather than Alexander; and having made the Macedonians degenerate into all the vices of the Perſians, by the new turn of mind, and the new manners he aſſumed after his conqueſts.

I ſhall

* Luxuria, induſtria; comitate, arrogantia; malis boniſque artibus mixtus. *Tacit.*

† Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merſo ſecundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui ſi ex habitu novæ fortunæ, novique, ut ita dicam, ingenii, quod ſibi victor induerat, ſpectetur, Dario magis ſimilis quàm Alexandro in Italiam veniſſet, & exercitum Macedoniæ oblitum, degenerintemque jam in Perſarum mores adduxiſſet, *Liv.* l. ix. n. 18.

I ſhall have an eye to this plan, in the account I am now to give of Alexander's character, and ſhall conſider it under two aſpects, and in a manner, two æras; firſt, from his youth till the battle of Iſſus, and the ſiege of Tyre, which followed ſoon after; and ſecondly, from that victory to his death. The former will exhibit to us great qualities with few defects (according to the idea the heathens had of theſe); the ſecond will repreſent to us enormous vices; and, notwithſtanding the ſplendour of ſo many victories, very little true and ſolid merit, even with regard to warlike actions, a few battles excepted, in which he ſuſtained his reputation.

FIRST PART.

We are firſt to acknowledge and admire, in Alexander, a happy diſpoſition, cultivated and improved by an excellent education. He had a great, noble, and generous ſoul. (*p*) He delighted in beſtowing and doing ſervice, qualities he had acquired in his infant years. A young lad, whoſe buſineſs it was to gather up and throw the balls when he played at tennis, to whom he had given nothing, taught him a good leſſon on that ſubject. As he always threw the ball to the other players, the king, with an angry air, cried to him, *And am I then to have no ball? No, ſir,* replied the lad, *you do not aſk me for it.* This witty and ready anſwer gave great ſatisfaction to the prince, who fell a laughing, and afterwards was very liberal to him. After this, there was no occaſion to excite him to acts of generoſity; for he would be quite angry with ſuch as refuſed them at his hands. Finding Phocion continue inflexible on this head, he told him by letter, *that he would no longer be his friend, in caſe he refuſed to accept of his favours.*

Alexander, as if he had been ſenſible of the mighty things to which he was born, endeavoured to ſhine on all occaſions, and appear more conſpicuous than any

(*p*) Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

any other perſon. No one was ever fired with ſo ſtrong a love for glory; and it is well known, that ambition, which is conſidered by Chriſtians as a great vice, was looked upon by the heathens as a great virtue. It was that which made Alexander ſupport with courage all the toils and fatigues neceſſary for thoſe who would diſtinguiſh themſelves in the exerciſes both of body and mind. He was accuſtomed very early to a ſober, hard, plain way of life, uncorrupted with luxury or delicacy of any kind; a way of life highly advantageous to young ſoldiers.

I do not know whether any prince in the world had a nobler education than Alexander. He was very converſant in eloquence, poetry, polite learning, the whole circle of arts, and the moſt abſtracted and moſt ſublime ſciences. How happy was he in meeting with ſo great a preceptor! None but an Ariſtotle was fit for an Alexander. I am overjoyed to find the diſciple pay ſo illuſtrious a teſtimony in reſpect to his maſter, by declaring he was more indebted to him, in one ſenſe, than to his father. A man who thinks and ſpeaks in this manner, muſt be fully ſenſible of the great advantages of a good education.

The effects of this were ſoon ſeen. Is it poſſible for us to admire too much the great ſolidity and judgement which this young prince diſcovered in his converſation with the Perſian ambaſſadors? His early wiſdom, whilſt, in his youth, he acted as regent during his father's abſence, and pacified the feuds which had broken out in Macedonia? His courage and bravery at the battle of Chæronea, in which he ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed himſelf?

It is a pain to me, to ſee him wanting in reſpect to his father at a banquet, and employing ſevere, inſulting expreſſions on that occaſion. It is true, indeed, that the affront which Philip put upon Olympias, his mother, in divorcing her, tranſported him in a manner out of himſelf; but ſtill no pretence, no injuſtice or violence, can either juſtify or excuſe ſuch uſage to a father and a king.

(*q*) He afterwards diſcovered more moderation, when, on occaſion of the inſolent and ſeditious diſcourſes held by his ſoldiers in an inſurrection, he ſaid, *That nothing was more royal, than for a man to hear with calmneſs himſelf ill ſpoken of, at the time he is doing good.* It has been obſerved, that the great prince of (*r*) Condé did not think any thing more worthy of admiration in this conquerour, than the noble haughtineſs with which he ſpoke to the rebellious ſoldiers, who refuſed to follow him: *Go*, ſays he, *ungrateful, baſe wretches, and proclaim in your country that you have abandoned your king among nations who will obey him better than you.* "Alexander (ſays that prince) aban- "doned by his own troops among Barbarians, who "were not yet completely conquered, believes him- "ſelf ſo worthy of commanding over others, that "he did not think men could refuſe to obey him. "Whether he were in Europe or in Aſia, among "Greeks or Perſians, it was the ſame to him. He "fancied, that wherever he found men, he found "ſubjects." Alexander's patience and moderation, which I took notice of at firſt, are no leſs wonderful.

The firſt years of his reign are perhaps the moſt glorious of his life. That at twenty years of age, he was able to appeaſe the inteſtine feuds which raged in the kingdom; that he either cruſhed or ſubjected foreign enemies, and thoſe of the moſt formidable kind; that he diſarmed Greece, moſt of the nations whereof had united againſt him; and that in leſs than three years, he ſhould have enabled himſelf to execute ſecurely thoſe plans his father had ſo wiſely projected; all this ſuppoſes a preſence of mind, a ſtrength of ſoul, a courage, an intrepidity, and, what is more than all, a conſummate prudence; qualities which form the character of the true hero.

This character he ſupported in a wonderful manner, during the whole courſe of his expedition againſt Darius, till the time mentioned by us. (*s*) Plutarch very juſtly

(*q*) Plut. in Alex. p. 688. (*r*) St. Evremond. (*s*) Plut. de fortun. Alex. Orat. I. p. 307.

juſtly admires the bare plan of it, as the moſt heroick act that ever was. He formed it the very inſtant he aſcended the throne, looking upon this deſign, in ſome meaſure, as a part of what he inherited from his father. When ſcarce twenty years old, ſurrounded with dangers both within and without his kingdom, finding his treaſury drained and incumbered with debts, to the amount of two hundred * talents, which his father had contracted; having an army which was greatly inferior in number to that of the Perſians: In this condition, Alexander already turns his eyes towards Babylon and Suſa, and propoſes no leſs a conqueſt than that of ſo vaſt an empire.

Was this the effect of the pride and raſhneſs of youth? aſks Plutarch. Certainly not, replies that author. No man ever formed a warlike enterpriſe with ſo great preparations, and ſuch mighty ſuccours, by which I underſtand (continues Plutarch) magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and courage; preparations and aids, with which philoſophy ſupplied him, and which he thoroughly ſtudied; ſo that we may affirm, that he was as much indebted for his conqueſt to the leſſons of Ariſtotle his maſter, as to the inſtructions of Philip his father.

We may add, that according to all the maxims of war, Alexander's enterpriſe muſt naturally be ſucceſsful. Such an army as his, though not a very great one, conſiſting of Macedonians and Greeks, that is, of the beſt troops at that time in the world; and trained up to war during a long courſe of years, inured to toils and dangers, formed by a happy experience to all the exerciſes of ſieges and battles, animated by the remembrance of their paſt victories, by the hopes of an immenſe booty, and more ſo, by their hereditary and irreconcileable hatred to the Perſians; ſuch an army, I ſay, headed by Alexander, was almoſt ſure of conquering an army, compoſed, indeed, of infinite numbers of men, but of few ſoldiers.

* *About thirty thouſand pounds.*

The ſwiftneſs of the execution was anſwerable to the wiſdom of the project. After having gained the affection of all his generals and officers by an unparalleled liberality; and all his ſoldiers by an air of goodneſs, affability, and even familiarity, which, ſo far from debaſing the majeſty of a prince, adds to the reſpect which is paid him ſuch a zeal and tenderneſs, as is proof againſt all things: After this, I ſay, the next thing to be done, was, to aſtoniſh his enemies by bold enterpriſes, to terrify them by examples of ſeverity; and, laſtly, to win them by acts of humanity and clemency. He ſucceeded wonderfully in theſe. The paſſage of the Granicus, followed by a famous victory; the two celebrated ſieges of Miletus and Halicarnaſſus, ſhowed Aſia a young conqueror, to whom no part of military knowledge was unknown. The razing of the laſt city to the very foundations, ſpread an univerſal terrour; but the allowing all thoſe the enjoyment of their liberties and ancient laws, who ſubmitted chearfully, made the world believe, that the conqueror had no other view than to make nations happy, and to procure them an eaſy and laſting peace.

His impatience to bathe himſelf, when covered with ſweat, in the river Cydnus, might be looked upon as a gay, juvenile action, unworthy of his dignity; but we muſt not judge of it from the manners of the preſent age. The ancients, all whoſe exerciſes were relative to thoſe of war, accuſtomed themſelves early to bathing and ſwimming. It is well known, that, in Rome, the ſons of the nobility, after having heated themſelves in the Campus Martius, with running, wreſtling, and hurling the javelin, uſed to plunge into the Tyber, which runs by that city. By theſe exerciſes they enabled themſelves to paſs rivers and lakes in an enemy's country; for thoſe are never croſſed, but after painful marches, and after having been long expoſed to the ſun-beams, which, with the weight of the ſoldiers arms, muſt neceſſarily make them ſweat. Hence we may apologiſe for Alexander's bathing himſelf in a river, which had like to

have been ſo fatal to him, eſpecially as he might not know that the waters of it were ſo exceſſive cold.

The two battles of Iſſus and Arbela, with the ſiege of Tyre, one of the moſt famous of antiquity, entirely proved that Alexander poſſeſſed all the qualities which form the great ſoldier; as ſkill in making choice of a field of battle; ſuch a preſence of mind in the heat of action, as is neceſſary for the giving out proper orders; a courage and bravery, which the moſt evident dangers only animated; an impetuous activity, tempered and guided by ſuch a prudent reſervedneſs, as will not ſuffer the hero to be carried away by an indiſcreet ardour; laſtly, ſuch a reſolution and conſtancy, as is neither diſconcerted by unforeſeen obſtacles, nor diſcouraged by difficulties, though ſeemingly inſurmountable, and which know no other bounds or iſſue but victory.

Hiſtorians have obſerved a great * difference between Alexander and his father, in their manner of making war. Stratagem, and even knavery, were the prevailing arts of Philip, who always acted ſecretly, and in the dark; but his ſon purſued his ſchemes with more candour, and without diſguiſe. The one endeavoured to deceive his enemies by cunning, the other to ſubdue them by force of arms. The former diſcovered more art, the latter had a greater ſoul. (*t*) Philip did not look upon any methods, which conduce to conqueſt, as ignominious; but Alexander could never prevail with himſelf to employ treachery. He, indeed, endeavoured to draw over the ableſt of all Darius's generals; but then he employed honourable means. When he marched near Memnon's lands, he commanded his ſoldiers, upon the ſevereſt penalties, not to make the leaſt havock in them. His deſign, by this conduct, was either to gain him over to

(*t*) Pauſan. l. vii. p. 415.

* Vincendi ratio utrique diverſa. Hic aperte, ille artibus bella tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere hoſtibus, hic palam fuſis. Prudentior ille conſilio, hic animo magnificentior——Nulla apud Philippum turpis ratio vincendi. *Juſtin. lib.* ix. *cap.* 8.

his ſide, or to make the Perſians ſuſpect his fidelity. (*u*) Memnon alſo delighted in behaving with generoſity towards Alexander; and hearing a ſoldier ſpeak ill of that prince: *I did not take thee into my pay*, ſays that general, ſtriking him with his javelin, *to ſpeak injuriouſly of that prince, but to fight againſt him.*

The circumſtance which raiſes Alexander above moſt conquerors, and, as it were, above himſelf, is the uſe he made of victory after the battle of Iſſus. This is the moſt beautiful incident in his life: Is the point of ſight in which it is his intereſt to be conſidered, and it is impoſſible for him not to appear truely great in that view. By the victory of Iſſus, he had poſſeſſed himſelf, not only of Darius's perſon, but alſo of his empire. Not only Syſigambis, that king's mother was his captive; but alſo his wife and daughters, princeſſes whoſe beauty was not to be paralleled in all Aſia. (*x*) Alexander was, in the bloom of life, a conqueror, free, and not yet engaged in the bands of marriage, as an author obſerves of the firſt Scipio Africanus, on a like occaſion: Nevertheleſs, his camp was, to thoſe princeſſes, a ſacred aſylum, or rather a temple, in which their chaſtity was ſecured, as under the guard of virtue itſelf, and ſo highly revered, that Darius, in his expiring moments, hearing the kind treatment they had met with, could not forbear lifting up his dying hands towards heaven, and wiſh ſucceſs to ſo wiſe and generous a conqueror, who governed his paſſions ſo abſolutely.

In the enumeration of Alexander's good qualities, I muſt not omit one rarely found among the great, and which nevertheleſs does honour to human nature, and makes life happy: This is, his being informed by a ſoul capable of a tender friendſhip; his openneſs, truth, perſeverance, and humility, in ſo exalted a fortune, which generally conſiders itſelf only, makes its grandeur conſiſt in humbling all things around it, and

(*u*) Plut. in Apoph. p. 174.

(*x*) Et juvenis, & cœlebs, & victor. *Val. Max. l.* iv. *c.* 3.

and is better pleaſed with ſervile wretches, than with free, ſincere friends.

Alexander endeared himſelf to his officers and ſoldiers; treated them with the greateſt familiarity; admitted them to his table, his exerciſes, and converſations; was deeply troubled for them when involved in any calamity, grieved for them when ſick, rejoiced at their recovery, and ſhared in whatever befel them. We have examples of this in Hephæſtion, in Ptolemy, in Craterus, and many others. A prince of real merit, does no ways debaſe his dignity, by ſuch a familiarity and condeſcenſion; but, on the contrary, is more beloved and reſpected upon that very account. Every man of a tall ſtature, does not ſcruple to put himſelf upon a level with the reſt of mankind, well knowing that he ſhall over-top them all. It is the intereſt of truely diminutive perſons only, not to vie in ſtature with the tall, nor to appear in a crowd.

Alexander was dear to others, becauſe they were ſenſible he was beforehand with them in affection. This circumſtance made the ſoldiers ſtrongly deſirous to pleaſe him, and fired them with intrepidity; hence they were always ready to execute all his orders, though attended with the greateſt difficulties and dangers: This made them ſubmit patiently to the ſevereſt hardſhips, and threw them into the deepeſt affliction, whenever they happened to give him any room for diſcontent.

In this picture which has been given of Alexander, what was wanting to complete his glory? Military virtue has been exhibited in its utmoſt ſplendour: Goodneſs, clemency, moderation, and wiſdom, have crowned it, and added ſuch a luſtre, as greatly enhances its value. Let us ſuppoſe, that Alexander, to ſecure his glory and his victories, ſtops ſhort in his career; that he himſelf checks his ambition, and raiſes Darius to the throne, with the ſame hand that had diſpoſſeſſed him of it; makes Aſia Minor, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, free and independent of Perſia; that he declares himſelf protector of all the

cities and ſtates of Greece, in no other view than to ſecure their liberties, and the enjoyment of their reſpective laws and cuſtoms; that he afterwards returns to Macedon, and there, contented with the lawful bounds of his empire, makes all his glory and delight conſiſt in rendering his people happy, in procuring it abundance of all things, in ſeeing the laws put in execution, and making juſtice flouriſh; in cauſing virtue to be had in honour, and in endearing himſelf to his ſubjects: In fine, that now become, by the terrour of his arms, and much more ſo by the fame of his virtues, the admiration of the whole world, he ſees himſelf, in ſome meaſure, the arbiter of all nations, and exerciſes, over the minds of men, ſuch an empire, as is infinitely more laſting and honourable than that which is founded on fear only: Suppoſing all this to have happened, Alexander would have been as great, as glorious, as good a prince as ever bleſſed mankind.

To the forming ſo great a character, a greatneſs of ſoul, and a moſt refined taſte for true glory, are required, ſuch as is ſeldom met with in hiſtory. Men generally do not * conſider, that the glory which attends the moſt ſhining conqueſts, is greatly inferior to the reputation of a prince, who has deſpiſed and trampled upon ambition, and known how to give bounds to univerſal power. But Alexander was far from poſſeſſing theſe happy qualities. His uninterrupted felicity, that never experienced adverſe fortune, intoxicated and changed him to ſuch a degree, that he no longer appeared the ſame man; and I do not remember that ever the poiſon of proſperity had a more ſudden or more forcible effect than upon him.

SECOND PART.

From the ſiege of Tyre, which was ſoon after the battle of Iſſus, in which Alexander diſplayed all the courage

* Scis ubi vera principis, ubi ſempiterna ſit gloria——Arcus, & ſtatuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur & obſcurat oblivio; contrà, contemptor ambitionis, & infinitæ potentiæ domitor ac frænator animus ipſa vetuſtate floreſcit. *Plin. in Pan. Trajan.*

courage and abilities of a great warrior, we ſee the virtues and noble qualities of this prince degenerate on a ſudden, and make way for the greateſt vices and moſt brutal paſſions. If we ſometimes, through the exceſſes to which he abandons himſelf, perceive ſome bright rays of humanity, gentleneſs, and moderation, theſe are the effects of a happy diſpoſition, which, not being quite extinguiſhed by vice, is however governed by it.

Was ever enterpriſe more wild and extravagant, than that of croſſing the ſandy deſarts of Libya; of expoſing his army to the danger of periſhing with thirſt and fatigue; of interrupting the courſe of his victories, and giving his enemy time to raiſe a new army, merely for the ſake of marching ſo far, in order to get himſelf named the ſon of Jupiter Ammon; and purchaſe, at ſo dear a rate, a title which could only render him contemptible?

(*y*) How mean was it in Alexander, to omit always in his letters, after Darius's defeat, the Greek word, which ſignifies *health* *, except in thoſe he wrote to Phocion and Antipater! As if this title, becauſe employed by other men, could have degraded a king, who is obliged by his office to procure, at leaſt to wiſh, all his ſubjects the enjoyment of the felicity implied by that word.

Of all vices, none is ſo groveling, none ſo unworthy, not only of a prince, but of a man of honour, as drunkenneſs; its bare name is intolerable, and ſtrikes us with horrour. How infamous a pleaſure is it, to ſpend whole days and nights in carouſing, to continue theſe exceſſes for weeks together; to pride one's ſelf in exceeding other men in intemperance, and to endanger one's life in no other view than to gain ſuch a victory! Not to mention the infamous enormities that attend theſe debauches, how greatly ſhocking is it to hear the frantick diſcourſes of a ſon, who, being intoxicated with the fumes of wine, induſtriouſly ſtrives to defame his father, to ſully his glory,

(*y*) Plut. in Phoc. p. 749. * Καλῶς.

glory, and, loſt to all ſhame, prefer himſelf to him? Drunkenneſs is only the occaſion, not the cauſe, of theſe exceſſes. It betrays the ſentiments of the heart, but does not place them there. Alexander, puffed up by his victories, greedy and inſatiable of praiſe, intoxicated with the mighty idea he entertained of his own merit, jealous of, and deſpiſing all mankind, has the power in his ſober moments to conceal his ſentiments; but no ſooner is he intoxicated, than he ſhows himſelf to be what he really is.

What ſhall we ſay of his barbarouſly murthering an old friend; who, though indiſcreet and raſh, was yet his friend? Of the death of the moſt honeſt man in his court, whoſe only crime was his refuſing to pay him divine homage? Of the execution of two of his principal officers, who were condemned, though nothing could be proved againſt them, and on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions?

I paſs over a great many other vices, which Alexander, according to moſt hiſtorians, gave into, and which are not to be juſtified: To ſpeak of him, therefore, only as a warrior and a conqueror; qualities in which he is generally conſidered, and which have gained him the eſteem of all ages and nations; all we now have to do, is, to examine whether this eſteem be ſo well grounded as is generally ſuppoſed.

I have already obſerved, that, to the battle of Iſſus and the ſiege of Tyre incluſively, it cannot be denied but that Alexander was a great warrior and an illuſtrious general. But yet I doubt very much, whether, during theſe firſt years of his exploits, he ought to be conſidered in a more conſpicuous light than his father; whoſe actions, though not ſo dazzling, are however as much applauded by good judges, and thoſe of the military profeſſion. Philip, at his acceſſion to the throne, found all things unſettled. He himſelf was obliged to lay the foundations of his own fortune, and was not ſupported by the leaſt foreign aſſiſtance. He raiſed himſelf to the power and grandeur to which he afterwards attained. He was obliged

liged to train up, not only his ſoldiers, but his officers; to inſtruct them in all the military exerciſes; to inure them to the fatigues of war; and to his care and abilities Macedonia owed the riſe of the celebrated Phalanx, that is, of the beſt troops the world had then ever ſeen, and to which Alexander owed all his conqueſts. How many obſtacles ſtood in Philip's way, before he could poſſeſs himſelf of the power which Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, had ſucceſſively exerciſed over Greece! The Greeks, who were the braveſt and moſt ſagacious people in the univerſe, would not acknowledge him for their chief, till he acquired that title by wading through ſeas of blood, and by gaining numberleſs conqueſts over them. Thus we ſee, that the way was prepared for Alexander's executing his great deſign; the plan whereof, and the moſt excellent inſtructions relative to it, had been laid down to him by his father. Now, will it not appear a much eaſier taſk, to ſubdue Aſia with Grecian armies, than to ſubject the Greeks who had ſo often triumphed over Aſia?

But, without carrying further the parallel of Alexander with Philip, which all, who do not conſider heroes according to the number of provinces they have conquered, but by the intrinſick value of their actions, muſt give in favour of the latter: What judgement are we to form of Alexander, after his triumph over Darius; and is it poſſible to propoſe him, during the latter part of his life, as a model worthy the imitation of thoſe who aſpire to the character of great ſoldiers and illuſtrious conquerors?

In this enquiry, I ſhall begin with that which is unanimouſly agreed, by all the writers on this ſubject, to be the foundation of the ſolid glory of a hero; I mean, the juſtice of the war in which he engages, without which he is not a conqueror and a hero, but an uſurper and a robber. Alexander, in making Aſia the ſeat of war, and turning his arms againſt Darius, had a plauſible pretence for it; becauſe the Perſians had been in all ages, and were at that time profeſſed

profeſſed enemies to the Greeks, over whom he had been appointed generaliſſimo, and whoſe injuries he therefore might think himſelf juſtly entitled to revenge. But then, what right had Alexander over the great number of nations, who did not know even the name of Greece, and had never done him the leaſt injury? The Scythian ambaſſador ſpoke very judiciouſly, when he addreſſed him in theſe words: *What have we to do with thee? We never once ſet our feet in thy country. Are not thoſe who live in woods allowed to be ignorant of thee, and the place from whence thou comeſt? Thou boaſteſt, that the only deſign of thy marching is to extirpate robbers: Thou thyſelf art the greateſt robber in the world.* This is Alexander's exact character, in which there is nothing to be rejected.

A pirate ſpoke to him to the ſame effect, and in ſtronger terms. Alexander aſked * him, what right he had to infeſt the ſeas? *The ſame that thou haſt*, replied the pirate with a generous liberty, *to infeſt the univerſe: But becauſe I do this in a ſmall ſhip, I am called a robber; and becauſe thou acteſt the ſame part with a great fleet, thou art entitled conqueror.* This was a witty and juſt anſwer, ſays (z) St. *Auſtin*, who has preſerved this ſmall fragment of Cicero.

If therefore it ought to be laid down as a maxim, and no reaſonable man can doubt of its being ſo, that every war, undertaken merely from the view of ambition, is unjuſt; and that the prince, who begins it, is guilty of all the ſad conſequences, and all the blood ſhed on that occaſion; what idea ought we to form of Alexander's laſt conqueſts? Was ever ambition more extravagant, or rather more furious, than that of this prince? Come † from a little ſpot

(z) St. Auſt. de Civ. Dei, l. iv. c. 4.

* Eleganter & veraciter Alexandro illi Magno comprehenſus pirata reſpondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogâſſet, quid ei videretur ut mare haberet infeſtum; ille, liberâ contumaciâ: Quòd tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor: quia tu magna claſſe, imperator. *Refert Nonius Marc. ex Cicer. 3. de rep.*

† Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devaſtandi, & ad ignota mittebat——Jam in unum regnum multa regna conjecit:

ſpot of ground; and forgetting the narrow limits of his paternal domains, after he has far extended his conqueſts; has ſubdued, not only the Perſians, but alſo the Bactrians and Indians; has added kingdom to kingdom: After all this, I ſay, he ſtill finds himſelf pent up; and determined to force, if poſſible, the barriers of nature, he endeavours to diſcover a new world, and does not ſcruple to ſacrifice millions of men to his ambition or curioſity. It is related that * Alexander, upon Anaxarchus the philoſopher's telling him that there were an infinite number of worlds, wept to think that it would be impoſſible for him to conquer them all, ſince he had not yet conquered one. Is it wrong in † Seneca, to compare theſe pretended heroes, who have gained renown no otherwiſe than by the ruin of nations, to a conflagration and a flood, which lay waſte and deſtroy all things; or to wild beaſts who live merely by blood and ſlaughter?

Alexander, ‡ paſſionately fond of glory, of which he neither knew the nature or juſt bounds, prided himſelf

jecet: (*or* congreſſit) jam Græci Perſæque eundem timent: jam etiam à Dario liberæ nationes jugum accipiunt. Hic tamen, ultra Oceanum Solemque, indignatur ab Hercules Liberique veſtigiis victoriam flectere: ipſi naturæ vim parat—&, ut ita dicam, mundi clauſtra perrumpit. Tanta eſt cœcitas mentium, & tanta imitiorum ſuorum oblivio. Ille modo ignobilis anguli non ſine controverſia Dominus, detecto fine terrarum, per ſuum reditturus orbem, triſtis eſt. *Senec. Epiſt.* 94. & 119.

* Alexandro pectus inſatiabile laudis, qui Anaxarcho—innumerabiles Mundos eſſe referenti; Heu me, inquit, miſerum, quòd ne uno quidem adhuc potitus ſum! Anguſta homini poſſeſſio gloriæ fuit, quæ Deorum omnium domicilio ſuffecit. *Val. Max. lib.* viii. *cap.* 14.

† Exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere peſtes mortalium, quàm inundatio—quàm conflagratio. *Senec. Nat. Quæſt. lib.* iii. *in Præfat.*

‡ Homo gloriæ deditus, cujus nec naturam nec modum noverat, Herculis veſtigia ſequens, ac ne ibi quidem reſiſtens ubi illa defecerant. Quid illi (Herculi) ſimile habebat veſanus adoleſcens, cui pro virtute erat fœlix temeritas? Hercules nihil ſibi vicit; orbem terrarum tranſivit, non concupiſcendo, ſed vindicando. Quid vinceret malorum hoſtis, bonorum vindex, terrarum mariſque pacator? At hic à pueritia latro, gentiumque vaſtator, tam hoſtium pernicies quam amicorum, qui ſummum bonum duceret terrori eſſe cunctis mortalibus; oblitus, non ferociſſima tantùm ſed ignaviſſima quoque animalia timeri ob virus malum. *Senec. de Benef.* l. i. c. 13.

himſelf upon treading in the ſteps of Hercules, and even in carrying his victorious arms farther than him. What reſemblance was there, ſays the ſame Seneca, between that wiſe conqueror, and this frantick youth, who miſtook his ſucceſsful raſhneſs for merit and virtue? Hercules, in his expeditions, made no conqueſts for himſelf. He over-ran the univerſe as the ſubduer of monſters, the enemy of the wicked, the avenger of the good, and the reſtorer of peace by land and ſea. Alexander, on the contrary, an unjuſt robber from his youth, a cruel ravager of provinces, an infamous murtherer of his friends, makes his happineſs and glory conſiſt in rendering himſelf formidable to all mortals, forgetting that not only the fierceſt animals, but even the vileſt, make themſelves feared by their poiſons.

But, leaving this firſt conſideration, which repreſents conquerors to us as ſo many ſcourges ſent by the wrath of heaven into the world to puniſh the ſins of it, let us proceed to examine the laſt conqueſts, abſtractedly in themſelves, of Alexander, in order to ſee what judgement we are to form of them.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the actions of this prince diffuſe a ſplendour that dazzles and aſtoniſhes the imagination, which is ever fond of the great and marvellous. His enthuſiaſtick courage raiſes and tranſports all who read his hiſtory, as it tranſported himſelf. But ought we to give the name of bravery and valour to a boldneſs that is equally blind, raſh, and impetuous; a boldneſs void of all rule, that will never liſten to the voice of reaſon, and has no other guide than a ſenſeleſs ardour for falſe glory, and a wild deſire of diſtinguiſhing itſelf, be the methods ever ſo unlawful? This character ſuits only a military robber, who has no attendants; whoſe life is only expoſed; and who, for that reaſon, may be employed in ſome deſperate action: But is far otherwiſe with regard to a king, for he owes his life to all his army and his whole kingdom. If we accept ſome very rare occaſions, on which a prince is obliged to venture his perſon, and

and ſhare the danger with his troops in order to preſerve them; he ought to call to mind, that there is a great difference between a general and a private ſoldier. True valour is not deſirous of diſplaying itſelf, is no ways anxious about its own reputation, but is ſolely intent in preſerving the army. It ſteers equally between a fearful wiſdom, that foreſees and dreads all difficulties, and a brutal ardour, which induſtriouſly purſues and confronts dangers of every kind. In a word, to form an accompliſhed general, prudence muſt ſoften and direct the too fiery temper of valour; as this latter muſt animate and warm the coldneſs and ſlowneſs of prudence.

Do any of theſe characteriſticks ſuit Alexander? When we peruſe hiſtory, and follow him to ſieges and battles, we are perpetually alarmed for his ſafety, and that of his army; and conclude every moment that they are upon the point of being deſtroyed. Here we ſee a rapid flood, which is going to draw in, and ſwallow up this conqueror: There we behold a craggy rock, upon which he climbs, and perceives round him ſoldiers, either transfixed by the enemy's darts, or thrown headlong by huge ſtones into precipices. We tremble, when we perceive in a battle the ax juſt ready to cleave his head; and much more, when we behold him alone in a fortreſs, whither his raſhneſs had drawn him, expoſed to all the javelins of the enemy. Alexander was ever perſuaded, that miracles would be wrought in his favour, than which nothing could be more unreaſonable, as Plutarch obſerves; for miracles do not always happen; and the gods at laſt are weary of guiding and preſerving raſh mortals, who abuſe the aſſiſtance they afford them.

(*a*) Plutarch, in a * treatiſe where he makes the eulogium of Alexander, and exhibits him as an accompliſhed hero, gives a long detail of the ſeveral wounds he received in every part of his body; and pretends that

(*a*) Plut. de fortun. Alex. Orat. II. p. 341.

* *This treatiſe, if written by Plutarch, ſeems a juvenile performance, and has very much the air of declamation.*

that the only deſign of fortune, in thus piercing him with wounds, was to make his courage more conſpicuous. A renowned warrior, whoſe eulogium Plutarch has drawn in another part of his writings, did not judge in this manner. (*b*) Some perſons applauding him for a wound he had received in battle, the general himſelf declared, that it was a fault which could be excuſed only in a young man, and juſtly deſerved cenſure. It has been obſerved in Hannibal's praiſe, and I myſelf have taken notice of it elſe-where, that he was never wounded * in all his battles. I cannot ſay, whether Cæſar ever was.

The laſt obſervation, which relates in general to all Alexander's expeditions in Aſia, muſt neceſſarily leſſen very much the merit of his victories, and the ſplendour of his reputation; and this is the genius and character of the nations againſt whom he fought. Livy, in a digreſſion, where he enquires what would have been the fate of Alexander's arms, in caſe he had turned them towards Italy; and where he ſhows that Rome would certainly have checked his conqueſts, inſiſts ſtrongly on the reflection in queſtion. He oppoſes to this prince, in the article of courage, a great number of illuſtrious Romans, who would have reſiſted him on all occaſions; and in the article of prudence, that auguſt ſenate, which Cyneas, to give a more noble idea of to Pyrrhus his ſovereign, ſaid, was compoſed of ſo many kings. "Had he "† marched (ſays Livy) againſt the Romans, he "would ſoon have found, that he was no longer "combating againſt a Darius, who, encumbered with "gold and purple, the vain equipage of his "grandeur,

(*b*) Timotheus. Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

* *Mention is made but of one ſingle wound.*

† Non jam cum Dario rem eſſe dixiſſet, quem mulierum ac ſpadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunæ ſuæ apparatibus, prædam veriùs quàm hoſtem, nihil aliud quàm bene auſus vana contemnere, incruentus devicit. Longè alius Italiæ, quàm Indiæ, per quam temulento agmine commeſſabundus inceſſit, viſus illi habitus eſſet, ſaltus Apuliæ ac montes Lucanos cernenti, & veſtigia recentia domeſticæ cladis, ubi avunculus ejus nuper, Epiri Rex, Alexander abſumptus erat. *Liv.* l. ix. n. 17.

" deur, and dragging after him a multitude of wo-
" men and eunuchs, came as a prey rather than as an
" enemy; and whom Alexander conquered without
" ſhedding much blood, and without wanting any
" other merit, than that of daring to deſpiſe what
" was really contemptible. He would have found
" Italy very different from India, through which he
" marched in a riotous manner, his army quite ſtu-
" pified with wine; particularly when he ſhould have
" ſeen the foreſts of Apulia, the mountains of Lu-
" cania, and the ſtill recent footſteps of the defeat of
" Alexander his uncle, king of Epirus, who there
" loſt his life." The hiſtorian adds, that he ſpeaks of Alexander, not yet depraved and corrupted by proſperity, whoſe ſubtle poiſon worked as ſtrongly upon him, as upon any man that ever lived; and he concludes, that being thus transformed, he would have appeared very different in Italy from what he had ſeemed hitherto.

Theſe reflexions of Livy ſhow, that Alexander partly owed his victories to the weakneſs of his enemies; and that, had he met with nations as courageous, and as well inured to all the hardſhips of war as the Romans, and commanded by as able, experienced generals as thoſe of Rome; that then his victories would not have been either ſo rapid, or ſo uninterrupted. Nevertheleſs, with ſome, from hence we are to judge of the merits of a conqueror. Hannibal and Scipio are conſidered as two of the greateſt generals that ever lived, and for this reaſon: Both of them not only underſtood perfectly the military ſcience, but their experience, their abilities, their reſolution, and courage, were put to the tryal, and ſet in the ſtrongeſt light. Now, ſhould we give to either of them an unequal antagoniſt, one whoſe reputation is not anſwerable to theirs, we ſhall no longer have the ſame idea of them; and their victories, though ſuppoſed alike, appear no longer with the ſame luſtre, nor deſerve the ſame applauſe.

Mankind are but too apt to be dazzled by ſhining actions and a pompous exterior, and blindly abandon themſelves to prejudices of every kind. It cannot be denied but that Alexander poſſeſſed very great qualities; but if we throw into the other ſcale his errours and vices, the preſumptuous * idea he entertained of his merit, the high contempt he had for other men, not excepting his own father; his ardent thirſt of praiſe and flattery; his ridiculous notion of fancying himſelf the ſon of Jupiter; of aſcribing divinity to himſelf; of requiring a free, victorious people to pay him a ſervile homage, and proſtrate themſelves ignominiouſly before him; his abandoning himſelf ſo ſhamefully to wine; his violent anger, which riſes to brutal ferocity; the unjuſt and barbarous execution of his braveſt and moſt faithful officers, and the murther of his moſt worthy friends in the midſt of feaſts and carouſals: Can any one, ſays Livy, believe, that all theſe imperfections do not greatly ſully the reputation of a conqueror? But Alexander's frantick ambition, which knows neither law nor limits; the raſh intrepidity with which he braves dangers, without the leaſt reaſon or neceſſity; the weakneſs and ignorance of the nations (totally unſkilled in war) againſt whom he fought: Do not theſe enervate the reaſons for which he is thought to have merited the ſurname of Great, and the title of Hero? This however I leave to the prudence and equity of my reader.

As to myſelf, I am ſurpriſed to find that all orators who applaud a prince, never fail to compare him to Alexander. They fancy that when he is once equalled to this king, it is impoſſible for panegyrick to ſoar higher: They cannot image to themſelves any thing more auguſt; and think they have omitted the

* Referre in tanto Rege piget ſuperbam mutationem veſtis, & deſideratas humi jacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus; & fœda ſupplicia, & inter vinum & epulas cædes amicorum, & vanitatem ementiendæ ſtirpis. Quid ſi vini amor in dies fieret acrior; quid ſi trux ac præfervida ira: (nec quicquam dubium inter ſcriptores refero) nullane hæc damna imperatoriis virtutibus ducimus! *Liv.* l. ix. n. 17.

the ſtroke which finiſhes the glory of a hero, ſhould they not exalt him by this compariſon. In my opinion this denotes a falſe taſte, a wrong turn of thinking; and, if I might be allowed to ſay it, a want of judgement, which muſt naturally ſhock a reaſonable mind. For, as Alexander was inveſted with ſupreme power, he ought to have fulfilled the ſeveral duties of the ſovereignty. We do not find that he poſſeſſed the firſt, the moſt eſſential, and moſt excellent virtues of a great prince, which are to be the father, the guardian, and ſhepherd of his people; to govern them by good laws; to make their trade, both by ſea and land, flouriſh; to encourage and protect arts and ſciences; to eſtabliſh peace and plenty, and not ſuffer his ſubjects to be in any manner aggrieved or injured; to maintain an agreeable harmony between all orders of the ſtate, and make them conſpire, in due proportion, to the publick welfare; to employ himſelf in doing juſtice to all his ſubjects, to hear their diſputes, and reconcile them; to conſider himſelf as the father of his people, conſequently as obliged to provide for all their neceſſities, and to procure them the ſeveral enjoyments of life. Now Alexander, who almoſt a moment after he aſcended the throne left Macedonia, and never returned back into it, did not endeavour at any of theſe things, which however are the chief and moſt ſubſtantial duties of a great prince.

He ſeems poſſeſſed of ſuch qualities only as are of the ſecond rank, I mean thoſe of war, and theſe are all extravagant; are carried to the raſheſt and moſt odious exceſs, and to the extremes of folly and fury; whilſt his kingdom is left a prey to the rapine and exactions of Antipater; and all the conquered provinces abandoned to the inſatiable avarice of the governours, who carried their oppreſſion ſo far, that Alexander was forced to put them to death. Nor do his ſoldiers appear in a more advantageous light: For theſe, after having plundered the wealth of the Eaſt, and after the prince had given them the higheſt marks of his beneficence, grew ſo licentious, ſo debauched

bauched and abandoned to vices of every kind, that he was forced to pay their debts, amounting to fifteen hundred thouſand pounds. What ſtrange men were theſe! how depraved their ſchool! how pernicious the fruit of their victories! Is it doing honour to a prince; is it adorning his panegyrick, to compare him with ſuch a model?

The Romans, indeed, ſeem to have held Alexander's memory in great veneration; but I very much queſtion whether, in the virtuous ages of the commonwealth, he would have been conſidered as ſo great a man. Cæſar (*c*) ſeeing his ſtatue in a temple in Spain, during his government of it, after his prætorſhip, could not forbear groaning and ſighing, when he compared the few glorious actions achieved by him, to the mighty exploits of this conqueror. It was ſaid that Pompey, in one of his triumphs, appeared dreſſed in that king's ſurtout. Auguſtus pardoned the Alexandrians, for the ſake of their founder. Caligula, in a ceremony in which he aſſumed the character of a mighty conqueror, wore Alexander's coat of mail. But no one carried his veneration for this monarch ſo far as Caracalla. He uſed the ſame kind of arms and goblets as that prince: He had a Macedonian phalanx in his army: He perſecuted the Peripateticks, and would have burnt all the books of Ariſtotle their founder, becauſe he was ſuſpected to have conſpired with thoſe who poiſoned Alexander.

I believe that I may juſtly aſſert, that if an impartial perſon of good ſenſe reads Plutarch's lives of illuſtrious men with attention, they will leave ſuch a tacit and ſtrong impreſſion in his mind, as will make him conſider Alexander one of the leaſt valuable among them. But how ſtrong would the contraſt be found, had we the lives of Epaminondas, of Hannibal, and Scipio, the loſs of which can never be too much regretted! How little would Alexander appear, ſet off with all his titles, and ſurrounded by all his conqueſts,

(*c*) Dion. l. xxxvii. p. 53. App. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 253. Dion. l. li. p. 454. Id. l. lix. p. 653. Id. l. lxxvii. p. 873.

conqueſts, even if conſidered in a military light, when compared to thoſe heroes who were truely great, and worthy their exalted reputation!

SECT. XX. *Reflexions on the Perſians, Greeks, and Macedonians, by Monſieur* BOSSUET, *Biſhop of Meaux.*

THE reader will not be diſpleaſed with my inſerting here part of the admirable * reflexions of the Biſhop of Meaux, on the character and government of the Perſians, Greeks, and Macedonians, whoſe hiſtory we have heard.

The Greek nations, ſeveral of whom had at firſt lived under a monarchical form of government, having ſtudied the arts of civil polity, imagined they were able to govern themſelves, and moſt of their cities formed themſelves into commonwealths. But the wiſe legiſlators, who aroſe in every-country, as a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon, and many others mentioned in hiſtory, prevented liberty from degenerating into licentiouſneſs. Laws drawn up with great ſimplicity, and few in number, awed the people, held them in their duty, and made them all conſpire to the general good of the country.

The idea of liberty which ſuch a conduct inſpired, was wonderful. For the liberty which the Greeks figured to themſelves, was ſubject to the law, that is, to reaſon itſelf, acknowledged as ſuch by the whole nation. They would not let men riſe to power among them. Magiſtrates, who were feared during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was conſidered as their ſovereign; it was ſhe appointed magiſtrates, preſcribed the limits of their power, and puniſhed their mal-adminiſtration. The advantage of this government was, the citizens bore ſo much the greater love to their country, as all ſhared in the government of it; and as every individual was capable of attaining its higheſt dignities.

* *Diſcourſe on univerſal hiſtory. Part* iii. *Chap.* 4.

The advantage which accrued to Greece from philoſophy, with regard to the preſervation of its form of government, is incredible. The greater freedom theſe nations enjoyed, the greater neceſſity there was to ſettle the laws relating to manners and thoſe of ſociety, agreeable to reaſon and good ſenſe. From Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Ariſtotle, and a multitude more, the Greeks received their noble precepts.

But why ſhould we mention philoſophers only? The writings of even the poets, which were in every body's hands, diverted them very much, but inſtructed them ſtill more. The moſt renowned of conquerors conſidered Homer as a maſter, who taught him to govern wiſely. This great poet inſtructed people, no leſs happily, in obedience, and the duties of a good citizen.

When the Greeks, thus educated, ſaw the delicacy of the Aſiaticks; their dreſs and beauty, emulating that of women, they held them in the utmoſt contempt. But their form of government, that had no other rule than their prince's will, which took place of all laws, not excepting the moſt ſacred, inſpired them with horrour; and the Barbarians were the moſt hateful objects to Greece.

(*d*) The Greeks had imbibed this hatred in the moſt early times, and it was become almoſt natural to them. A circumſtance which made theſe nations delight ſo much in Homer's poems, was his celebrating the advantages and victories of Greece over Aſia. On the ſide of Aſia was Venus, that is to ſay, the pleaſures, the idle loves, and effeminacy: On that of Greece was Juno, or in other words, gravity with conjugal affection, Mercury with eloquence, and Jupiter with wiſe policy. With the Aſiaticks was Mars, an impetuous and brutal deity, that is to ſay, war carried on with fury: With the Greeks Pallas, or, in other words, the ſcience of war and valour, conducted by reaſon. The Grecians, from this time, had

(*d*) Iſocrates in Panegyr.

had ever imagined, that underſtanding and true bravery were natural as well as peculiar to them. They could not bear the thoughts of Aſia's deſign to conquer them; and in bowing to this yoke, they would have thought they had ſubjected virtue to pleaſure, the mind to the body, and true courage to force without reaſon, which conſiſted merely in numbers.

The Greeks were ſtrongly inſpired with theſe ſentiments, when Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and Xerxes invaded them with armies ſo prodigiouſly numerous as exceeds all belief. The Perſians found often, to their coſt, the great advantage which diſcipline has over multitude and confuſion; and how greatly ſuperior courage (when conducted by art) is to a blind impetuoſity.

Perſia, after having been ſo often conquered by the Greeks, had nothing to do but to ſow diviſions among them; and the height to which conqueſt had raiſed the latter, facilitated this effect. (*e*) As fear held them in the bands of union, victory and ſecurity diſſolved them. Having always been uſed to fight and conquer, they no ſooner believed that the power of the Perſians could not diſtreſs them, but they turned their arms againſt each other.

Among the ſeveral republicks of which Greece was compoſed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the chief. Theſe two great commonwealths, whoſe manners and conduct were directly oppoſite, perplexed and incommoded one another, in the common deſign they had of ſubjecting all Greece; ſo that they were eternally at variance, and this more from a contrariety of intereſts, than an oppoſition of tempers and diſpoſitions.

The Grecian cities would not ſubject themſelves to either: For beſides that every one of them deſired to live free and independent, they were not pleaſed with the government of either of thoſe two commonwealths. We have ſhown, in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the Pelopponeſian, and other wars,

(*e*) Plat. de Leg. l. iii.

were either owing to, or ſupported by, the reciprocal jealouſy of Lacedæmonia and Athens. But at the ſame time that this jealouſy diſturbed, it ſupported Greece in ſome meaſure; and kept it from being dependent on either of thoſe republicks.

The Perſians ſoon perceived this ſtate and condition of Greece; after which, the whole ſecret of their politicks was to keep up theſe jealouſies, and foment theſe diviſions. Lacedæmonia, being the moſt ambitious, was the firſt that made them engage in the Grecian quarrels. The Perſians took part in them, with a view of ſubjecting the whole nation; and induſtrious to make the Greeks weaken one another, they only waited for the favourable inſtant to cruſh them all together. (*f*) And now the cities of Greece conſidered, in their wars, only the king of Perſia; whom they called the great king, or the king, by way of eminence, as if they already thought themſelves his ſubjects. However, when Greece was upon the brink of ſlavery, and ready to fall into the hands of the Barbarians, it was impoſſible for the genius, the ancient ſpirit of the country, not to rouſe and take the alarm, Ageſilaus, king of Lacedæmonia, made the Perſians tremble in Aſia Minor, and ſhowed that they might be humbled. Their weakneſs was ſtill more evident, by the glorious retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks, who had followed the Younger Cyrus.

It was then that all Greece ſaw more plainly than ever, that it poſſeſſed an invincible body of ſoldiery, which was able to ſubdue all nations; and that nothing but its feuds and diviſions could ſubject it to an enemy, who was too weak to reſiſt it when united.

Philip of Macedon, a prince whoſe abilities were equal to his valour, took ſo great advantage of the diviſions which reigned between the various cities and commonwealths, that though his kingdom was but ſmall, yet, as it was united, and his power abſolute, he at laſt, partly by artifice, and partly by ſtrength, roſe

(*f*) Plat. de Leg. l. iii. Iſocrat. in Paneg.

roſe to greater power than any of the Grecian ſtates, and obliged them all to march under his ſtandards againſt the common enemy. This was the ſtate of Greece when Philip loſt his life, and Alexander his ſon ſucceeded to his kingdom and to the deſigns he had projected.

The Macedonians, at his acceſſion, were not only well diſciplined and inured to toils, but triumphant; and become, by ſo many ſucceſſes, almoſt as much ſuperior to the other Greeks in valour and diſcipline, as the reſt of the Greeks were ſuperior to the Perſians, and to ſuch nations as reſembled them.

Darius, who reigned over Perſia in Alexander's time, was a juſt, brave, and generous prince; was beloved by his ſubjects, and wanted neither good ſenſe, nor vigour, for the execution of his deſigns. But, if we compare them; if we oppoſe the genius of Darius, to the penetrating, ſublime one of Alexander; the valour of the former, to the mighty, invincible courage (which obſtacles animated) of the latter; with that boundleſs deſire of Alexander, of augmenting his glory, and his entire belief that all things ought to bow the neck to him, as being formed by Providence ſuperior to the reſt of mortals; a belief with which he inſpired, not only his generals, but the meaneſt of his ſoldiers, who thereby roſe above difficulties, and even above themſelves: The reader will eaſily judge which of the monarchs was to be victorious.

If to theſe conſiderations we add the advantages which the Greeks and Macedonians had over their enemies, it muſt be confeſſed, that it was impoſſible for the Perſian empire to ſubſiſt any longer, when invaded by ſo great a hero, and by ſuch invincible armies. And thus we diſcover, at one and the ſame time, the circumſtance which ruined the empire of the Perſians, and raiſed that of Alexander.

To ſmooth his way to victory, the Perſians happened to loſe the only general who was able to make head againſt the Greeks, and this was Memnon of Rhodes.

So

So long as Alexander fought againſt this illuſtrious warriour, he might glory in having vanquiſhed an enemy worthy of himſelf. But in the very infancy of a diverſion, which began already to divide Greece, Memnon died, after which Alexander obliged all things to give way before him.

This prince made his entrance into Babylon, with a ſplendour and magnificence which had never been ſeen before; and, after having revenged Greece; after ſubduing, with incredible ſwiftneſs, all the nations ſubject to Perſia; to ſecure his new empire on every ſide, or rather to ſatiate his ambition, and render his name more famous than that of Bacchus, he marched into India, and there extended his conqueſts farther than that celebrated conqueror had done. But the monarch, whoſe impetuous career neither deſerts, rivers, nor mountains could ſtop, was obliged to yield to the murmurs of his ſoldiers, who called aloud for eaſe and repoſe.

Alexander returned to Babylon, dreaded and reſpected, not as a conqueror, but as a god. Nevertheleſs, the formidable empire he had acquired, ſubſiſted no longer than his life, which was but ſhort. At thirty-three years of age, in the midſt of the grandeſt deſigns that ever man formed, and fluſhed with the fureſt hopes of ſucceſs, he died before he had leiſure to ſettle his affairs on a ſolid foundation; leaving behind him a weak brother, and children very young, all incapable of ſupporting the weight of ſuch a power.

But the circumſtance which proved moſt fatal to his family and empire, was his having taught the generals who ſurvived him, to breathe nothing but ambition and war. He foreſaw the prodigious lengths they would go after his death. To curb their ambitious views, and for fear of miſtaking in his conjectures, he did not dare to name his ſucceſſor, or the guardian of his children. He only foretold, that his friends would ſolemnize his obſequies with bloody battles; and he expired in the flower of his age, full

of

of the ſad images of the confuſion which would follow his death.

And, indeed, Macedonia, the kingdom he inherited, which his anceſtors had governed during ſo many ages, was invaded on all ſides, as a ſucceſſion that was become vacant; and after being long expoſed a prey, was at laſt poſſeſſed by another family. Thus this great conqueror, the moſt renowned the world ever ſaw, was the laſt king of his family. Had he lived peaceably in Macedon, the vaſt bounds of his empire would not have proved a temptation to his generals; and he would have left to his children the kingdom he inherited from his anceſtors. But, riſing to too exalted an height of power, he proved the deſtruction of his poſterity; and ſuch was the glorious fruit of all his conqueſts.

BOOK THE SIXTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. *Troubles which followed the death of* ALEXANDER. *The partition of the provinces among the generals.* ARIDÆUS *elected king.* PERDICCAS *appointed his guardian, and regent of the emipire.*

IN relating the death of Alexander the Great, I mentioned the many troubles and commotions that aroſe in the army on the firſt news of that event. All the troops in general, ſoldiers as well as officers, had their thoughts entirely taken up, at firſt, with the loſs of a prince whom they loved as a father, and reverenced almoſt as a god, and abandoned themſelves immoderately to grief and tears. A mournful ſilence reigned throughout the camp; but this was ſoon ſucceeded by diſmal ſighs and cries, which ſpeak the true language of the heart, and never flow from a vain oſtentation of ſorrow, which is too often paid to cuſtom and decorum on ſuch occaſions *.

When the firſt impreſſions of grief had given place to reflexion, they began to conſider, with the utmoſt conſternation,

* Paſſim ſilentia et gemitus; nihil compoſitum in oſtentationem—— altiùs mœrebant. *Tacit.*

conſternation, the ſtate in which the death of Alexander had left them. They found themſelves at an infinite diſtance from their native country, and amidſt a people lately ſubdued, ſo little accuſtomed to their new yoke, that they were hardly acquainted with their preſent maſters, and had not as yet had ſufficient time to forget their ancient laws, and that form of government under which they had always lived. What meaſures could be taken to keep a country of ſuch vaſt extent in ſubjection? How could it be poſſible to ſuppreſs thoſe ſeditions and revolts which would naturally break out on all ſides in that deciſive moment? What expedients could be formed to reſtrain thoſe troops within the limits of their duty, who had ſo long been habituated to complaints and murmurs, and were commanded by chiefs, whoſe views and pretenſions were ſo different?

The only remedy for theſe various calamities ſeemed to conſiſt in a ſpeedy nomination of a ſucceſſor to Alexander; and the troops, as well as the officers, and the whole Macedonian ſtate, ſeemed at firſt to be very deſirous of this expedient: And, indeed, their common intereſt and ſecurity, with the preſervation of their new conqueſts, amidſt the barbarous nations that ſurrounded them, made it neceſſary for them to conſider this election as their firſt and moſt important care, and to turn their thoughts to the choice of a perſon qualified to fill ſo arduous a ſtation, and ſuſtain the weight of it in ſuch a manner as to be capable of ſupporting the general order and tranquillity. But it had already been written, (*a*) *That the kingdom of Alexander ſhould be divided and rent aſunder after his death*, and that it ſhould not be tranſmitted in the uſual manner *to his poſterity*. No efforts of human wiſdom could eſtabliſh a ſole ſucceſſor to that prince. In vain did they deliberate, conſult, and decide (*b*); nothing could be executed contrary to the pre-ordained event, and nothing ſhort of it could poſſibly ſubſiſt. A ſuperior and inviſible power had already diſpoſed of the kingdom,

(*a*) Dan. xi. 4. (*b*) Non erit, non ſtabit, non fiet. *Iſai.*

kingdom, and divided it by an inevitable decree, as will be evident in the ſequel. The circumſtances of this partition had been denounced near three centuries before this time; the portions of it had already been aſſigned to different poſſeſſors, and nothing could fruſtrate that diviſion, which was only to be deferred for a few years. Till the arrival of that period, men indeed might raiſe commotions, and concert a variety of movements; but all their efforts would only tend to the accompliſhment of what had been ordained by the ſovereign maſter of kingdoms, and of what had been foretold by his prophet.

Alexander had a ſon by Barſina, and had conferred the name of Hercules upon him. Roxana, another of his wives, was advanced in her pregnancy when that prince died. He had likewiſe a natural brother, called Aridæus; but he would not upon his death-bed diſpoſe of his dominions in favour of any heir; for which reaſon this vaſt empire, which no longer had a maſter to ſway it, became a ſource of competition and wars, as Alexander had plainly foreſeen, when he declared, that his friends would celebrate his funeral with bloody battles.

The diviſion was augmented by the equality among the generals of the army, none of whom was ſo ſuperior to his colleagues, either by birth or merit, as to induce them to offer him the empire, and ſubmit to his authority. The cavalry were deſirous that Aridæus ſhould ſucceed Alexander. This prince had diſcovered but little force of mind from the time he had been afflicted in his infancy with a violent indiſpoſition, occaſioned as was pretended, by ſome particular drink, which had been given him by Olympias, and which had diſordered his underſtanding. This ambitious princeſs being apprehenſive that the engaging qualities ſhe diſcovered in Aridæus, would be ſo many obſtacles to the greatneſs of her ſon Alexander, thought it expedient to have recourſe to the criminal precaution already mentioned. The infantry had declared againſt this prince, and were headed by

by Ptolemy, and other chiefs of great reputation, who began to think of their own particular eſtabliſhment. For a ſudden revolution was working in the minds of theſe officers, and cauſed them to contemn the rank of private perſons, and all dependency and ſubordination, with a view of aſpiring to ſovereign power, which had never employed their thoughts till then, and to which they never thought themſelves qualified to pretend, before this conjuncture of affairs.

(c) Theſe diſputes, which engaged the minds of all parties, delayed the interment of Alexander for the ſpace of ſeven days; and, if we may credit ſome authors, the body continued uncorrupted all that time. It was afterwards delivered to the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who embalmed it after their manner; and Aridæus, a different perſon from him I have already mentioned, was charged with the care of conveying it to Alexandria.

After a variety of troubles and agitations had intervened, the principal officers aſſembled at a conference; where it was unanimouſly concluded, that Aridæus ſhould be king, or rather, that he ſhould be inveſted with the ſhadow of royalty. The infirmity of mind, which ought to have excluded him from the throne, was the very motive of their advancing him to it, and united all ſuffrages in his favour. It favoured the hopes and pretenſions of all the chiefs, and covered their deſigns. It was alſo agreed in this aſſembly, that if Roxana, who was then in the fifth or ſixth month of her pregnency, ſhould have a ſon, he ſhould be aſſociated with Aridæus in the throne. Perdiccas, to whom Alexander had left his ring, in the laſt moments of his life, had the perſon of the prince conſigned to his care as a guardian, and was conſtituted regent of the kingdom.

The ſame aſſembly, whatever reſpect they might bear to the memory of Alexander, thought fit to annul ſome of his regulations, which had been deſtructive to the ſtate, and had exhauſted his treaſury. He had

(c) Q. Curt. l. x. Juſtin. l. xiii. Diod. l. xviii.

had given orders for ſix temples to be erected in particular cities which he had named, and had fixed the expences of each of theſe ſtructures at five hundred talents which amounted to five hundred thouſand crowns. He had likewiſe ordered a pyramid to be raiſed over the tomb of his father Philip, which was to be finiſhed with a grandeur and magnificence equal to that in Egypt, eſteemed one of the ſeven wonders of the world. He had likewiſe planned out other expences of the like kind, which were prudently revoked by the aſſembly.

(*d*) Within a ſhort time after theſe proceedings, Roxana was delivered of a ſon, who was named Alexander, and acknowledged king, jointly with Aridæus. But neither of theſe princes poſſeſſed any thing more than the name of royalty, as all authority was entirely lodged in the great lords and generals who had divided the provinces among themſelves.

In Europe; Thrace and the adjacent regions were conſigned to Lyſimachus; and Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece were allotted to Antipater and Craterus.

In Africa; Egypt, and the other conqueſts of Alexander in Libya and Cyrenaica, were aſſigned to Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, with that part of Arabia which borders on Egypt. The month of Thoth in the autumn is the epocha, from whence the years of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt begin to be computed; though Ptolemy did not aſſume the title of king in conjunction with the other ſucceſſors of Alexander, till about ſeventeen years after this event.

In the leſſer Aſia; Lycia, Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia, were given to Antigonus; Caria, to Caſſander; Lydia, to Menander; the leſſer Phrygia, to Leonatus; Armenia, to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, to Eumenes. Theſe two provinces had never been ſubjected by the Macedonians, and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia continued to govern them

(*d*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 587. 588. Juſtin. l. xiii. c. 4. Q. Curt. l. x. c. 10.

them as formerly; Alexander, having advanced with ſo much rapidity to his other conqueſts, as left him no inclination to amuſe himſelf with the entire reduction of that province, contented himſelf with a ſlight ſubmiſſion.

Syria and Phœnicia fell to Laomeden; one of the two Medias to Atropates, and the other to Perdiccas. Perſia was aſſigned to Peuceſtes; Babylonia, to Archon; Meſopotamia, to Arceſilas; Parthia and Hyrcania, to Phrataphernes; Bactria and Sogdiana, to Philip; the other regions were divided among generals whoſe names are now but little known.

Seleucus, the ſon of Antiochus, was placed at the head of the cavalry of the allies, which was a poſt of great importance; and Caſſander, the ſon of Antipater, commanded the companies of guards.

The Upper Aſia, which extends almoſt to India, and even India alſo, were left in the poſſeſſion of thoſe who had been appointed governors of thoſe countries by Alexander.

(*e*) The ſame diſpoſition generally prevailed in all the provinces I have already mentioned; and it is in this ſenſe that moſt interpreters explain that paſſage in the Maccabees, which declares, that Alexander, having aſſembled the great men of his court who had been bred up with him, divided his kingdom among them in his life-time. And indeed it was very probable, that this prince, when he ſaw his death approaching, and had no inclination to nominate a ſucceſſor himſelf, was contented with confirming each of his officers in the governments he had formerly aſſigned them; which is ſufficient to authoriſe the declaration in the Maccabees, *That he divided his kingdom among them whilſt he was living.*

This partition was only the work of man, and its duration was but ſhort. That being, who reigns alone, and is the only king of ages, had decreed a different diſtribution. He aſſigned to each his portion,

(*e*) Maccab. l. i. n. 6. & 7.

and marked out its boundaries and extent, and his diſpoſition alone was to ſubſiſt.

The partition concluded upon in the aſſembly, was the ſource of various diviſions and wars, as will be evident in the ſeries of this hiſtory. Each of theſe governors claiming the exerciſe of an independent and ſovereign power in his particular province. *(f)* They however paid that veneration to the memory of Alexander, as not to aſſume the title of king, till all the race of that monarch, who had been placed upon the throne, were extinct.

Among the governors of the provinces I have mentioned, ſome diſtinguiſhed themſelves more than others by their reputation, merit, and cabals; and formed different parties, to which the others adhered, agreeably to their particular views, either of intereſt or ambition. For it is not to be imagined that the reſolutions, which are formed in conjunctures of this nature, are much influenced by a devotion to the publick good.

(g) Eumenes muſt however be excepted; for he undoubtedly was the moſt virtuous man among all the governors, and had no ſuperior in true bravery. He was always firm in the intereſt of the two kings from a principle of true probity. He was a native of Cardia, a city of Thrace, and his birth was but obſcure. Philip, who had obſerved excellent qualities in him in his youth, kept him near his own perſon in the quality of ſecretary, and repoſed great confidence in him. He was equally eſteemed by Alexander, who treated him with extraordinary marks of his eſteem. Barſina, the firſt lady for whom this prince had entertained a paſſion in Aſia, and by whom he had a ſon named Hercules, had a ſiſter of the ſame name with her own, and the king eſpouſed her to Eumenes *. We ſhall ſee by the event, that this wiſe favourite conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner as juſtly

(f) Juſtin. l. xv. c. 2. (g) Plut. in Eumen. p. 583. Corn. Nep. in Eumen. c. i.

* *Arrian declares he had another wife*, l. vii. p. 278.

juſtly entitled him to the favour of thoſe two princes, even after their death; and all his ſentiments and actions will make it evident that a man may be a plebeian by birth, and yet very noble by nature.

(*b*) I have already intimated, that Syſigambis, who had patiently ſupported the death of her father, huſband, and ſon, was incapable of ſurviving Alexander. (*i*) The death of this princeſs was ſoon followed by that of her two youngeſt daughters, Statira the widow of Alexander, and Drypetis the relict of Hephæſtion. Roxana, who was apprehenſive leſt Statira ſhould be pregnant by Alexander as well as herſelf, and that the birth of a prince would fruſtrate the meaſures which had been taken to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the ſon ſhe hoped to have, prevailed upon the two ſiſters to viſit her, and ſecretly deſtroyed them in concert with Perdiccas, her only confident in that impious proceeding.

It is now time to enter upon a detail of thoſe actions that were performed by the ſucceſſors of Alexander. I ſhall therefore begin with the defection of the Greeks in Upper Aſia, and with the war which Antipater had to ſuſtain againſt Greece; becauſe thoſe tranſactions are moſt detached, and in a manner diſtinct from the other events.

SECT. II. *The revolt of the Greeks in Upper Aſia. The impreſſions occaſioned by the news of* ALEXANDER's *death at Athens. The expedition of* ANTIPATER *into Greece. He is firſt defeated, and afterwards victorious. Makes himſelf maſter of Athens, and leaves a garriſon there. The flight and death of* DEMOSTHENES.

THE Greeks (*a*), whom Alexander had eſtabliſhed, in the form of colonies, in the provinces of Upper Aſia, continued with reluctance in thoſe ſettlements, becauſe they did not experience thoſe delights and ſatisfactions with which they had flattered themſelves, and had long cheriſhed an ardent deſire of returning

A. M. 1381. Ant. J. C. 323.

I 2

(*b*) Q. Curt. l. x. c. 5. (*i*) Plut. in Alex. (*a*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 591, 592.

turning into their own country. They however durſt not diſcover their uneaſineſs whilſt Alexander was living, but the moment they received intelligence of his death, they openly declared their intentions. They armed twenty thouſand foot, all warlike and experienced ſoldiers, with three thouſand horſe; and having placed Philon at their head, they prepared for their departure, without taking counſel, or receiving orders from any but themſelves, as if they had been ſubject to no authority, and no longer acknowledged any ſuperior.

Perdiccas, who foreſaw the conſequences of ſuch an enterpriſe, at a time when every thing was in motion, and when the troops, as well as their officers, breathed nothing but independency, ſent Pithon to oppoſe them. The merit of this officer was acknowledged by all; and he willingly charged himſelf with this commiſſion, in expectation of gaining over thoſe Greeks, and of procuring himſelf ſome conſiderable eſtabliſhment in Upper Aſia by their means. Perdiccas, being acquainted with his deſign, gave a very ſurpriſing order to the Macedonians whom he ſent with that general, which was to exterminate the revolters entirely. Pithon, on his arrival, brought over, by money, three thouſand Greeks, who turned their backs in the battle, and were the occaſion of his obtaining a complete victory. The vanquiſhed troops ſurrendered, but made the preſervation of their lives and liberties the condition of their ſubmitting to the conqueror. This was exactly agreeable to Pithon's deſign, but he was no longer maſter of its execution. The Macedonians, thinking it incumbent on them to accompliſh the orders of Perdiccas, inhumanly ſlaughtered all the Greeks, without the leaſt regard to the terms they had granted them. Pithon being thus defeated in his views, returned with his Macedonians to Perdiccas.

(*b*) This expedition was ſoon ſucceeded by the Grecian war. The news of Alexander's death being brought

(*b*) Plut. in Phoc. p. 751, 752.

brought to Athens, had excited great rumours, and occaſioned a joy that was almoſt univerſal. The people, who had long ſuſtained with reluctance the yoke which the Macedonians had impoſed on Greece, made liberty the ſubject of all their diſcourſe: They breathed nothing but war, and abandoned themſelves to all the extravagant emotions of a ſenſeleſs and exceſſive joy. Phocion, who was a perſon of wiſdom and moderation, and doubted the truth of the intelligence they had received, endeavoured to calm the turbulency of their minds, which rendered them incapable of counſel and ſedate reflexion. As the generality of the orators, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, believed the news of Alexander's death, Phocion roſe up, and expreſſed himſelf in this manner: "If he be really dead to-day, he will likewiſe "be ſo to-morrow and the next day, ſo that we ſhall "have time enough to deliberate in a calm manner, "and with greater ſecurity."

Leoſthenes, who was the firſt that publiſhed this account at Athens, was continually haranguing the people with exceſſive arrogance and vanity. Phocion, who was tired with his ſpeeches, ſaid to him, "Young "man, your diſcourſe reſembles the cypreſs, which "is tall and ſpreading, but bears no fruit." He gave great offence, by oppoſing the inclinations of the people in ſo ſtrenuous a manner, and Hyperides, riſing up, aſked him this queſtion; "When would "you adviſe the Athenians to make war?" "As "ſoon," replied Phocion, "as I ſee the young men "firmly reſolved to obſerve a ſtrict diſcipline; the "rich diſpoſed to contribute, according to their abi-"lities, to the expence of a war; and when the ora-"tors no longer rob the publick."

All the remonſtrances of Phocion were ineffectual; a war was reſolved upon, and a deputation agreed to be ſent to all the ſtates of Greece, to engage their acceſſion to the league. This is the war in which all the Greeks, except the Thebans, united to maintain the liberty of their country, under the conduct of

Leoſthenes, againſt Antipater, and it was called the Lamian war, from the name of a city where the latter was defeated in the firſt battle.

(*c*) Demoſthenes, who was then in exile at Megara, but who amidſt his misfortunes always retained an ardent zeal for the intereſt of his country, and the defence of the common liberty, joined himſelf with the Athenian ambaſſadors ſent into Peloponneſus, and having ſeconded their remonſtrances in a wonderful manner by the force of his eloquence, he engaged Sicyone, Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponneſus, to accede to the league.

The Athenians were ſtruck with admiration at a zeal ſo noble and generous, and immediately paſſed a decree to recall him from baniſhment. A galley with three ranks of oars was diſpatched to him at Ægina; and, when he entered the port of Piræeus, all the magiſtrates and prieſts advanced out of the city, and all the citizens crowded to meet that illuſtrious exile, and received him with the utmoſt demonſtrations of affection and joy, blended at the ſame time with an air of ſorrow and repentance, for the injury they had done him. Demoſthenes was ſenſibly affected with the extraordinary honours that were rendered him; and whilſt he returned, as it were in triumph, to his country, amidſt the acclamations of the people, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, to thank the gods for ſo illuſtrious a protection, and congratulated himſelf on beholding a day more glorious to him, than that had proved to Alcibiades, on which he returned from his exile. For his citizens received him from the pure effect of deſire and will; whereas the reception of Alcibiades was involuntary, and his entrance a compulſion upon their inclinations.

(*d*) The generality of thoſe who were far advanced in years were extremely apprehenſive of the event of a war, which had been undertaken with too much precipitation, and without examining into the conſequences

(*c*) Plut. in Demoſt. p. 858. Juſtin. l. xxiii. c. 5. (*d*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 594—599.

quences with all the attention and ſedateneſs that an enterpriſe of ſo much importance required. They were ſenſible alſo, that there was no neceſſity for declaring themſelves ſo openly againſt the Macedonians, whoſe veteran troops were very formidable; and the example of Thebes, which was deſtroyed by the ſame temerity of conduct, added to their conſternation. But the orators, who derived their advantages from the diſtraction of the publick affairs, and to whom, according to the obſervation of Philip, war was peace, and peace war, would not allow the people time to deliberate maturely on the affairs propoſed to their conſideration, but drew them into their ſentiments by a fallacious eloquence, which preſented them with nothing but ſcenes of future conqueſt and triumphs.

Demoſthenes and Phocion, who wanted neither zeal nor prudence, were of different ſentiments on this occaſion, which was no extraordinary circumſtance with reſpect to them. It is not my province to determine which of them had reaſon on his ſide: But, in ſuch a perplexing conjuncture as this, there is nothing ſurpriſing in a contrariety of opinions, though the reſult of good intentions on both ſides. Phocion's ſcheme was, perhaps, the moſt prudent, and that of Demoſthenes the moſt glorious.

However that were, a conſiderable army was raiſed, and a very numerous fleet fitted out. All the citizens who were under the age of forty, and capable of bearing arms, were drawn out. Three of the ten tribes that compoſed the republick were left for the defence of Attica, the reſt marched out with the reſt of the allies, under the command of Leoſthenes.

Antipater was far from being indolent during theſe tranſactions in Greece, of which he had been appriſed, and he had ſent to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to ſollicit their aſſiſtance; but before the arrival of the expected ſuccours, he marched at the head of only thirteen thouſand Macedonians and ſix hundred horſe; the frequent recruits which he had

ſent Alexander, having left him no more troops in all the country.

It is ſurpriſing that Antipater ſhould attempt to give battle to the united forces of all Greece with ſuch a handful of men; but he undoubtedly imagined, that the Greeks were no longer actuated by their ancient zeal and ardour for liberty, and that they ceaſed to conſider it as ſuch an ineſtimable advantage, as ought to inſpire them with a reſolution to venture their lives and fortunes for its preſervation. He flattered himſelf that they had begun to familiariſe themſelves with ſubjection; and indeed this was the diſpoſition of the Greeks at that time; in whom appeared no longer the deſcendents of thoſe who had ſo gallantly ſuſtained all the efforts of the Eaſt, and fought a million of men for the preſervation of their freedom.

Antipater advanced towards Theſſaly, and was followed by his fleet which cruiſed along the ſea-coaſts. It conſiſted of one hundred and ten *triremes*, or gallies of three benches of oars. The Theſſalians declared at firſt in his favour; but having afterwards changed their ſentiments, they joined the Athenians, and ſupplied them with a great body of horſe.

As the army of the Athenians and their allies was much more numerous than that of the Macedonians, Antipater could not ſupport the charge, and was defeated in the firſt battle. As he durſt not hazard a ſecond, and was in no condition to make a ſafe retreat into Macedonia, he ſhut himſelf up in Lamia, a ſmall city in Theſſaly, in order to wait for the ſuccours that were to be tranſmitted to him from Aſia, and he fortified himſelf in that place, which was ſoon beſieged by the Athenians.

The aſſault was carried on with great bravery againſt the town, and the reſiſtance was equally vigorous. Leoſthenes, after ſeveral attempts, deſpairing to carry it by force, changed the ſiege into a blockade, in order to conquer the place by famine. He ſurrounded it with a wall of circumvallation, and a very deep ditch, and by theſe means cut off all ſupplies of proviſion.

proviſion. The city ſoon became ſenſible of the growing ſcarcity, and the beſieged began to be ſeriouſly diſpoſed to ſurrender; when Leoſthenes, in a ſally they made upon him, received a conſiderable wound, which rendered it neceſſary for him to be carried to his tent. Upon which the command of the army was conſigned to Antiphilus, who was equally eſteemed by the troops for his valour and ability.

(e) Leonatus, in the mean time, was marching to the aſſiſtance of the Macedonians beſieged in Lamia; and was commiſſioned, as well as Antigonus, by an agreement made between the generals, to eſtabliſh Eumenes in Cappadocia by force of arms; but they took other meaſures, in conſequence of ſome particular views. Leonatus, who repoſed an entire confidence in Eumenes, declared to him at parting, that the engagement to aſſiſt Antipater was a mere pretext, and that his real intention was to advance into Greece, in order to make himſelf maſter of Macedonia. He at the ſame time ſhowed him letters from Cleopatra, the ſiſter of Alexander, who invited him to come to Pella, and promiſed to eſpouſe him. Leonatus being arrived within a little diſtance of Lamia, marched directly to the enemy, with twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe. Proſperity had introduced diſorders in the Grecian army; ſeveral parties of ſoldiers drew off, and retired into their own country on various pretexts, which greatly diminiſhed the number of the troops, who were now reduced to twenty-two thouſand foot. The cavalry amounted to three thouſand five hundred, two thouſand of whom were Theſſalians; and as they conſtituted the main ſtrength of the army, ſo all hopes of ſucceſs were founded in them; and accordingly, when the battle was fought, this body of horſe had the greateſt ſhare in the victory that was obtained. They were commanded by Menon. Leonatus, covered with wounds, loſt his life in the field of battle, and was conveyed into the camp by his troops. The Macedonian

A. M. 3681. Ant. J. C. 322.

(e) Plut in Eumen. p. 584.

donian phalanx greatly dreaded the ſhock of the cavalry, and had therefore retreated to eminences inacceſſible to the purſuit of the Theſſalians. The Greeks having carried off their dead, erected a trophy, and retired.

(f) The whole converſation at Athens turned upon the glorious exploits of Leoſthenes, who ſurvived his honours but a ſhort time. An univerſal joy ſpread through the city, feſtivals were celebrated, and ſacrifices offered without intermiſſion, to teſtify their gratitude to the gods for all the advantages they had obtained. The enemies of Phocion thinking to mortify him in the moſt ſenſible manner, and reduce him to an incapacity of juſtifying his conſtant oppoſition to that war, aſked him, if he would not have rejoiced to have performed ſo many glorious actions? "Undoubtedly I would," replied Phocion; "but I would not, at the ſame time, have neglected to offer the advice I gave *." He did not think, that a judgement ought to be formed of any particular counſel from mere ſucceſs, but rather from the nature and ſolidity of the counſel itſelf; and he did not retract his ſentiments, becauſe thoſe of an oppoſite nature had been ſucceſsful, which only proved the latter more fortunate, but not more judicious. And as theſe agreeable advices came thick upon each other, Phocion, who was apprehenſive of the ſequel, cried out, *When ſhall we ceaſe to conquer then?*

Antipater was obliged to ſurrender by capitulation, but hiſtory has not tranſmitted to us the conditions of the treaty. The event only makes it evident, that Leoſthenes compelled him to ſurrender at diſcretion, and he himſelf died a few days after of the wounds he had received at the ſiege. Antipater having quitted Lamia the day after the battle, for he ſeems to have been favourably treated, joined the remains of the army of Leonatus, and took upon him the command of

(f) Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.

* Non damnavit quod recte cius hoc exiſtimans, illud etiam viderat, quia, quod alius malè ſapientius. *Val. Max.* lib. iii. conſulerat, bene ceſſerat: feli- cap. 8.

of thoſe troops. He was extremely cautious of hazarding a ſecond battle, and kept with his troops, like a judicious and experienced general, on eminences inacceſſible to the enemy's cavalry. Antiphilus, the general of the Greeks, remained with his troops in Theſſaly, and contented himſelf with obſerving the motions of Antipater.

Clitus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, obtained, much about the ſame time, two victories, near the iſlands of Echinades, over Eetion the admiral of the Athenian navy.

(g) Craterus, who had been long expected, arrived at laſt in Theſſaly, and halted at the river Peneus. He reſigned the command to Antipater, and was contented to ſerve under him. The troops he had brought thither amounted, in conjunction with thoſe of Leonatus, to above forty thouſand foot, three thouſand archers or ſlingers, and five thouſand horſe. The army of the allies was much inferior to theſe troops in number, and conſiſted of no more than twenty-five thouſand foot, and three thouſand five hundred horſe. Military diſcipline had been much neglected among them, after the victories they had obtained. A conſiderable battle was fought near Cranon, in which the Greeks were defeated; they however loſt but few troops, and even that diſadvantage was occaſioned by the licentious conduct of the ſoldiers, and the ſmall authority of the chiefs, who were incapable of enforcing obedience to their commands.

Antiphilus and Menon, the two generals of the Grecian army, aſſembled a council the next day, to deliberate, whether they ſhould wait the return of thoſe troops who had retired into their own country, or propoſe terms of accommodation to the enemy. The council declared in favour of the latter; upon which deputies were immediately diſpatched to the enemy's camp in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied, that he would enter into a ſeparate treaty with each of the cities, perſuading himſelf that he ſhould

(g) Diod. l. xviii. p. 599—602.

ſhould facilitate the accompliſhment of his deſigns by this proceeding; and he was not deceived in his opinion. His anſwer broke off the negociation; and the moment he preſented himſelf before the cities of the allies, they diſbanded their troops, and ſurrendered up their liberties in the moſt puſillanimous manner, each city being ſolely attentive to its ſeparate advantage.

This circumſtance is a ſufficient confirmation of what I have formerly obſerved with relation to the preſent diſpoſition of the people of Greece. They were no longer animated with the noble zeal of thoſe ancient aſſerters of liberty, who devoted their whole attention to the good of the publick, and the glory of the nation; who conſidered the danger of their neighbours and allies as their own, and marched with the utmoſt expedition to their aſſiſtance upon the firſt ſignal of their diſtreſs. Whereas now, if a formidable enemy appeared at the gates of Athens, all the republicks of Greece had neither activity nor vigour; Peloponneſus continued without motion, and Sparta was as little heard of as if ſhe had never ſubſiſted. Unhappy effects of the mutual jealouſy which thoſe people had conceived againſt each other, and of their diſregard to the common liberty, in conſequence of a fatal lethargy into which they were ſunk amidſt the greateſt dangers! Theſe are ſymptoms which prognoſticate and prepare the way for approaching decline and ruin.

(*b*) Antipater improved this deſertion to his own advantage, and marched immediately to Athens, which ſaw herſelf abandoned by all her allies, and conſequently in no condition to defend herſelf againſt a potent and victorious enemy. Before he entered the city, Demoſthenes, and all thoſe of his party, who may be conſidered as the laſt true Greeks, and the defenders of expiring liberty, retired from that place; and the people, in order to transfer upon thoſe great men the reproach reſulting from their declaration of

(*b*) Plut. in Phoc. p. 753, 754.

of war againſt Antipater, and likewiſe to obtain his good graces, condemned them to die by a decree which Demades prepared. The reader has not forgot, that theſe are the ſame people who had lately recalled Demoſthenes by a decree ſo much for his honour, and had received him in triumph.

The ſame Demades procured a ſecond decree for ſending ambaſſadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, and that they ſhould be inveſted with full powers to negociate a treaty of peace with him. Phocion himſelf was at their head; and the conqueror declared, that he expected the Athenians ſhould entirely ſubmit the terms to his regulation, in the manner as he himſelf had acted, when he was beſieged in the city of Lamia, and had conformed to the capitulation impoſed upon him by Leoſthenes their general.

Phocion returned to acquaint the Athenians with this anſwer, and they were compelled to acquieſce in the conditions, as rigid as they might appear. He then came back to Thebes with the reſt of the ambaſſadors, with whom Xenocrates had been aſſociated, in hopes that the appearance alone of ſo celebrated a philoſopher would inſpire Antipater with reſpect, and induce him to pay homage to his virtue. But ſurely they muſt have been little acquainted with the heart of man, and particularly with the violent and inhuman diſpoſition of Antipater, to be capable of flattering themſelves, that an enemy, with whom they had been engaged in an open war, would renounce his advantage through any inducement of reſpect for the virtue of a ſingle man, or in conſequence of an harangue uttered by a philoſopher, who had declared againſt him. Antipater would not even condeſcend to caſt his eyes upon him; and when he was preparing to enter upon the conference, for he was commiſſioned to be the ſpeaker on this occaſion, he interrupted him in a very abrupt manner; and perceiving that he continued his diſcourſe, commanded him to be ſilent. But he did not treat Phocion in the ſame manner;

manner; for after he had attended to his diſcourſe, he replied, "That he was diſpoſed to contract a "friendſhip and alliance with the Athenians on the "following conditions: They ſhould deliver up De-"moſthenes and Hyperides to him; the government "ſhould be reſtored to its ancient plan, by which all "employments in the ſtate were to be conferred upon "the rich; that they ſhould receive a garriſon in the "port of Munychia; that they ſhould defray all the "expences of the war, and alſo a large ſum, the "amount of which ſhould be ſettled." Thus, according to Diodorus, none but thoſe whoſe yearly income exceeded two thouſand drachmas, were to be admitted into any ſhare of the government for the future, or to have any right to vote. Antipater intended to make himſelf abſolute maſter of Athens by this regulation, being very ſenſible, that the rich men who enjoyed publick employments, and had large revenues, would become his dependents much more effectually than a poor and deſpicable populace, who had nothing to loſe, and would be only guided by their own caprice.

All the ambaſſadors but Xenocrates were well contented with theſe conditions, which they thought were very moderate, conſidering their preſent ſituation; but that philoſopher judged otherwiſe. *They are very moderate for ſlaves*, ſaid he, *but extremely ſevere for free men.*

The Athenians were therefore compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garriſon, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and by ſome of Phocion's particular friends. The troops took poſſeſſion of the place during the feſtival of the Great Myſteries, and the very day on which it was uſual to carry the god Iacchus in proceſſion from the city to Eleuſina. This was a melancholy conjuncture for the Athenians, and affected them with the moſt ſenſible affliction. "Alas!" ſaid they, when they compared paſt times with thoſe they then ſaw, "the "gods, amidſt our greateſt adverſities, would for-

"merly

" merely manifeſt themſelves in our favour during " this ſacred ceremonial, by myſtick viſions and au- " dible voices, to the great aſtoniſhment of our ene- " mies, who were terrified by them. But now, when " we are even celebrating the ſame ſolemnities, they " caſt an unpitying eye on the greateſt calamities " that can happen to Greece: They behold the moſt " ſacred of all days in the year, and that which is " moſt agreeable to us, polluted and diſtinguiſhed " by the moſt dreadful of calamities, which will " even tranſmit its name to this ſacred time through " all ſucceeding generations."

The garriſon, commanded by Menyllus, did not offer the leaſt injury to any of the inhabitants, but there were more than twelve thouſand of them excluded from employments in the ſtate, by one of the ſtipulations in the treaty, in conſequence of their poverty. Some of theſe unfortunate perſons continued in Athens, and lingered out a wretched life, amidſt the contemptuous treatment they had juſtly drawn upon themſelves; for the generality of them were ſeditious and mercenary in their diſpoſitions, had neither virtue nor juſtice, but flattered themſelves with a falſe idea of liberty, which they were incapable of uſing aright, and had no knowledge of either its bounds, duties, or end. The other poor citizens departed from the city, in order to avoid that opprobrious condition, and retired into Thrace, where Antipater aſſigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

(*i*) Demetrius Phalerius was obliged to have recourſe to flight, and retired to Nicanor; but Caſſander, the ſon of Antipater, repoſed much confidence in him, and made him governor of Munychia after the death of his father, as will appear immediately. This Demetrius had been not only the diſciple, but the intimate friend of the celebrated Theophraſtus; and, under the conduct of ſo learned a maſter, had perfected his natural genius for eloquence, and rendered

(*i*) Athen. l. xii. p. 542.

dered himſelf expert in philoſophy, politicks, and hiſtory. (*k*) He was in great eſteem at Athens, and began to enter upon the adminiſtration of affairs, when Harpalus arrived there, after he had declared againſt Alexander. He was obliged to quit that city at the time we have mentioned, and was ſoon after condemned there, though abſent, under a vain pretext of irreligion.

(*l*) The whole weight of Antipater's diſpleaſure fell chiefly upon Demoſthenes, Hyperides, and ſome other Athenians, who had been their adherents: And when he was informed that they had eluded his vengeance by flight, he deſpatched a body of men with orders to ſeiſe them, and placed one Archias at their head, who had formerly played in tragedies. This man having found at Ægina, the orator Hyperides, Ariſtonicus of Marathon, and Hymereus the brother of Demetrius Phalereus, who had all three taken ſanctuary in the temple of Ajax; he dragged them from their aſylum, and ſent them to Antipater, who was then at Cleones, where he condemned them to die. Some authors have even declared, that he cauſed the tongue of Hyperides to be cut out.

The ſame Archias having received intelligence, that Demoſthenes, who had retired into the iſland of Calauria, was become a ſupplicant in the temple of Neptune, he ſailed thither in a ſmall veſſel, and landed with ſome Thracian ſoldiers: After which he ſpared no pains to perſuade Demoſthenes to accompany him to Antipater, aſſuring him, that he ſhould receive no injury. Demoſthenes was too well acquainted with mankind to rely on his promiſe; and was ſenſible that venal ſouls, who have hired themſelves into the ſervice of iniquity, thoſe infamous miniſters in the execution of orders equally cruel and unjuſt, have as little regard to ſincerity and truth as their maſters. To prevent therefore his falling into the hands of a tyrant, who would have ſatiated his fury upon him, he ſwallowed poiſon, which he always carried

(*k*) Diog. in Laert. in Demetr. (*l*) Plut. in Demoſt. p. 859, 860.

carried about him, and which ſoon produced its effect. When he found his ſtrength declining, he advanced a few ſteps, by the aid of ſome domeſticks who ſupported him, and fell down dead at the foot of the altar.

The Athenians, ſoon after this event, erected a ſtatue of braſs to his memory, as a teſtimonial of their gratitude and eſteem, and made a decree, that the eldeſt branch of his family ſhould be brought up in the Prytaneum, at the publick expence, from generation to generation: And at the foot of the ſtatue they engraved this inſcription, which was couched in two Elegiack verſes: *Demoſthenes, if thy power had been equal to thy wiſdom, the Macedonian Mars would never have triumphed over Greece.* What regard is to be entertained for the judgement of a people, who were capable of being hurried into ſuch oppoſite extremes, and who one day paſſed ſentence of death on a citizen, and loaded him with honours and applauſe the next?

What I have already ſaid of Demoſthenes, on ſeveral occaſions, makes it unneceſſary to enlarge upon his character in this place. He was not only a great orator, but an accompliſhed ſtateſman. His views were noble and exalted; his zeal was not to be intimidated by any conjectures, wherein the honour and intereſt of his country were concerned; he firmly retained an irreconcileable averſion to all meaſures which had any reſemblance to tyranny, and his love for liberty was ſuch as may be imagined in a republican, as implacable an enemy to all ſervitude and dependency as ever lived. A wonderful ſagacity of mind enabled him to penetrate into future events, and preſented them to his view with as much perſpicuity, though remote, as if they had been actually preſent. He ſeemed as much acquainted with all the deſigns of Philip, as if he had been admitted into a participation of his counſels; and if the Athenians had followed his counſels, that prince would not have attained that height of power, which proved

deſtructive to Greece, as Demoſthenes had frequently foretold.

(*m*) He was perfectly acquainted with the diſpoſition of Philip, and was very far from praiſing him, like the generality of orators. Two colleagues, with whom he was aſſociated in an embaſſy to that prince, were continually praiſing the king of Macedonia, at their return, and ſaying, that he was a very eloquent and amiable prince, and a moſt extraordinary drinker. *What ſtrange commendations are theſe?* replied Demoſthenes. *The firſt is the accompliſhment of a rhetorician; the ſecond of a woman; and the third of a ſponge; but none of them the praiſe of a king.*

With relation to eloquence, nothing can be added to what Quintilian has obſerved, in the parallel he has drawn between Demoſthenes and Cicero. After he has ſhown, that the great and eſſential qualities of an orator are common to them both, he marks out the particular difference obſervable between them with reſpect to ſtyle and elocution. "The one*," ſays he, "is more preciſe, the other more luxuriant. "The one crowds all his forces into a ſmaller com- "paſs when he attacks his adverſary, the other "chooſes a larger field for the aſſault. The one "always endeavours in a manner to transfix him "with the vivacity of his ſtyle, the other frequently "overwhelms him with the weight of his diſcourſe. "Nothing can be retrenched from the one, and "nothing can be added to the other. In Demoſthenes "we diſcover more labour and ſtudy, in Cicero more "nature and genius."

(*n*) I have elſewhere obſerved another difference between theſe two great orators, which I beg leave to inſert in this place. That which characteriſes Demoſthenes more than any other circumſtance, and in

(*m*) Plut. in Demoſt. p. 853.

(*n*) *In the diſcourſe on the eloquence of the bar.*

* In eloquendo eſt aliqua diverſitas. Denſior ille, hic copioſior. Ille concludit aſtrictiùs, hic latiùs pugnat. Ille acumine ſemper, hic frequenter et pondere. Illi nihil detrahi poteſt, huic nihil adjici. Curæ plus in illo, in hoc naturæ. *Quintil.* l. x. c. 1.

in which he has never been imitated, is ſuch an abſolute oblivion of himſelf, and ſo ſcrupulous and conſtant a ſollicitude to ſuppreſs all oſtentation of wit: In a word, ſuch a perpetual care to confine the attention of the auditor to the cauſe, and not to the orator, that he never ſuffers any one turn of thought or expreſſion to eſcape him, from no other view than merely to pleaſe and ſhine. This reſerve and moderation in ſo amiable a genius as Demoſthenes, and in matters ſo ſuſceptible of grace and eloquence, adds perfection to his merit, and renders him ſuperior to all praiſes.

Cicero was ſenſible of all the eſtimation due to the eloquence of Demoſthenes, and experienced all its force and beauty. But as he was perſuaded, that an orator, when he is engaged in any points that are not ſtrictly eſſential, ought to form his ſtyle by the taſte of his audience; and did not believe, that the genius of his times was conſiſtent with ſuch a rigid exactneſs: He therefore judged it neceſſary to accommodate himſelf in ſome meaſure to the ears and delicacy of his auditors, who required more grace and elegance in his diſcourſe. For which reaſon he had ſome regard to the agreeable, but at the ſame time, never loſt ſight of any important point in the cauſe he pleaded. He even thought that this qualified him for promoting the intereſt of his country, and was not miſtaken, as to pleaſe, is one of the moſt certain means of perſuading: But at the ſame time he laboured for his own reputation, and never forgot himſelf.

The death of Demoſthenes and Hyperides cauſed the Athenians to regret the reigns of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnanimity, generoſity, and clemency, which thoſe two princes retained, even amidſt the emotions of their diſpleaſure; and how inclinable they had always been to pardon offences, and treat their enemies with humanity. Whereas Antipater, under the maſk of a private man in a bad cloak, with all the appear-

ances of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title of authority, diſcovered himſelf to be a rigid and imperious maſter.

Antipater was however prevailed upon, by the prayers of Phocion, to recall ſeveral perſons from baniſhment, notwithſtanding all the ſeverity of his diſpoſition; and there is reaſon to believe, that Demetrius was one of this number. At leaſt, it is certain that he had a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration of the republick from that time. As for thoſe whoſe recall to Athens Phocion was unable to obtain, he procured for them more commodious ſituations, that were not ſo remote as their former ſettlements; and took his meaſures ſo effectually, that they were not baniſhed, according to the firſt ſentence, beyond the Deraunian mountains and the promontory of Tenarus; by which means they did not live ſequeſtered from the pleaſures of Greece, but obtained a ſettlement in Peloponneſus. Who can help admiring, on the one hand, the amiable and generous diſpoſition of Phocion, who employed his credit with Antipater, in order to procure a ſet of unfortunate perſons ſome alleviation of their calamities; and, on the other hand, a kind of humanity in a prince, who was not very deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by that quality, but was ſenſible, however, that it would be extremely rigid in him to add new mortifications to the inconveniencies of baniſhment.

Antipater in other reſpects exerciſed his government with great juſtice and moderation, over thoſe who continued in Athens; he beſtowed the principal poſts and employments on ſuch perſons, as he imagined were the moſt virtuous and honeſt men; and contented himſelf with removing from all authority, ſuch as he thought were moſt likely to excite troubles. He was ſenſible, that this people could neither ſupport a ſtate of abſolute ſervitude, nor the enjoyment of entire liberty; for which reaſon he thought it neceſſary to take from the one, whatever was too rigid;

rigid; and from the other, all that it had of exceſſive and licentious.

The conqueror, after ſo glorious a campaign, ſet out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter Phila with Craterus, and the ſolemnity was performed with all imaginable grandeur. Phila was one of the moſt accompliſhed princeſſes of her age, and her beauty was the leaſt part of her merit. The luſtre of her charms was heightened by the ſweetneſs and modeſty that ſoftened her aſpect, and by an air of complacency, and a natural diſpoſition to oblige, which won the hearts of all who beheld her. Theſe engaging qualities were rendered ſtill more amiable by the brightneſs of a ſuperior genius, and a prudence uncommon in her ſex, which made her capable of the greateſt affairs. It is even ſaid, that as young as ſhe then was, her father Antipater, who was one of the moſt able politicians of his age, never engaged in any affair of importance without conſulting her. This princeſs never made uſe of the influence ſhe had over her two huſbands (for after the death of Craterus, ſhe eſpouſed Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus) but to procure ſome favour for the officers, their daughters, or ſiſters. If they were poor, ſhe furniſhed them with portions for their marriage; and if they were ſo unhappy as to be calumniated, ſhe herſelf was very active in their juſtification. So generous a liberality gave her an abſolute power among the troops. All cabals were diſſolved by her preſence, and all revolts gave way, and were appeaſed by her conduct.

SECT. III. *Proceſſion at the funeral of* ALEXANDER. *His body is conveyed to Alexandria.* EUMENES *is put into poſſeſſion of Cappadocia by* PERDICCAS. PTOLEMY, CRATERUS, ANTIPATER, *and* ANTIGONUS, *confederate againſt each other. The death of* CRATERUS. *The unfortunate expedition of* PERDICCAS *into Egypt. He is ſlain there.*

A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321.

(*a*) MUCH about this time the * funeral obſequies of Alexander were performed. Aridæus having been deputed by all the governors and grandees of the kingdom, to take upon himſelf the care of that ſolemnity, had employed two years in preparing every thing that could poſſibly render it the moſt pompous and auguſt funeral that had ever been ſeen. When all things were ready for the celebration of this mournful, but ſuperb ceremonial, orders were given for the proceſſion to begin. This was preceded by a great number of pioneers and other workmen, whoſe office was to make all the ways practicable, through which the proceſſion was to paſs.

As ſoon as theſe were levelled, that magnificent chariot, the invention and deſign of which raiſed as much admiration, as the immenſe riches that glittered all over it, ſet out from Babylon. The body of the chariot reſted upon two axle-trees, that were inſerted into four wheels, made after the Perſian manner; the naves and ſpokes of which were covered with gold, and the rounds plated over with iron. The extremities of the axle-trees were made of gold, repreſenting the muſcles of lions biting a dart. The chariot had four draught beams, or poles, to each of which were harnaſſed four ſets of mules, each ſet conſiſting of four of thoſe animals; ſo that this chariot was drawn by ſixty-four mules. The ſtrongeſt of thoſe creatures, and the largeſt, were choſen on this occaſion.

(*a*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 608—610.

* *I could have wiſhed it had been in my power to have explained ſeveral paſſages of this deſcription in a more clear and intelligible manner than I have done: But that was not poſſible for me to effect, though I had recourſe to perſons of greater capacity than myſelf.*

occaſion. They were adorned with crowns of gold, and collars enriched with precious ſtones and golden bells.

On this chariot was erected a pavilion of entire gold, twelve feet wide, and eighteen in length, ſupported by columns of the Ionick order, embelliſhed with the leaves of acanthus. The inſide was adorned with a blaze of jewels, diſpoſed in the form of ſhells. The circumference was beautified with a fringe of golden net-work; the threads that compoſed the texture were an inch in thickneſs, and to thoſe were faſtened large bells, whoſe ſound was heard to a great diſtance.

The external decorations were diſpoſed into four relievoes.

The firſt repreſented Alexander ſeated in a military chariot, with a ſplendid ſcepter in his hand, and ſurrounded, on one ſide with a troop of Macedonians in arms; and on the other, with an equal number of Perſians armed in their manner. Theſe were preceded by the king's equerries.

In the ſecond were ſeen elephants completely harneſſed, with a band of Indians ſeated on the fore-part of their bodies; and on the hinder, another band of Macedonians, armed as in the day of battle.

The third exhibited to the view ſeveral ſquadrons of horſe ranged in military array.

The fourth repreſented ſhips preparing for a battle.

At the entrance into the pavilion were golden lions, that ſeemed to guard the paſſage.

The four corners were adorned with ſtatues of gold, repreſenting victories, with trophies of arms in their hands.

Under the pavilion was placed a throne of gold of a ſquare form, adorned with the heads of animals *, whoſe necks were encompaſſed with golden circles a foot and a half in breadth; to theſe were hung crowns, that glittered with the livelieſt colours, and ſuch as

* *The Greek word* τραγελαφος *imports a kind of hart, from whoſe chin a beard hangs down like that of goats.*

were carried in proceſſion at the celebration of ſacred ſolemnities.

At the foot of the throne was placed the coffin of Alexander, formed of beaten gold, and half filled with aromatick ſpices and perfumes, as well to exhale an agreeable odour, as for the preſervation of the corpſe. A pall of purple wrought with gold covered thr coffin.

Between this and the throne the arms of that monarch were diſpoſed in the manner he wore them when living.

The outſide of the pavilion was likewiſe covered with purple flowered with gold. The top ended in a very large crown of the ſame metal, which ſeemed to be a compoſition of olive-branches. The rays of the ſun which darted on this diadem, in conjuction with the motion of the chariot, cauſed it to emit a kind of rays like thoſe of lightning.

It may eaſily be imagined, that, in ſo long a proceſſion, the motion of a chariot, laden like this, would be liable to great inconveniencies. In order, therefore, that the pavilion, with all its appendages, might, when the chariot moved in any uneven ways, conſtantly continue in the ſame ſituation, notwithſtanding the inequality of the ground, and the ſhocks that would frequently be unavoidable, a cylinder was raiſed from the middle of each axle-tree, to ſupport the pavillion; by which expedient the whole machine was preſerved ſteady.

The chariot was followed by the royal guards, all in arms, and magnificently arrayed.

The multitude of ſpectators of this ſolemnity is hardly credible; but they were drawn together as well by their veneration for the memory of Alexander, as by the magnificence of this funeral pomp, which had never been equalled in the world.

There was a current prediction, that the place where Alexander ſhould be interred, would be rendered the moſt happy and flouriſhing part of the whole earth. The governors conteſted with each other,

other, for the diſpoſal of a body that was to be attended with ſuch a glorious prerogative. The affection Perdiccas entertained for his country, made him deſirous that the corpſe ſhould be conveyed to Ægæ in Macedonia, where the remains of its kings were uſually depoſited. Other places were likewiſe propoſed, but the preference was given to Egypt. Ptolemy, who had ſuch extraordinary and recent obligations to the king of Macedonia, was determined to ſignaliſe his gratitude on this occaſion. He accordingly ſet out with a numerous guard of his beſt troops, in order to meet the proceſſion, and advanced as far as Syria. When he had joined the attendants on the funeral, he prevented them from interring the corpſe in the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, as they had propoſed. It was therefore depoſited, firſt in the city of Memphis, and from thence was conveyed to Alexandria. Ptolemy raiſed a magnificent temple to the memory of this monarch, and rendered him all the honours which were uſually paid to demi-gods and heroes by pagan antiquity.

(*b*) Freinſhemius, in his ſupplement to Livy, relates, after Leo * the African, that the tomb of Alexander the Great was ſtill to be ſeen in his time, and that it was reverenced by the Mohammedans, as the monument, not only of an illuſtrious king, but of a great prophet.

(*c*) Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, which border on the Pontick ſea, were allotted to Eumenes, in conſequence of the partition of the ſeveral governments of Alexander's empire; and it was expreſsly ſtipulated by the treaty, that Leonatus and Antigonus ſhould march with a great body of troops to eſtabliſh Eumenes in the government of thoſe dominions, and diſpoſſeſs king Ariarathes of the ſovereignty. This general reſolution of ſending troops and experienced commanders into the ſeveral provinces of the empire, was formed with great judgement; and the intention of it

(*b*) Lib. cxxxiii. (*c*) Plut. in Eumen. p. 584. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599.

* *This author lived in the 15th century.*

it was, that all thoſe conquered territories ſhould continue under the dominion of the Macedonians, and that the inhabitants, being no longer governed by their own ſovereigns, ſhould have no future inclination to recover their former liberty, nor be in a condition to ſet each other the example of throwing off the new yoke of the Greeks.

But neither Leonatus nor Antigonus were very ſolicitous to execute this article of the treaty; and, as they were entirely attentive to their own particular intereſt and aggrandiſement, they took other meaſures. Eumenes, ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned by thoſe who ought to have eſtabliſhed him in his government, ſet out with all his equipage, which conſiſted of three hundred horſe and two hundred of his domeſticks well armed; with all his riches, which amounted to about five thouſand talents of gold; and retired to Perdiccas, who gave him a favourable reception. As he was much eſteemed by that commander, he was admitted into a participation of all his counſels. Eumenes was indeed a man of great ſolidity and reſolution, and the moſt able of all the captains of Alexander.

Within a ſhort time after this event, he was conducted into Cappadocia by a great army which Perdiccas thought fit to command in perſon. Ariarathes had made the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence, and had raiſed twenty thouſand foot and a great body of horſe: But he was defeated and taken priſoner by Perdiccas, who deſtroyed his whole family, and inveſted Eumenes with the government of his dominions. He intended, by this inſtance of ſeverity, to intimidate the people, and extinguiſh all ſeditions. And this conduct was very judicious, and abſolutely neceſſary in the conjuncture of a new government, when the ſtate is in a general ferment, and all things are uſually diſpoſed for commotions. Perdiccas, after this tranſaction, advanced with his troops to chaſtiſe Iſaura and Laranda, cities of Piſidia, which had maſſacred their governors, and revolted from the Macedonians.

Macedonians. The laſt of theſe cities was deſtroyed in a very ſurpriſing manner: For the inhabitants finding themſelves in no condition to defend it, and deſpairing of any quarter from the conqueror, ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, with their wives, children, and parents, and all their gold and ſilver, ſet fire to their ſeveral habitations, and, after they had fought with the fury of lions, threw themſelves into the flames. The city was abandoned to plunder; and the ſoldiers, after they had extinguiſhed the fire, found a very great booty, for the place was filled with riches.

(*d*) Perdiccas, after this expedition, marched into Cilicia, where he paſſed the winter ſeaſon. During his reſidence in that country, he formed a reſolution to divorce Nicea, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had eſpouſed at a time, when he thought that marriage ſubſervient to his intereſt. But when the regency of the empire had given him a ſuperior credit, and given birth to more exalted hopes, his thoughts took a different turn, and he was deſirous of eſpouſing Cleopatra, the ſiſter of Alexander the Great. She had been married to Alexander king of Epirus; and, having loſt her huſband in the wars of Italy, ſhe had continued in a ſtate of widowhood, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Perdiccas diſpatched Eumenes thither, to propoſe his marriage to that princeſs, and employ his endeavours to render him agreeable to her. This alliance with a lady who was the ſiſter of Alexander by the ſame father and mother, and exceedingly beloved by the Macedonians, opened him a way to the empire through the favour of that people, which he might naturally expect from his marriage with Cleopatra. A. M. 3683 Ant. J. C. 321.

Antigonus penetrated into his deſign, and evidently foreſaw that his own deſtruction was to be the foundation of the intended ſucceſs. He therefore paſſed into Greece with the greateſt expedition, in order to find Antipater and Craterus, who were then engaged

(*d*) Diod. p. 606—609.

gaged in a war with the Ætolians, and diſcloſed to them the whole plan that Perdiccas had formed. Upon this intelligence they immediately came to an accommodation with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Helleſpont, to obſerve the motions of the new enemy; and, in order to ſtrengthen their own party, they engaged Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, in their intereſt.

Craterus, one of the greateſt of Alexander's captains, had the largeſt ſhare of the affection and eſteem of the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had ordered him to conduct into Macedonia the ten thouſand veteran troops he intended to ſend thither, on account of their age, wounds, or other infirmities, which rendered them incapable of the ſervice. The king had likewiſe conferred upon him at the ſame time the government of Macedonia in the room of Antipater, whom he recalled to Babylon. Theſe provinces having been conſigned to Craterus and Antipater after the death of Alexander, they governed them in concert, and Craterus always conducted himſelf like a good and faithful aſſociate; eſpecially in the operations of this war, in which they were unavoidably engaged by the diſcovery of the deſigns Perdiccas was forming.

Perdiccas ſent Eumenes back to his province, not only to regulate the ſtate of affairs in that country, but more particularly to keep a watchful eye on the motions of Neoptolemus his next neighbour, who was governour of Armenia, and whoſe conduct was ſuſpected by Perdiccas, but not without ſufficient reaſon, as will be evident in the ſequel.

(*e*) This Neoptolemus was a man remarkable for his ſtupid pride, and the inſupportable arrogance he had contracted, from the vain hopes with which he fed his imagination. Eumenes endeavoured to reduce him to reaſon by gentle meaſures; and when he ſaw that the troops of the Macedonian phalanx, who were commanded by Neoptolemus, were grown very inſolent and audacious, he made it his care to aſſemble

(*e*) Plut. in Eumen. p. 585.

ble a body of horſe ſtrong enough to oppoſe their deſigns, and keep them within the bounds of reſpect and obedience. With this view he granted all ſorts of immunities and exemptions from impoſts to thoſe of the inhabitants who were in a condition to appear on horſeback. He likewiſe purchaſed a great number of horſes, and beſtowed them on thoſe of his court in whom he confided the moſt; and inflamed their courage by the honours and rewards he conferred upon them. He diſciplined and habituated them to labour and fatigue by reviews, exerciſes, and continual movements. Every body was ſurpriſed to ſee him aſſemble, in ſo ſhort a time, a body of ſix thouſand horſe, capable of good ſervice in the field.

Perdiccas, having cauſed all his troops to file off the next ſpring towards Cappadocia, held a council with his friends on the operations of the intended war. The ſubject of their deliberations was, whether they ſhould march firſt into Macedonia againſt Antipater and Craterus, or into Egypt againſt Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the laſt; and it was concluded, at the ſame time that Eumenes, with part of the army, ſhould guard the Aſiatick provinces againſt Antipater and Craterus: And, in order to engage him more effectually to eſpouſe the common cauſe, Perdiccas added the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, to his government. He likewiſe declared him generaliſſimo of all the troops in Cappadocia and Armenia, and ordered all the governors to obey him. Perdiccas, after this, advanced towards Egypt through Damaſcene and Paleſtine. He alſo took the two minor kings with him in this expedition, in order to cover his deſigns with the royal authority.

(f) Eumenes ſpared no pains to have a good army on foot, in order to oppoſe Antipater and Craterus, who had already paſſed the Helleſpont, and were marching againſt him. They left nothing unattempted to diſengage him from the party he had eſpouſed, and promiſed

(f) Plut. in Eumen. p. 585—587. Diod. l. xviii. p. 610—613.

promiſed him the addition of new provinces to thoſe he already poſſeſſed: But he was too ſteady * to be ſhaken by thoſe offers, in breach of his engagements to Perdiccas. They ſucceeded better with Alcetas and Neoptolemus, for they engaged the former to obſerve a neutrality, though the brother of Perdiccas, and the other declared in their favour. Eumenes attacked and defeated the latter at a narrow paſs, and even took all his baggage. This victory was owing to his cavalry, whom he had formed with ſo much care. Neoptolemus ſaved himſelf with three hundred horſe, and joined Antipater and Craterus; but the reſt of his troops went over to Eumenes.

Antipater entered Cilicia with an intention to advance into Egypt, in order to aſſiſt Ptolemy, if his affairs ſhould require his aid; and he detached Craterus and Neoptolemus with the reſt of the army againſt Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. A great battle was fought there, the ſucceſs of which is entirely to be aſcribed to the wiſe and vigilant precaution of Eumenes, which Plutarch juſtly conſiders as the maſter-piece of a great commander. The reputation of Craterus was very great, and the generality of the Macedonians were deſirous of him for their leader after the death of Alexander, remembering that his affection for them, and his deſire to ſupport their intereſt, had cauſed him to incur the diſpleaſure of that prince. Neoptolemus had flattered him, that as ſoon as he ſhould appear in the field, all the Macedonians of the oppoſite party would liſt themſelves under his banners, and Eumenes himſelf was very apprehenſive of that event. But, in order to avoid this misfortune, which would have occaſioned his inevitable ruin, he cauſed the avenues and narrow paſſes to be ſo carefully guarded, that his army were entirely ignorant of the enemy againſt whom he was leading them, having cauſed a report to be ſpread, that it was only

* Quem (Perdiccam) etſi infirmum videbat, quòd unus omnibus reſiſtere cogebatur, amicum non deſeruit, neque ſalutis quàm fidei fuit cupidior. *Cor. Nep. in Eum.* c. iii.

only Neoptolomus, who was preparing to attack him a ſecond time. In the diſpoſitions he made for the battle, he was careful not to oppoſe any Macedonian againſt Craterus; and iſſued an order, with very ſevere penalties, that no herald from the enemy ſhould be received on any account whatever.

The firſt charge was very rude; the lances were ſoon ſhivered on both ſides, and the two armies attacked ſword in hand. Craterus acted nothing to the diſhonour of Alexander on this laſt day of his life, for he killed ſeveral of the enemies with his own hand, and frequently bore down all who oppoſed him; till, at laſt, a Thracian wounded him in the flank, when he fell from his horſe. All the enemy's cavalry rode over him without knowing who he was, and did not diſcover him till he was breathing his laſt.

As to the other wing, Neoptolemus and Eumenes, who perſonally hated each other, having met in the battle, and their horſes charging with a violent ſhock, they ſeiſed each other; and their horſes ſpringing from under them, they both fell on the earth, where they ſtruggled like two implacable wreſtlers, and fought for a conſiderable time with the utmoſt fury and rage, till at laſt Neoptolemus received a mortal wound, and immediately expired.

Eumenes then remounted his horſe, and puſhed his left wing to that part of the field, where he believed the enemy's troops ſtill continued unbroken. There, when he was informed that Craterus was killed, he ſpurred his horſe to the place where he lay, and found him expiring. When he beheld this melancholy ſpectacle, he could not refuſe his tears to the death of an ancient friend whom he had always eſteemed; and he cauſed the laſt honours to be paid him with all poſſible magnificence. He likewiſe ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedonia, in order to be given to his wife and children. Eumenes gained this ſecond victory ten days after the firſt.

(g) In the mean time Perdiccas had advanced into Egypt, and began the war with Ptolemy, though with very different ſucceſs. Ptolemy, from the time he was conſtituted governor of that country, had conducted himſelf with ſo much juſtice and humanity, that he had entirely gained the hearts of all the Egyptians. An infinite number of people, charmed with the lenity of ſo wiſe an adminiſtration, came thither from Greece and other parts to enter into his ſervice. This additional advantage rendered him extremely powerful; and even the army of Perdiccas had ſo much eſteem for Ptolemy, that they marched with reluctance againſt him, and great numbers of them deſerted daily to his troops. All theſe circumſtances were fatal to the views of Perdiccas, and he loſt his own life in that country. Having unfortunately taken a reſolution to make his army paſs an arm of the Nile, which formed an iſland near Memphis, in paſſing he loſt two thouſand men, half of whom were drowned, and the remainder devoured by crocodiles. The Macedonians were exaſperated to ſuch a degree of fury, when they ſaw themſelves expoſed to ſuch unneceſſary dangers, that they mutinied againſt him; in conſequence of which, he was abandoned by a hundred of his principal officers, of whom Pithon was the moſt conſiderable, and was aſſaſſinated in his tent with moſt of his intimate friends.

Two days after this event, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes; and had this account come two days ſooner, it would certainly have prevented the mutiny, and conſequently the revolution that ſoon ſucceeded it, which proved ſo favourable to Ptolemy and Antipater, and all their adherents.

(g) Diod. l. xviii. p. 613—616. Plut. in Eumen. p. 587. Cor. Nep. c. v.

SECT.

SECT. IV. *The regency is transferred to* ANTIPATER. EUMENES *beſieged by* ANTIGONUS *in Nora. Jeruſalem beſieged and taken by* PTOLEMY. DEMADES *put to death by* CASSANDER. ANTIPATER *on his death-bed nominates* POLYSPERCHON *for his ſucceſſor in the regency. The latter recalls* OLYMPIAS. ANTIGONUS *becomes very powerful.*

(a) PTOLEMY paſſed the Nile the day after the death of Perdiccas, and entered the Macedonian camp; where he juſtified his own conduct ſo effectually, that all the troops declared in his favour. When the death of Craterus was known, he made ſuch an artful improvement of their affliction and reſentment, that he induced them to paſs a decree, whereby Eumenes, and fifty other perſons of the ſame party, were declared enemies to the Macedonian ſtate; and this decree authoriſed Antipater and Antigonus to carry on a war againſt them. But when this prince perceived the troops had a general inclination to offer him the regency of the two kings, which became vacant by the death of Perdiccas, he had the precaution to decline that office, becauſe he was very ſenſible that the royal pupils had a title without a reality; that they would never be capable of ſuſtaining the weight of that vaſt empire, nor be in a condition to re-unite, under their authority, ſo many governments accuſtomed to independency; that there was an inevitable tendency to diſmember the whole, as well from the inclinations and intereſt of the officers, as the ſituation of affairs; that all his acquiſitions in the interim would redound to the advantage of his pupils; that while he appeared to poſſeſs the firſt rank, he ſhould in reality enjoy nothing fixed and ſolid, or that could any way be conſidered as his own property; that, upon the expiration of the regency, he ſhould be left without any government or real eſtabliſhment, and that he ſhould neither be maſter of an army to ſupport him, nor of any retreat

(a) Diod. l. xviii. p. 616—619.

for his preſervation: Whereas all his colleagues would enjoy the richeſt provinces in perfect tranquillity, and he be the only one who had not derived any advantages from the common conqueſts. Theſe conſiderations induced him to prefer the poſt he already enjoyed to the new title that was offered him, as the former was leſs hazardous, and rendered him leſs obnoxious to envy; he therefore cauſed the choice to fall on Pithon and Aridæus.

The firſt of theſe perſons had commanded with diſtinction in all the wars of Alexander, and had embraced the party of Perdiccas, till he was a witneſs of his imprudent conduct in paſſing the Nile, which induced him to quit his ſervice, and go over to Ptolemy.

With reſpect to Aridæus, hiſtory has taken no notice of him before the death of Alexander, when the funeral ſolemnities of that prince were committed to his care; and we have already ſeen in what manner he acquitted himſelf of that melancholy but honourable commiſſion, after he had employed two years in the preparations for it.

The honour of this guardianſhip was of no long continuance to them. Eurydice, the conſort of king Aridæus, whom we ſhall diſtinguiſh for the future by the name of Philip, being fond of interfering in all affairs, and being ſupported in her pretenſions by the Macedonians; the two regents were ſo diſſatisfied with their employment, that they voluntarily reſigned it, after they had ſent the army back to Triparadis in Syria; and it was then conferred upon Antipater.

As ſoon as he was inveſted with his authority, he made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, in which he excluded all thoſe who had eſpouſed the intereſt of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and re-eſtabliſhed every perſon of the other party, who had been diſpoſſeſſed. In this new diviſion of the empire, Seleucus, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, as we have already intimated, had the government of Babylon, and became afterwards the moſt powerful of all the ſucceſſors of Alexander.

Pithon

Pithon had the government of Media; but Atropates, who at that time enjoyed the government of that province, ſupported himſelf in one part of the country, and aſſumed the regal dignity, without acknowledging the authority of the Macedonians; and this tract of Media was afterwards called Media Atropatena. Antipater, after this regulation of affairs, ſent Antigonus againſt Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia; but left his ſon Caſſander behind him, in quality of general of the cavalry, and with orders to be near the perſon of Antigonus, that he might the better be informed of his deſigns.

(*b*) Jaddus, the high-prieſt of the Jews, died this year, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Onias, whoſe pontificate continued for the ſpace of twenty-one years. I make this remark, becauſe the hiſtory of the Jews will, in the ſequel of this work, be very much intermixed with that of Alexander's ſucceſſors. A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321.

(*c*) Antigonus appeared early in the field againſt Eumenes; and a battle was fought at Orcynium in Cappadocia, wherein Eumenes was defeated, and loſt eight thouſand men by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal officers of his cavalry; who was corrupted by Antigonus, and marched over to the enemy in the midſt of the battle. (*d*) The traitor was ſoon puniſhed for his perfidy, for Eumenes took him, and cauſed him to be hanged upon the ſpot. A. M. 3684. Ant. J. C. 320.

(*e*) A conjuncture, which happened ſoon after this defeat, would have enabled Eumenes to ſeiſe the baggage of Antigonus and all his riches, with a great number of priſoners; and his little troop already caſt an eager eye on ſo conſiderable a booty. But whether his apprehenſions that ſo rich a prey would enervate the hearts of his ſoldiers, who were then conſtrained to wander from place to place; or whether his regard to Antigonus, with whom he had formerly contracted a particular friendſhip, prevented him from improving this opportunity; it is certain, that he

(*b*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8. (*c*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 618, 619.
(*d*) Plut. in Eumen. p. 588—590. (*e*) Cor. Nep. in Eum. c. v.

ſent a letter to that commander, to inform him of the danger that threatened him; and when he afterwards made a feint to attack the baggage, it was all removed to a place of better ſecurity.

Eumenes, after his overthrow, was obliged, for his preſervation, to employ moſt of his time in changing the place of his retreat; and he was highly admired for the tranquillity and ſteadineſs of mind he diſcovered in the wandering life to which he was reduced: For, as Plutarch obſerves, adverſity alone can place greatneſs of ſoul in its full point of light, and render the real merit of mankind conſpicuous; whereas proſperity frequently caſts a veil of falſe grandeur over real meanneſs and imperfections. Eumenes, having at laſt diſbanded moſt of his remaining troops, ſhut himſelf up with five hundred men, who were determined to ſhare his fate, in the caſtle of Nora, a place of extraordinary ſtrength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he ſuſtained a ſiege of twelve months.

He was ſoon ſenſible, that nothing incommoded his garriſon ſo much as the ſmall ſpace they poſſeſſed, being ſhut up in little cloſe houſes, and on a tract of ground, whoſe whole circuit did not exceed two hundred fathoms, where they could neither walk nor perform the leaſt exerciſe; and where their horſes, having ſcarce any room for motion, became ſluggiſh, and incapable of ſervice. To remedy this inconvenience, he had recourſe to the following expedient. He converted the largeſt houſe in the place, the extent of which did not exceed twenty-one feet, into a kind of hall for exerciſe. This he conſigned to the men, and ordered them to walk in it very gently at firſt; they were afterwards to double their pace by degrees, and at laſt were to exert the moſt vigorous motions. He then took the following method for the horſes. He ſuſpended them, one after another, in ſtrong ſlings, which were diſpoſed under their breaſts, and from thence inſerted into rings faſtened to the roofs of the ſtable; after which he cauſed them to be raiſed into

the

the air by the aid of pullies, and in ſuch a manner, that only their hinder feet reſted on the ground, while the extreme part of the hoofs of their fore-feet could hardly touch it. In this condition the grooms laſhed them ſeverely with their whips, which tormented the horſes to ſuch a degree, and forced them into ſuch violent agitations, that their bodies were all covered with ſweat and foam. After this exerciſe, which was finely calculated to ſtrengthen and keep them in wind, and likewiſe to render their limbs ſupple and pliant; their barley was given to them very clean, and winnowed from all the chaff, that they might eat it the ſooner, and with leſs difficulty. The abilities of a good general extend to every thing about him, and are ſeen in the minuteſt particulars.

The ſiege, or more properly, the blockade of Nora, did not prevent Antigonus from undertaking a new expedition into Piſidia, againſt Alcetas and Attalus; the laſt of whom was taken priſoner in a battle, and the other ſlain by treachery in the place to which he retired. A. M. 3685. Ant. J. C. 319.

(f) During theſe tranſactions in Aſia, Ptolemy ſeeing of what importance Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa were, as well for covering Egypt, as for making proper diſpoſitions on that ſide for the invaſion of Cyprus, which he had then in view, determined to make himſelf maſter of thoſe provinces which were governed by Laomedon. With this intention he ſent Nicanor into Syria with a body of land-forces, while he himſelf ſet out with a fleet to attack the coaſts. Nicanor defeated Laomedon, and took him priſoner; in conſequence of which he ſoon conquered the inland country. Ptolemy had the ſame advantages on the coaſts, by which means he became abſolute maſter of thoſe provinces. The princes in alliance with him were alarmed at the rapidity of theſe conqueſts; but Antipater was at too great a diſtance, being then in Macedonia; and Antigonus was too much employed againſt Eumenes, to oppoſe theſe great acceſſions

(f) Diod. l. xviii. p. 621, 622.

to the power of Ptolemy, who gave them no little jealouſy.

(*g*) After the defeat of Laomedon, the Jews were the only people who made any reſiſtance. They were duely ſenſible of the obligation they were under, by the oath they had taken, to their governor, and were determined to continue faithful to him. Ptolemy advanced into Judæa, and formed the ſiege of Jeruſalem. This city was ſo ſtrong by its advantageous ſituation, in conjunction with the works of art, that it would have ſuſtained a long ſiege, had it not been for the religious fear the Jews entertained of violating the law, by which they were prohibited to defend themſelves on the ſabbath. Ptolemy was not long unacquainted with this particular; and, in order to improve the great advantage it gave him, he choſe that day for the general aſſault; and as no individual among the Jews would preſume to defend himſelf, the city was taken without any difficulty.

Ptolemy at firſt treated Jeruſalem and Judæa with great ſeverity, for he carried above a hundred thouſand of the inhabitants captives into Egypt: But when he afterwards conſidered the ſteadineſs with which they had perſiſted in the fidelity they had ſworn to their governors, on this, and a variety of other occaſions, he was convinced, that this quality rendered them more worthy of his confidence; and he accordingly choſe thirty thouſand of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them, who were moſt capable of ſerving him, and appointed them to guard the moſt important places in his dominions.

(*h*) Much about this time Antipater fell ſick in Macedonia. The Athenians were greatly diſſatisfied with the garriſon he had left in their city, and had frequently preſſed Phocion to go to the court of that prince, and ſollicit him to recall thoſe troops: But he always declined that commiſſion, either through a deſpair of not ſucceeding, or elſe becauſe he was conſcious,

(*g*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1.

(*h*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 625, 626. Plut. in Phoc. p. 755.

ſcious, that the fear of this garriſon was the beſt expedient for keeping them within the bounds of their duty. Demades, who was not ſo difficult to be prevailed upon, undertook the commiſſion with pleaſure, and immediately ſet out with his ſon for Macedonia. But his arrival in that country could not have happened at a more fatal conjuncture for himſelf. Antipater, as I have already intimated, was ſeiſed with a ſevere illneſs; and his ſon Caſſander, who was abſolute maſter of all affairs, had lately intercepted a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Aſia, preſſing him to come as ſoon as poſſible, and make himſelf maſter of Greece and Macedonia; *which*, as he expreſſed himſelf, *were held together only by a thread, and even an old and rotten thread*, ridiculing Antipater by thoſe expreſſions. As ſoon as Caſſander ſaw them appear at court, he cauſed them both to be arreſted; and he himſelf ſeiſing the ſon firſt, ſtabbed him before the face of his father, and at ſo little diſtance from him, that he was covered with his blood. After which he reproached him with his perfidy and ingratitude, and when he had loaded him with inſults, he alſo killed him with his own hands on the dead body of his ſon. It was impoſſible that ſuch a barbarous proceeding ſhould not be deteſted; but mankind are not much diſpoſed to pity ſuch a wretch as Demades, who had dictated the decree, by which Demoſthenes and Hyperides were condemned to die.

The indiſpoſition of Antipater proved fatal to him, and his laſt attention was employed in filling up the two great ſtations which he enjoyed. His ſon Caſſander was very deſirous of them, and expected to have them conferred upon him; notwithſtanding which, Antipater beſtowed the regency of the kingdom, and the government of Macedonia, on Polyſperchon, the moſt ancient of all the ſurviving captains of Alexander, and thought it ſufficient to aſſociate Caſſander with him in thoſe employments.

I am at a loſs to determine, whether any inſtance of human conduct was ever greater, or more to be

admired than this which I have now related in few words; nothing certainly could be more extraordinary, and hiſtory affords us few inſtances of the ſame nature. It was neceſſary to appoint a governor over Macedonia, and a regent of the empire. Antipater, who knew the importance of thoſe ſtations, was perſuaded that his own glory and reputation, and, what was ſtill more prevalent with him, the intereſt of the ſtate, and the preſervation of the Macedonian monarchy, obliged him to nominate a man of authority, and one reſpected for his age, experience, and paſt ſervices. He had a ſon who was not void of merit; how rare and difficult therefore, but, at the ſame time, how amiable and glorious was it to ſelect, on ſuch an occaſion, no man but the moſt deſerving, and beſt qualified to ſerve the publick effectually; to extinguiſh the voice of nature; turn a deaf ear to all her remonſtrances. and not ſuffer the judgement to be ſeduced by the impreſſions of paternal affection; in a word, to continue ſo much maſter of one's penetration, as to render juſtice to the merit of a ſtranger, and openly prefer it to that of a ſon, and ſacrifice all the intereſt of one's own family to the publick welfare! Hiſtory has tranſmitted to us an expreſſion of the emperor Galba, which will do honour to his memory throughout all ages. *Auguſtus* *, ſaid he, *choſe a ſucceſſor out of his own family; and I one from the whole empire.*

Caſſander was extremely enraged at the affront, which, as he pretended, had been offered him by this choice; and thought in that reſpect, like the generality of men, who are apt to look upon the employments they poſſeſs as hereditary, and with this flattering perſuaſion, that the ſtate is of no conſequence in compariſon with themſelves: Never examining what is requiſite to the poſts they enjoy, or whether they have competent abilities to ſuſtain them, and conſidering only whether thoſe poſts are agreeable to their

* Auguſtus in domo ſucceſſorem quæſivit: ego in republica. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. i. c. 15.

their fortune. Caſſander, not being able to digeſt his father's preferring a ſtranger before him, endeavoured to form a party againſt the new regent. He alſo ſecured to himſelf all the places he could in the government of that officer, as well in Greece as in Macedonia, and propoſed nothing leſs, than to diveſt him of the whole.

(*i*) To this effect, he endeavoured to engage Ptolemy and Antigonus in his party; and they readily eſpouſed it with the ſame views, and from the ſame motives. It was equally their intereſt to deſtroy this new regent, as well as the regency itſelf, which always kept them in apprehenſions, and reminded them of their ſtate of dependency. They likewiſe imagined, that it ſecretly reproached them for aſpiring at ſovereignty, while it cheriſhed the rights of the two pupils; and left the governors in a ſituation of uncertainty, in conſequence of which they were perpetually in fear of being diveſted of their power. Both the one and the other believed it would be eaſy for them to ſucceed in their deſigns, if the Macedonians were once engaged at home in a civil war.

The death of Antipater had rendered Antigonus the moſt powerful of all the captains of Alexander. His authority was abſolute in all the provinces of Aſia Minor, in conjunction with the title of generaliſſimo, and an army of ſeventy thouſand men, and thirty elephants, which no power in the empire was, at that time, capable of reſiſting. It cannot, therefore, be thought ſurpriſing, that this ſuperiority ſhould inſpire him with the deſign of engroſſing the whole monarchy of the Macedonians; and, in order to ſucceed in that attempt, he began with making a reformation in all the governments of the provinces within his juriſdiction, diſplacing all thoſe perſons whom he ſuſpected, and ſubſtituting his creatures in their room. In the conduct of this ſcheme, he removed Aridæus from the government of leſſer Phrygia, and the Helleſpont, and Clytus from that of Lydia.

Polyſperchon

(*i*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 630.

(*k*) Polyſperchon neglected nothing, on his part, that was neceſſary to ſtrengthen his intereſt; and thought it adviſeable to recall Olympias, who had retired into Epirus under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of ſharing his authority with her. This princeſs diſpatched a courier to Eumenes, to conſult him on the propoſal ſhe had received; and he adviſed her to wait ſome time, in order to ſee what turn affairs would take: Adding, that if ſhe determined to return to Macedonia, he would recommend it to her in particular, to forget all the injuries ſhe thought ſhe had received; that it would alſo be her intereſt to govern with moderation, and to make others ſenſible of her authority by benefactions, and not by ſeverity. As to all other particulars, he promiſed an inviolable attachment to herſelf and the royal family. Olympias did not conform to theſe judicious counſels in any reſpect, but ſet out as ſoon as poſſible for Macedonia; where upon her arrival, ſhe conſulted nothing but her paſſions, and her inſatiable deſire of dominion and revenge.

Polyſperchon, who had many enemies upon his hands endeavoured to ſecure Greece, of which he foreſaw Caſſander would attempt to make himſelf maſter. He alſo took meaſures with relation to other parts of the empire, as will appear by the ſequel.

(*l*) In order to engage the Greeks in his intereſt, he iſſued a decree, by which he recalled the exiles, and re-inſtated all the cities in their ancient privileges. He acquainted the Athenians in particular by letters, that the king had re-eſtabliſhed their democracy and ancient form of government, by which the Athenians were admitted without diſtinction into publick offices. This was a ſtrain of policy calculated to enſnare Phocion; for Polyſperchon intending to make himſelf maſter of Athens, as was evident in a ſhort time, he deſpaired of ſucceeding in that deſign, unleſs he could find ſome expedient to procure the baniſhment of

(*k*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 626, & 634. Cor Nep. in Eumen. c. vi.
(*l*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 631, 632

of Phocion, who had favoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater; and he was therefore certain of accompliſhing this ſcheme, as ſoon as thoſe, who had been excluded from the government, ſhould be re-inſtated in their ancient rights.

SECT. V. *The Athenians condemn* PHOCION *to die.* CASSANDER *makes himſelf maſter of Athens, where he eſtabliſhes* DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS *in the government of that republick. His prudent adminiſtration.* EUMENES *quits Nora. Various expeditions of* ANTIGONUS, SELEUCUS, PTOLEMY, *and other generals, againſt him.* OLYMPIAS *cauſes* ARIDÆUS *to be ſlain, and is murthered in her turn by the orders of* CASSANDER. *The war between him and* POLYSPERCHON. *The re-eſtabliſhment of Thebes.* EUMENES *is betrayed by his own troops, delivered up to* ANTIGONUS, *and put to death.*

(a) CASSANDER, before the death of Antipater was known at Athens, had ſent Nicanor thither, to ſuceed Menyllus in the government of the fortreſs of Munychia, ſoon after which he had made himſelf maſter of Piræeus. Phocion, who placed too much confidence in the probity and fidelity of Nicanor, had contracted a ſtrict intimacy, and converſed frequently with him, which cauſed the people to ſuſpect him more than ever.

In this conjuncture, Alexander, the ſon of Polyſperchon, arrived with a great body of troops, under pretext of ſuccouring the city againſt Nicanor, but in reality to ſeiſe it into his own power, if poſſible, in conſequence of the diviſions which then reigned within it. He there held a tumultuous aſſembly, in which Phocion was diveſted of his employment of general; while Demetrius Phalereus, with ſeveral other citizens, who were apprehenſive of the ſame fate, immediately retired from the city. Phocion, who had the grief to ſee himſelf accuſed of treaſon, took ſanctuary with Polyſperchon, who ſent him back to be tried by

(a) Diod. l. xviii. p. 638—642.

by the people. An aſſembly was immediately convoked on that occaſion, from which neither ſlaves, ſtrangers, nor any infamous perſons whatever, were excluded. This proceeding was contrary to all the eſtabliſhed rules; notwithſtanding which, Phocion, and the other priſoners, were preſented to the people. Moſt perſons of any merit in the aſſembly caſt down their eyes to the earth at this ſpectacle, and, covering their heads, wept abundantly. One among them having the courage to move, that the ſlaves and ſtrangers might be ordered to withdraw, was immediately oppoſed by the populace, who cried out that they ought rather to ſtone thoſe advocates for oligarchy and enemies of the people. Phocion frequently attempted to plead his own cauſe, and vindicate his conduct, but was always interrupted. It was cuſtomary at Athens, for the perſon accuſed to declare, before ſentence paſſed againſt him, what puniſhment he ought to ſuffer. Phocion anſwered aloud, that he condemned himſelf to die, but deſired the aſſembly to ſpare the reſt. Upon this the ſuffrages were demanded, and they were unanimouſly ſentenced to ſuffer death, previous to which they were conveyed to the dungeon. Demetrius Phalereus, and ſome others, though abſent, were included in the ſame condemnation. The companions of Phocion were ſo affected by the ſorrows of their relations and friends, who came to embrace them in the ſtreets, with the melancholy tender of the laſt farewell, that they proceeded on their way, lamenting their unhappy fate in a flood of tears: But Phocion ſtill retained the ſame air and countenance, as he had formerly ſhown, when he quitted the aſſembly to take upon him the command of armies, and when the Athenians attended him in crowds to his own houſe with the voice of praiſes and acclamations.

One of the populace, more inſolent than the reſt, advanced up to him, and ſpit in his face. Phocion only turned to the magiſtrates, and ſaid, *Will nobody hinder this man from acting ſo unworthily?* When he arrived

arrived at the priſon, one of his friends having aſked him if he had any meſſage to ſend to his ſon? *Yes, certainly*, replied he, *it is to deſire, that he would never remember the injuſtice of the Athenians.* When he had uttered theſe words, he took the hemlock, and died.

On that day there was alſo a publick proceſſion, and as it paſſed before the priſon, ſome of the perſons who compoſed it, took their crowns from their heads; others turned their eyes to the gates of the priſon, and burſt into tears; and all who had any remains of humanity and religion, and whoſe ſouls were not entirely depraved and blinded by rage or envy, acknowledged it to be an inſtance of unnatural barbarity, as well as a great impiety, with regard to the city, not to have abſtained, on ſuch a ſolemn day, from the infliction of death on a citizen ſo univerſally eſteemed, and whoſe admirable virtues had procured him the appellation of, *The Good* *.

To puniſh † the greateſt virtues as the moſt flagitious crimes, and to repay the beſt of ſervices with the moſt inhuman treatment, is a guilt condemned in all places, but eſpecially in Athens, where ingratitude was puniſhable by the law. The regulations of her ſage legiſlator ſtill ſubſiſted at that time, but they were wreſted to the condemnation of her citizens, and only became an evidence, how much that people were degenerated in their manners.

The enemies of Phocion, not ſatisfied with the puniſhment they had cauſed him to ſuffer, and believing ſome particulars were ſtill wanting to complete their triumph, obtained an order from the people, that his body ſhould be carried out of the dominions of Attica, and that none of the Athenians ſhould contribute

* Ob integritatem vitæ Bonus eſt appellatus. *Cor. Nep.*

† Quid ob eſt quin publica dementia ſit exiſtimanda, ſummo conſenſu maximas virtutes quaſi graviſſima delicta punire, beneficiaque injuriis rependere? Quod cùm ubique, tum præcipuè Athenis intolerabile videri debet, in qua urbe adverſus ingratos actio conſtituta eſt——Quantum ergo reprehenſionem merentur, qui cum æquiſſima jura ſed iniquiſſima habebant ingenia, moribus ſuis, quam legibus uti maluerint? *Val Max.* l. v. c. 3.

contribute the leaſt quantity of wood to honour his funeral pile: Theſe laſt offices were therefore rendered to him in the territories of Megara. A lady of the country, who accidentally aſſiſted at his funeral with her ſervants, cauſed a cenotaph, or vacant tomb, to be erected to his memory on the ſame ſpot; and, collecting into her robe the bones of that great man, which ſhe had carefully gathered up, ſhe conveyed them into her houſe by night, and buried them under her hearth, with theſe expreſſions: *Dear and ſacred hearth, I here confide to thee, and depoſit in thy boſom, theſe precious remains of a worthy man. Preſerve them with fidelity, in order to reſtore them hereafter to the monument of his anceſtors, when the Athenians ſhall become wiſer than they are at preſent.*

Though it may poſſibly be thought, that a variety of irregular, tumultuous, unjuſt, and cruel ſentences, denounced in Athens againſt virtuous citizens at different times, might have prepared us for this laſt, it will, however, be always thought ſurpriſing, that a whole people, of whom one naturally conceives a noble idea, after ſuch a ſeries of great actions, ſhould be capable of ſuch a ſtrange perverſity. But it ought to be remembered, that the dregs of a vile populace, entirely void of honour, probity, and morals, reigned then at Athens. And there is ſufficient foundation for the ſentiments of Plato and Plutarch, who declare, that the people, when they are either deſtitute of guides, or no longer liſten to their admonitions; and when they have thrown off the reins by which they once were checked, and are entirely abandoned to their impetuoſity and caprice; ought to be conſidered as a blind, intractable, and cruel monſter, ready to launch in a moment into the moſt fatal and oppoſite extremes, and infinitely more formidable than the moſt inhuman tyrants. What can be expected from ſuch a tribunal? When people reſolve to be guided by nothing but mere paſſion; to have no regard to decorum, and to run headlong into an open violation of all laws; the beſt, the juſteſt, and moſt innocent

innocent of mankind, will ſink under an implacable and prevailing cabal. This Socrates experienced almoſt a hundred years before Phocion periſhed by the ſame fate.

This laſt was one of the greateſt men that Greece ever produced, in whoſe perſon every kind of merit were united. He had been educated in the ſchool of Plato and Xenocrates, and formed his manners upon the moſt perfect plan of Pagan virtue, to which his conduct was always conformable.

It would be difficult for any perſon to carry diſintereſt higher than this extraordinary man; which appeared from the extreme poverty in which he died, after the many great offices he had filled. How many opportunities of acquiring riches has a general always at the head of armies, who acts againſt rich and opulent enemies; ſometimes in countries abounding with all things, and which ſeem to invite the plunderer! But Phocion would have thought it infamous, had he returned from his campaigns laden with any acquiſition, but the glory of his exalted actions, and the grateful benedictions of the people he had ſpared.

This excellent perſon, amidſt all the ſeverity which rendered him in ſome meaſure intractable, when the intereſts of the republick were concerned, had ſo much natural ſoftneſs and humanity that his enemies themſelves always found him diſpoſed to aſſiſt them. It might even have been ſaid, that he was a compoſition of two natures, whoſe qualities were entirely oppoſite to each other in appearance. When he acted as a publick man, he armed himſelf with fortitude, and ſteadineſs, and zeal; he could ſometimes aſſume even the air of a rigid indignation, and was inflexible in ſupporting diſcipline in its utmoſt ſtrictneſs. If, on the other hand, he appeared in a private capacity, his conduct was a perpetual diſplay of mildneſs and affability, condeſcenſion and patience, and was graced with all the virtues that can render the commerce of life agreeable. It was no inconſiderable merit, and

eſpecially

eſpecially in a military man, to be capable of uniting two ſuch different characters in ſuch a manner, that as the ſeverity which was neceſſary for the preſervation of good order, was never ſeen to degenerate into the rigour that creates averſion in others; ſo the gentleneſs and complacency of his diſpoſition never ſunk into that ſoftneſs and indifference which occaſions contempt.

He has been greatly applauded for reforming the modern cuſtom of his country, which made war and policy two different profeſſions; and alſo for reſtoring the manner of governing of Pericles and Ariſtides, by uniting each of thoſe talents in himſelf.

As he was perſuaded, that eloquence was eſſential to a ſtateſman, and eſpecially in a republican government, he applied himſelf to the attainment of it with great aſſiduity and ſucceſs. His was conciſe, ſolid, full of force and ſenſe, and cloſe to the point in queſtion. He thought it beneath a ſtateſman to uſe a poignant and ſatirick ſtyle, and his only anſwer to thoſe, who employed ſuch language againſt him, was ſilence and patience. (*b*) An orator having once interrupted him with many injurious expreſſions, he ſuffered him to continue in that ſtrain as long as he pleaſed, and then reſumed his own diſcourſe with as much coolneſs as if he had heard nothing.

It was highly glorious for Phocion, that he was forty-five times elected a general by a people to whoſe caprice he was ſo little inclinable to accommodate his conduct, and it is remarkable that theſe elections always happened when he was abſent, without any previous ſollicitations on his part. His wife was ſufficiently ſenſible how much this was for his glory, and one day when an Ionian lady of conſiderable rank, who lodged in her houſe, ſhowed her, with an air of oſtentation and pleaſure, her ornaments of gold, with a variety of jewels and bracelets, ſhe anſwered her with a modeſt tone, *For my part, I have no ornament*

(*b*) Plut. de ger. rep. p. 810.

ment but Phocion, who, for theſe twenty years, has always been elected general of the Athenians.

His regular and frugal life contributed not a little to the vigorous and healthy old age he enjoyed. When he was in his eightieth year, he commanded the forces, and ſuſtained all the fatigues of war, with the vivacity of a young officer.

One of the great principles in the politicks of Phocion was, that peace ought always to be the aim of every wiſe government, and, with this view, he was a conſtant oppoſer of all wars that were either imprudent or unneceſſary. He was even apprehenſive of thoſe that were moſt juſt and expedient; becauſe he was ſenſible, that every war weakened and impoveriſhed a ſtate, even amidſt a ſeries of the greateſt victories, and whatever the advantage might be at the commencement of it, there was never any certainty of terminating it, without experiencing the moſt tragical viciſſitudes of fortune.

The intereſt of the publick never gave way with him to any domeſtick views; he conſtantly refuſed to ſolicit, or act in favour of his ſon-in-law Charicles, who was ſummoned before the republick, to account for the ſums he had received from Harpalus; and he then addreſſed himſelf to him with this admirable expreſſion—*I have made you my ſon-in-law, but only for what is honeſt and honourable.* It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that men of this character ſeem very incommodious and inſupportable in the common tranſactions of life: They are always ſtarting difficulties*, when any affair is propoſed to them; and never perform any good offices with entire eaſe and grace. We muſt always deliberate, whether what we requeſt of ſuch perſons be juſt or not. Their friends and relations have as little aſcendant over them as utter ſtrangers; and they always oppoſe, either their conſcience, or ſome particular duties to ancient friendſhip,

* Hæc prima lex in amicitia ſanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excuſatio eſt, et minimè accipienda, cùm in cæteris peccatis, tum ſi quis contra rempublicam ſe amici cauſa feciſſe fateatur. *Cic. de Amicit.* n. 40.

affinity, or the advantage of their families. To this height of delicacy did Phocion carry the Pagan probity.

One may juſtly apply to him what Tacitus ſaid of a celebrated Roman, I mean Helvidius Priſcus*. Phocion, who had as ſolid a genius as that perſon, applied himſelf at firſt to philoſophy, not to cover his indolence with the pompous title of a ſage, but to qualify himſelf for entering upon the conduct of affairs with more vigour and reſolution againſt all unexpected accidents. He concurred in opinion with thoſe who acknowledge no other good or evil than virtue and vice, and who ranked all externals, as fortune, power, nobility, in the claſs of indifferent things. He was a firm friend, a tender huſband, a good ſenator, a worthy citizen, and diſcharged all the offices of civil life with equal merit. He preſerved a ſteadineſs of mind in proſperity that reſembled ſtiffneſs and ſeverity, and deſpiſed death as much as riches.

Theſe are part of the great qualities of Phocion, who merited an happier end; and they were placed in their moſt amiable light by his death. The conſtancy of mind, the mildneſs of diſpoſition, and the forgetfulneſs of wrongs conſpicuous in his conduct on that occaſion, are above all his other praiſes, and infinitely enhance their luſtre, eſpecially as we ſhall ſee nothing comparable to him from henceforth in the Grecian hiſtory.

His infatuated and ungrateful country was not ſenſible of their unworthy proceeding till ſome time after his death. The Athenians then erected a ſtatue of braſs to his memory, and honourably interred his bones at the publick expence. His accuſers alſo ſuffered a puniſhment

* Ingenium illuſtre altioribus ſtudiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut nomine magnifico ſegne otium velaret, ſed quo firmior adverſus fortuita rempublicam capeſſeret. Doctores ſapientiæ ſecutus eſt, qui ſola bona quæ honeſta, mala tantum quæ turpia, potentiam, nobilitatem, cæteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque malis annumerant—— Civis, ſenator, maritus, amicus cunctis, vitæ, officiis æquabilis: opum contemptor, recti pervicax, conſtans adverſus metus. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. iv. c. 5.

puniſhment ſuitable to their deſert; but did not his judges themſelves deſerve to be treated with greater ſeverity than them? They puniſhed their own crime in others, and thought themſelves acquitted by a brazen ſtatue. They were even ready to relapſe into the ſame injuſtice againſt others who were equally innocent, whom they condemned during their lives, and had never the equity to acquit till after their death.

(c) Caſſander was careful to improve the diſorder that reigned in Athens, and entered the Piræeus with a fleet of thirty-five veſſels which he had received from Antigonus. The Athenians, when they beheld themſelves deſtitute of all ſuccours, unanimouſly reſolved to ſend deputies to Caſſander, in order to know the conditions on which they might treat of a peace; and it was mutually agreed that the Athenians ſhould continue maſters of the city, with its territories, and likewiſe of the revenues and ſhips. But they ſtipulated that the citadel ſhould remain in the power of Caſſander, till he had ended the war with the kings. And as to what related to the affairs of the republick, it was agreed, that thoſe, whoſe income amounted to ten minæ, or a thouſand drachmæ, ſhould have a ſhare in the government, which was a leſs ſum by half than that which was the qualifications for publick employments, when Antipater made himſelf maſter of Athens. In a word, the inhabitants of that city permitted Caſſander to chooſe what citizen he pleaſed to govern the republick, and Demetrius Phalereus was elected to that dignity about the cloſe of the third year of the 105th Olympiad. The ten years government, therefore, which Diodorus and Diogenes have aſſigned Demetrius, is to be computed from the beginning of the following year.

He governed the republick in peace; he conſtantly treated his fellow-citizens with all imaginable mildneſs and humanity; and hiſtorians acknowledge that the government was never better regulated than under Caſſander. This Prince ſeemed inclinable to tyranny

(c) Diod. l. xviii. p. 642.

but the Athenians were not ſenſible of its effects. And though Demetrius, whom he had conſtituted chief of the republick, was inveſted with a kind of ſovereign power, yet inſtead of aboliſhing the democracy, he may rather be ſaid to have re-eſtabliſhed it. He acted in ſuch a manner, that the people ſcarce perceived that he was maſter. As he united in his perſon the politician and the man of letters, his ſoft and perſuaſive eloquence demonſtrated the truth of an expreſſion he frequently uſed; that diſcourſe had as much power in a government as arms in war. His abilities in political affairs were equally conſpicuous *; for he produced ſpeculative philoſophy from the ſhade and inactivity of the ſchools, exhibited her in full light, and knew how to familiariſe her precepts with the moſt tumultuous affairs. It would have been difficult, therefore, to have found a perſon capable of excelling like him in the art of government, and the ſtudy of the ſciences.

He acquired, during theſe ten years of his government, that reputation which cauſed him to be conſidered as one of the greateſt men Athens has produced. He augmented the revenues of the republick, and adorned the city with noble ſtructures; he was likewiſe induſtrious to diminiſh luxury, and all expences which tended to the promotion of pride. For which reaſon he diſapproved of thoſe that were laid out on theatres †, porticoes, and new temples; and openly cenſured Pericles, for having beſtowed ſuch a prodigious ſum of money on the magnificent porticoes of the temple of Pallas, called (*d*) *Propylæa*. But in all publick feaſts which had been conſecrated by

(*d*) Plut. in præcept. reip. ger. p. 818.

* Mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque, non modò in ſolem atque pulverem, ſed in ipſum diſcrimen aciemque perduxit——Qui utraque re excelleret. ut et doctrinæ ſtudiis, et regenda civitate princeps eſſet, quis facilè præter hunc inveniri poteſt? *Cic.* l. iii. *de leg.* n. 15.

† Theatra, porticus, nova templa, verecundiùs reprehendo propter Pompeium: ſed doctiſſimi improbant——ut Phalereus Demetrius, qui Periclem, principem Græciæ, vituperabat quod tantam pecuniam in præclara illa Propylæa congecerit. *Cic.* l. ii *de Offic.* n. 60.

by antiquity, or when the people were inclinable to be expenſive in the celebration of any ſacred ſolemnities, he permitted them to uſe their riches as they pleaſed.

(*e*) The expence was exceſſive at the death of great perſons, and their ſepulchres were as ſumptuous and magnificent as thoſe of the Romans in the age of Cicero. Demetrius made a law to aboliſh this abuſe which had paſſed into a cuſtom, and inflicted penalties on thoſe who diſobeyed it. He alſo ordered the ceremonials of funerals to be performed by night, and none were permitted to place any other ornament on tombs, but a column three cubits high, or a plain table, *menſam*; and he appointed a particular magiſtrate to enforce the obſervation of this law.

(*f*) He likewiſe made laws for the regulation of manners, and commanded young perſons to teſtify reſpect for their parents at home; and in the city to thoſe whom they met in their way, and to themſelves, when they were alone.

(*g*) The poor citizens were likewiſe the objects of his attention. There were at that time in Athens, ſome of the deſcendents of Ariſtides, that Athenian general, who after he had poſſeſſed the greateſt offices in the ſtate, and governed the affairs of the treaſury for a very conſiderable time, died ſo poor, that the publick was obliged to defray the charges of his funeral. Demetrius took care of thoſe deſcendents, who were poor, and aſſigned them a daily ſum for their ſubſiſtance.

(*h*) Such, ſays Ælian, was the government of Demetrius Phalereus, till the ſpirit of envy, ſo natural to the Athenians, obliged him to quit the city, in the manner we ſhall ſoon relate.

The advantageous teſtimonials rendered him by ancient authors of the greateſt repute, not only of his extraordinary talents and ability in the art of government, but likewiſe his virtue, and the wiſdom of

(*e*) Cic. de Leg. l. ii. n. 63—66. (*f*) Diog. Laert. (*g*) Plut. in vit. Ariſt. p. 535. (*h*) Ælian. l. iii. c. 17.

his conduct is a plain refutation of all that has been advanced by Athenæus, on the authority of the hiſtorian Duris, with relation to the irregularity of his deportment; and ſtrengthens the conjecture of M. Bonamy, who ſuppoſes, that Duris, or Athenæus, have imputed that to Demetrius Phalerus, which related only to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the ſon of Antigonus, to whom Ælian aſcribes the very particulars which Athenæus had cited from Duris (*i*) The reader may have recourſe to the diſſertation of M. Bonamy, which has been very uſeful to me in the courſe of this work.

(*k*) During the 105th Olympiad Demetrius Phalereus cauſed the inhabitants of Attica to be numbered, and they amounted to twenty-one thouſand (*l*) citizens, ten thouſand (*m*) ſtrangers, and * forty thouſand (*n*) domeſticks.

(*o*) We now return to Polyſperchon. When he had received intelligence that Caſſander had made himſelf maſter of Athens, he immediately haſtened to beſiege him in that city; but as the ſiege took up a great length of time, he left part of his troops before the place, and advanced with the reſt into Peloponneſus, to force the city of Megara to ſurrender. The inhabitants made a long and vigorous defence, which compelled Polyſperchon to employ his attention and forces on thoſe quarters to which he was called by more preſſing neceſſities. He deſpatched Clitus to the Helleſpont, with orders to prevent the enemy's troops from paſſing out of Aſia into Europe. Nicanor ſet ſail, at the ſame time, from the port of Athens, in order to attack him, but was himſelf defeated near Byzantium. Antigonus haveing advanced in a very ſeaſonable juncture, made himſelf

(*i*) Tom. VIII. des Memoires de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres. (*k*) Athen. l. vi. p. 272. (*l*) Αθηναίων. (*m*) μετοίκων. (*n*) οἰκέτας. (*o*) Diod. l. xviii. p. 642—646.

* *The words in the original are* μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα. *forty myriads, which are equal to four hundred thouſand, which is an evident miſtake, and it undoubtedly ought to be read* τέσσαρας, *four myriads, which amount to forty thouſand.*

himſelf amends for this loſs, beat Clitus, and took all his fleet, except the veſſel of Clitus, which eſcaped with great difficulty.

(*p*) Antigonus was moſt embaraſſed in his endeavours to reduce Eumenes, whoſe valour, wiſdom, and great ability in the art of war, were more formidable to him than all the reſt, though he had beſieged and blocked him up for twelve months in the caſtle of Nora. He therefore made a ſecond attempt to engage him in his intereſt, for he had taken meaſures to that effect, before he formed that ſiege. He accordingly conſigned this commiſſion to Jerom of Cardia, his countryman, and a famous hiſtorian of that time *, who was authoriſed by him to make overtures of accommodation to his adverſary. Eumenes conducted this negociation with ſo much dexterity and addreſs, that he extricated himſelf from the ſiege, at the very juncture wherein he was reduced to the laſt extremities, and without entering into any particular engagements with Antigonus. For the latter having inſerted in the oath, which Eumenes was to ſwear in conſequence of this accommodation, that he would conſider all thoſe as his friends and enemies, who ſhould prove ſuch to Antigonus; Eumenes changed that article, and ſwore that he would regard all thoſe as his friends and enemies, who ſhould be ſuch to Olympias and the kings, as well as to Antigonus. He then deſired the Macedonians who aſſiſted at the ſiege, to determine which of theſe two forms was beſt; and as they were guided by their affection for the royal family, they declared, without the leaſt heſitation, for the form drawn up by Eumenes; upon which he ſwore to it, and the ſiege was immediately raiſed.

When Antigonus was informed of the manner in which this affair was concluded, he was ſo diſſatisfied with it, that he refuſed to ratify the treaty, and gave

(*p*) Plut. in Eumen. p. 590.

* *He compiled the hiſtory of thoſe who divided the dominions of Alexander among themſelves, and it likewiſe comprehended the hiſtory of their ſucceſſors.*

orders for the ſiege to be inſtantly renewed. Theſe orders however came too late, for as ſoon as Eumenes ſaw the enemy's forces were withdrawn from before the place, he quitted it without delay, with the remains of his troops, which amounted to five hundred men, and ſaved himſelf in Cappadocia, where he immediately aſſembled two thouſand of his veteran ſoldiers, and made all the neceſſary preparations for ſuſtaining the war, which he foreſaw would ſoon be revived againſt him.

The revolt of Antigonus from the kings, having occaſioned a great alarm, Polyſperchon the regent diſpatched to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, a commiſſion by which he was conſtituted captain-general of Aſia Minor; others were likewiſe ſent to Teutames and Antigenes, colonels of the Argyraſpides, to join, and ſerve under him, againſt Antigonus. The neceſſary orders were alſo tranſmitted to thoſe who had the care of the kings treaſures, to pay him five hundred talents, for the re-eſtabliſhment of his own affairs, and likewiſe to furniſh him with all the ſums that would be neceſſary to defray the expence of the war. All theſe were accompanied with letters from Olympias.

A. M. 3686. Ant. J. C. 318.

(q) Eumenes was very ſenſible that the accumulation of all theſe honours on the head of a ſtranger, would infallibly excite a violent envy againſt him, and render him odious to the Macedonians: But as he was incapable of acting to any effect without them, and ſince the good of the ſervice itſelf made it neceſſary for him to employ all his efforts to gain them, he began with refuſing the ſums which were granted him for his own uſe, declaring that he had no occaſion for them, becauſe he was not intent on any particular advantage of his own, nor on any enterpriſe of that tendency. He was ſtudious to treat every perſon about him, the officers, and even the ſoldiers, with an obliging civility, in order to extinguiſh,

(q) Diod l. xviii. p. 635, 636, & 663. Plut. in Eum. p. 591—593, Cor. Nep. c. vii.

guiſh, as much as poſſible, or at leaſt to weaken, by an engaging conduct, the jealouſy to which his condition, as a ſtranger, afforded a plauſible pretext, though he endeavoured not to draw it upon him by any conduct of his own.

But an impediment, ſtill more invincible in appearance, threw him under a reſtraint, and created him very cruel inquietudes. Antigenes and Teutames, who commanded the Argyraſpides, thought it diſhonourable to their nation, to ſubmit to a ſtranger, and refuſed to attend him in council. On the other hand, he could not, without derogating from the prerogatives of his poſt, comply with them in that point, and conſent to ſuch a degradation. An ingenious fiction diſengaged him from this perplexity, and he had recourſe to the aids of religion, or rather ſuperſtition, which has always a powerful influence over the minds of men, and ſeldom fails to accompliſh its effect. He aſſured them, "That Alexander, arrayed in his royal robes, had appeared to him in his ſlumber, and ſhown him a magnificent tent, in which a throne was erected, and that the monarch declared to him, that while they held their councils in that tent, to deliberate on their affairs, he himſelf would be always preſent, ſeated on that throne; from whence he would iſſue his orders to his captains, and that he would conduct them in the execution of all their deſigns and enterpriſes, provided they would always addreſs themſelves to him." This diſcourſe was ſufficient, and the minds of all who heard it were wrought upon by the profound reſpect they entertained for the memory of that prince: In conſequence of which they immediately ordered a ſplendid tent to be erected, and a throne placed in it, which was to be called *the throne of Alexander*; and on it were to be laid his diadem and crown, with his ſcepter and arms; that all the chiefs ſhould reſort thither every morning to offer ſacrifices; that their conſultations ſhould be held near the throne, and that all orders ſhould be received

ceived in the name of the king, as if he were ſtill living, and taking care of his kingdom. Eumenes calmed the diſpute by this expedient, which met with unanimous approbation. No one raiſed himſelf above the others; but each competitor continued in the enjoyment of his privileges, till new events decided them in a more poſitive manner.

(q) As Eumenes was ſufficiently ſupplied with money, he ſoon raiſed a very conſiderable body of troops, and had an army of twenty thouſand men, in the ſeaſon of ſpring. Theſe forces, with Eumenes at their head, were ſufficient to ſpread terrour among his enemies. Ptolemy ſailed to the coaſts of Cilicia, and employed all ſorts of expedients to corrupt the Argyraſpides. Antigonus, on his part, made the ſame attempts by the emiſſaries he had in his camp; but neither the one nor the other could ſucceed then; ſo much had Eumenes gained upon the minds of his ſoldiers, and ſo great was the confidence they repoſed in him.

He advanced, with theſe affectionate troops, into Syria and Phœnicia, to recover thoſe provinces which Ptolemy had ſeiſed with the greateſt injuſtice. The maritime force of Phœnicia, in conjunction with the fleet which the regent had already procured, would have rendered them abſolute maſters by ſea, and they might likewiſe have been capable of tranſmitting all neceſſary ſuccours to each other. Could Eumenes have ſucceeded in this deſign, it would have been a deciſive blow; but the fleet of Polyſperchon having been entirely deſtroyed by the miſconduct of Clitus, who commanded it, that misfortune rendered his project ineffectual. Antigonus, who had defeated him, marched by land, immediately after that victory, againſt Eumenes, with an army much more numerous than his own. Eumenes made a prudent retreat through Cœloſyria, after which he paſſed the Euphrates, and took up his winter-quarters at Carres in Meſopotamia.

During

(q) Diod. l. xviii. p. 636—638.

(r) During his continuance in thoſe parts, he ſent to Pithon, governor of Media, and to Seleucus, governor of Babylon, to preſs them to join him with their forces againſt Antigonus, and cauſed the orders of the kings to be ſhown them, by which they were enjoined to comply with his demand. They anſwered, that they were ready to aſſiſt thoſe monarchs; but that, as to his own particular, they would have no tranſactions with a man who had been declared a publick enemy by the Macedonians. This was only a pretext, and they were actuated by a much more prevalent motive. If they had acknowledged the authority of Eumenes, and had obeyed him by advancing to him, and ſubjecting their troops to his command, they muſt alſo have acknowledged the ſovereign power of the regent, as well as of thoſe who were maſters of the royal pupils, and made uſe of their names, to render their own power more extenſive. Pithon and Seleucus muſt therefore, by inevitable conſequence, have owned, that they held their governments only from thoſe kings, and might be diveſted of them, at their pleaſure, and by virtue of the firſt order, to that effect, which would have deſtroyed all their ambitious pretences with a ſingle ſtroke.

Moſt of the officers of Alexander, who had ſhared the governments of the empire among themſelves, after his death, were ſollicitous to ſecure themſelves the ſupreme power in their ſeveral provinces; for which reaſon they had choſen a perſon of a mean capacity, and an infant, on whom they conferred the title of ſovereign, in order to have ſufficient time to eſtabliſh their uſurpations under a weak government. But all theſe meaſures would have been diſconcerted, if they had allowed Eumenes an aſcendant over them, with ſuch an air of ſuperiority, as ſubjected them to his orders. He iſſued them, indeed, in the name of the kings; but this was a circumſtance they were deſirous of evading, and at the ſame time it created him ſo many enemies and obſtructions. They were alſo apprehenſive

(r) Diod. l. xix. p. 660, 661.

apprehenſive of the merit and ſuperior genius of Eumenes, who was capable of the greateſt and moſt difficult enterpriſes. It is certain, that of all the captains of Alexander, he had the greateſt ſhare of wiſdom and bravery, and was alſo the moſt ſteady in his reſolutions; for he never broke his engagements with any of thoſe commanders, though they did not obſerve the ſame fidelity with reſpect to him.

Eumenes marched from Babylonia the following ſpring, and was in danger of loſing his army by a ſtratagem of Seleucus. The troops were encamped in a plain near the Euphrates, and Seleucus, by cutting the bank from that river, laid all the neighbouring country under water. Eumenes, however, was ſo expeditious as to gain an eminence with his troops, and found means, the next day, to drain off the inundation ſo effectually, that he purſued his march almoſt without ſuſtaining any loſs.

(*s*) Seleucus was then reduced to the neceſſity of making a truce with him, and of granting him a peaceable paſſage through the territories of his province, in order to arrive at Suſa, where he diſpoſed his troops into quarters of refreſhment, while he ſollicited all the governors of the provinces, in Upper Aſia, for ſuccours. He had before notified to them the order of the kings, and thoſe whom he had charged with that commiſſion, found them all aſſembled, at the cloſe of a war they had undertaken in concert againſt Pithon the governor of Media. This Pithon having purſued the very ſame meaſures in the Upper Aſia, which Antigonus had formed in the lower, had cauſed Philotas to ſuffer death, and made himſelf maſter of his government. He would likewiſe have attempted to treat the reſt in the ſame manner, if they had not oppoſed him by this confederacy, which the common intereſt had formed againſt him. Peuceſtes, governor of the province of Perſia, had the command in chief conferred upon him, and defeated Pithon, drove him out of Media, and obliged him to

(*s*) Diod. l. xix. p. 662—664. Plut. in Eumen.

to go to Babylon to implore the protection of Seleucus. All the confederates were ſtill in the camp after this victory, when the deputies from Eumenes arrived, and they immediately marched from Suſa to join him: Not that they were really devoted to the royal party, but becauſe they were more apprehenſive, than ever, of being ſubjected to the victorious Antigonus, who was then at the head of a powerful army, and either diveſted of their employments all ſuch governors as he ſuſpected, or reduced them to the ſtate of mere officers, liable to be removed and puniſhed at his pleaſure.

They joined Eumenes, therefore, with all their forces, which compoſed an army of above twenty thouſand men. With this re-inforcement, he ſaw himſelf not only in a condition to oppoſe Antigonus, who was then advancing to him, but ſtill much ſuperior in the number of his troops. The ſeaſon was far advanced, when Antigonus arrived at the banks of the Tygris, and was obliged to take winter-quarters in Meſopotamia; where, with Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, he concerted meaſures for the operations of the next campaign.

(*t*) During theſe tranſactions, Macedonia was the ſcene of a great revolution. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, whom Polyſperchon had recalled, had made herſelf abſolute miſtreſs of affairs, and cauſed Aridæus, or Philip, who had enjoyed the title of king for ſix years and four months, to be put to death. Eurydice his conſort ſuſtained the ſame fate; for Olympias ſent her a dagger, a cord, and a bowl of poiſon, and only allowed her the liberty of chooſing her death. She accordingly gave the preference to the cord, and then ſtrangled herſelf, after ſhe had uttered a thouſand imprecations againſt her enemy and murtheress. Nicanor, the brother of Caſſander, and a hundred of the principal friends of this latter, likewiſe ſuffered death.

Theſe repeated barbarities did not long remain unpuniſhed.

(*t*) Diod. l. xix. p. 659, 660.

puniſhed. Olympias had retired to Pydna with the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, with Theſſalonica, the ſiſter of Alexander the Great, and Decidamia, the daughter of Æacides king of Epirus, and ſiſter of Pyrrhus. Caſſander did not loſe any time, but advanced thither, and beſieged them by ſea and land. Æacides prepared to aſſiſt the princeſſes, and was already upon his march; but the greateſt part of his forces, who were averſe to that expedition, revolted from the king, and condemned him to baniſhment, when they returned to Epirus. They likewiſe maſſacred all his friends; and Pyrrhus, the ſon of Æacides, who was then but an infant, would have ſuffered the ſame fate, if a ſet of faithful domeſticks had not happily withdrawn him from their rage. Epirus then declared in favour of Caſſander, who ſent Lyſciſcus thither to take upon him the government in his name. Olympias had then no recourſe but only from Polyſperchon, who was then in Perrhœbia, a ſmall province on the confines of Ætolia, and was preparing to ſuccour her; but Caſſander ſent Callas one of his generals, againſt him, who corrupted the greateſt part of his troops, and obliged him to retire into Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he beſieged him. Olympias, who had ſupported all the miſeries of famine with an invincible courage, having now loſt all hopes of relief, was compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Caſſander, in order to deſtroy her in a manner that might give the leaſt offence, prompted the relations of the principal officers, whom Olympias had cauſed to be ſlain during her regency, to accuſe her in the aſſembly of the Macedonians, and to ſue for vengeance for the cruelties ſhe had committed. The requeſt of theſe perſons was granted; and when they had all been heard, ſhe was condemned to die, though abſent, and no one interpoſed his good offices in her defence. After ſentence of death had paſſed, Caſſander propoſed to her, by ſome friends, to retire to Athens, promiſing to accommodate her with a galley

to

to convey her thither, whenever ſhe ſhould be ſo diſpoſed. His intention was to deſtroy her in her paſſage by ſea, and to publiſh through all Macedonia, that the gods, amidſt their diſpleaſure at her horrible cruelties, had abandoned her to the mercy of the waves: For he was apprehenſive of a retaliation from the Macedonians, and was therefore deſirous of caſting upon Providence all the odious circumſtances of his own perfidy.

Olympias, whether ſhe had been advertiſed of Caſſander's deſign, or whether ſhe was actuated by ſentiments of grandeur, ſo natural to perſons of her rank, imagined her preſence alone would calm the ſtorm, and anſwered, with an imperious air, that ſhe was not a woman who would have recourſe to flight, and inſiſted on pleading her own cauſe in the publick aſſembly; adding, this was the leaſt favour that could be granted a queen, or rather, that it was an act of juſtice, which could not be refuſed to perſons of the loweſt rank. Caſſander had no inclination to conſent to this demand, having reaſon to be apprehenſive, that the remembrance of Philip and Alexander, for whom the Macedonians retained the utmoſt veneration, would create a ſudden change in their reſolutions, he therefore ſent two hundred ſoldiers entirely devoted to his will, with orders to deſtroy her: But as reſolute as they were in themſelves, they were incapable of ſupporting the air of majeſty which appeared in the eyes and aſpect of that princeſs; and retired without executing their commiſſion. It became neceſſary, therefore, to employ in this murther, the relations of thoſe whom ſhe had cauſed to ſuffer death; and they were tranſported at the opportunity of gratifying their vengeance in making their court to Caſſander. Thus periſhed the famous Olympias, the daughter, the ſiſter, the wife, and the mother of kings, and who really merited ſo tragical a period of her days, in conſequence of all her crimes and cruelties; but it is impoſſible to ſee her periſh in this manner, without deteſting the wickedneſs of a

prince

prince who deprived her of life in ſo unworthy a manner.

(*u*) Caſſander already beheld an aſſured paſſage to the Macedonian throne opened to his ambition; but he thought it incumbent on him to have recourſe to other meaſures, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt the viciſſitudes of time, the inconſtancy of the Macedonians, and the jealouſy of his competitors. Theſſalonica, the ſiſter of Alexander the Great, being qualified by her illuſtrious birth, and authority in Macedonia, to conciliate to him the friendſhip of the grandees, and people of that kingdom, he hoped, by eſpouſing her, to attach them in a peculiar manner to himſelf, in conſequence of the eſteem and reſpect they teſtified for the royal family.

There was ſtill one obſtacle more to be ſurmounted, without which Caſſander would have always been deemed an uſurper, and a tyrant. The young prince Alexander, the ſon of Alexander the Great, by Roxana, was ſtill living, and had been acknowledged king, and the lawful heir to the throne. It became neceſſary therefore to remove this prince and his mother out of the way. Caſſander *, emboldened by the ſucceſs of his former crime, was determined to commit a ſecond, from whence he expected to derive all the fruit of his hopes. Prudence, however, made it neceſſary for him to ſound the diſpoſition of the Macedonians, with reſpect to the death of Olympias; for if they ſhowed themſelves inſenſible, at the loſs of that princeſs, he might be certain that the death of the young king, and his mother, would affect them as little. He therefore judged it expedient to proceed with caution, and advance by moderate ſteps, to the execution of his ſcheme. In order to which, he began with cauſing Alexander and Roxana to be conducted to the caſtle of Amphipolis, by a good eſcort commanded by Glaucias, an officer entirely devoted

(*u*) Diod. l. xix. p. 695—697.

* Haud ignarus ſumma ſcelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmio. *Tacit.*

devoted to his intereſt. When they arrived at that fortreſs, they were diveſted of all legal honours, and treated rather like private perſons, whom important motives of ſtate made it neceſſary to ſecure.

He intended, by his next ſtep, to make it evident, that he claimed ſovereign power in Macedonia. With this view, and in order to render the memory of Olympias ſtill more odious, he gave orders for performing with great magnificence the funeral obſequies of king Philip, or Aridæus, and queen Eurydice his wife, who had been murthered by the directions of Olympias. He commanded the uſage of ſuch mourning as was cuſtomary in ſolemnities of that nature, and cauſed the royal remains to be depoſited in the tombs appropriated to the ſepulture of the Macedonian kings; affecting by theſe exteriors of diſſembled ſorrow, to manifeſt his zeal for the royal family, at the ſame time that he was meditating the deſtruction of the young king.

Polyſperchon, in conſequence of the information he received of the death of Olympias, and the exaltation of Caſſander to the throne of Macedonia, had ſheltered himſelf in Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he had ſuſtained a ſiege, and from whence he retreated with a very inconſiderable body of troops, to paſs into Theſſaly, in order to join ſome forces of Æacides; after which he advanced into Ætolia, where he was greatly reſpected. Caſſander followed him cloſely, and marched his army into Bœotia, where the ancient inhabitants of Thebes were ſeen wandering from place to place, without any fixed habitation or retreat. He was touched with the calamitous condition of that city, which was once ſo powerful, and had been razed to its very foundations by the command of Alexander. After a period of twenty years, he endeavoured to re-inſtate it in its primitive ſplendour; the Athenians offered to rebuild part of the walls at their own expence, and ſeveral towns and cities of Italy, Sicily, and Greece, beſtowed conſiderable ſums on that occaſion by voluntary

contributions. By which means Thebes, in a ſhort ſpace of time, recovered its ancient opulence, and became even richer than ever, by the care and magnificence of Caſſander, who was juſtly conſidered as the father and reſtorer of that city.

When he had given proper orders for the re-eſtabliſhment of Thebes, he advanced into Peloponneſus, againſt Alexander the ſon of Polyſperchon, and marched directly to Argos, which ſurrendered without reſiſtance, upon which all the cities of the Meſſenians, except Ithome, followed that example. Alexander, terrified at the rapidity of his conqueſts, endeavoured to check them by a battle; but Caſſander, who was much inferior to him in troops, was unwilling to hazard a battle, and thought it more adviſeable to retire into Macedonia, after he had left good garriſons in the places he had taken.

(x) As he knew the merit of Alexander, he endeavoured to diſengage him from the party of Antigonus, and attach him to his own, by offering him the government of all Peloponneſus, with the command of the troops ſtationed in that country. An offer ſo advantageous, was accepted by Alexander without any heſitation; but he did not long enjoy it, having been unfortunately ſlain ſoon after, by ſome citizens of Sicyone, where he then reſided, who had combined to deſtroy him. This conſpiracy, however, did not produce the effects expected from it; for Crateſipolis, the wife of Alexander, whoſe heart was a compoſition of grandeur and fortitude, inſtead of manifeſting any conſternation at the ſight of this fatal accident, and as ſhe was beloved by the ſoldiers, and honoured by the officers, whom ſhe had always obliged and ſerved, repreſſed the inſolence of the Sicyonians, and defeated them in a battle; after which ſhe cauſed thirty of the moſt mutinous among them to be hung up; appeaſed all the troubles which had been excited by the ſeditious in the city, re-entered it in a victorious manner, and governed it with a wiſdom

(x) Diod. l. xix. p. 705—708.

dom that acquired her the admiration of all thoſe who heard any mention of her conduct.

Whilſt Caſſander was employing all his efforts to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne of Macedonia, Antigonus was concerting meaſures to rid himſelf of a dangerous enemy; and, having taken the field the enſuing ſpring, he advanced to Babylon, where he augmented his army with the troops he received from Pithon and Seleucus, and then paſſed the Tigris to attack Eumenes; who had neglected nothing on his part to give him a warm reception. He was much ſuperior to Antigonus in the number of his troops, and yet more in the abilities of a great commander; though the other was far from being defective in thoſe qualifications; for, next to Eumenes, he was undoubtedly the beſt general and ableſt ſtateſman of his time. A. M. 3688. Ant. J. C. 316.

(y) Eumenes had this misfortune, that his army being compoſed of different bodies of troops, with the governours of provinces at their head, each of them pretended to the command in chief. Eumenes not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth, every one of thoſe governors thought himſelf, for that reaſon, his ſuperior. We may add to this, that the pomp, ſplendour, and magnificence affected by them, ſeemed to leave an infinite diſtance between him and them who aſſumed the air of real Satrapæ. They imagined, in conſequence of a miſtaken and ill-timed ambition *, but very cuſtomary with great men, that to give ſumptuous repaſts, and add to them whatever may exalt pleaſure and gratify ſenſe, were part of the duties of a ſoldier of rank; and eſtimating their own merit by the largeneſs of their revenues and expences, they flattered themſelves that they had acquired, by their means an extraordinary credit, and a great authority over the troops, and that the army had all the conſideration and eſteem for them imaginable.

(y) Diod. l. xix. p. 669—672. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591, 592.

* Non deerant qui ambitione ſtolida——luxurioſos apparatus conviviorum et irritamenta libidinum ut inſtrumenta belli mercarentur. *Tacit.*

A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

A circumſtance happened at this time, which ought to have undeceived them. As the ſoldiers were marching in queſt of the enemy, Eumenes, who was ſeiſed with a dangerous indiſpoſition, was carried in a litter, at a conſiderable diſtance from the army, to be more remote from the noiſe, and that he might enjoy the refreſhment of ſlumber, of which he had long been deprived. When they had made ſome advance, and began to perceive the enemy appear on the riſing grounds, they halted on a ſudden, and began to call for Eumenes. At the ſame time, they caſt their bucklers on the ground, and declared to their officers, that they would not proceed on their march, till Eumenes came to command them. He accordingly came with all expedition, haſtening the ſlaves who carried him, and opening the curtains on each ſide of his litter: He then ſtretched out his hands to the ſoldiers, and made them a declaration of his joy and gratitude. When the troops beheld him, they immediately ſaluted him in the Macedonian language, reſumed their bucklers, claſhed upon them with their pikes, and broke forth into loud acclamations of victory, and defiance to their enemies, as if they deſired only to ſee their general at their head.

When Antigonus received intelligence that Eumenes was ill, and cauſed himſelf to be carried in a litter, in the rear of the army, he advanced, in hopes that his diſtemper would deliver his enemies into his hands; but when he came near enough to take a view of them, and beheld their chearful aſpects, the diſpoſition of their army, and particularly the litter, which was carried from rank to rank, he burſt into a loud vein of laughter in his uſual manner, and addreſſing himſelf to one of his officers—*Take notice*, ſaid he, *of yonder litter; it is that which has drawn up thoſe troops againſt us, and is now preparing to attack us.* And then, without loſing a moment's time, he cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and returned to his camp.

Plutarch remarks, that the Macedonians made it very evident, on this occaſion, that they judged all the

the other Satrapæ exceedingly well qualified to give ſplendid entertainments, and diſpoſe great feaſts, but that they eſteemed Eumenes alone capable of commanding an army with ability. This is a ſolid and ſenſible reflection, and affords room for a variety of applications; and points out the falſe taſte for glory, and the injudiciouſneſs of thoſe officers and commanders, who are only ſtudious to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the army by magnificent collations, and place their principal merit in ſurpaſſing others in luxury, and frequently in ruining themſelves, without thanks, by thoſe ridiculous expences. I ſay without thanks, becauſe nobody thinks himſelf obliged to them for their profuſion, and they are always the worſt ſervants of the ſtate.

(z) The two armies having ſeparated without any previous engagement, encamped at the diſtance of three furlongs from each other, with a river and ſeveral large pools of water between them; and as they ſuſtained great inconveniences, becauſe the whole country was eaten up, Antigonus ſent ambaſſadours to the Satrapæ and Macedonians of the army of Eumenes, to prevail upon them to quit that general and join him, making them, at the ſame time, the moſt magnificent promiſes to induce their compliance. The Macedonians rejected his propoſals, and diſmiſſed the ambaſſadours, with ſevere menaces, in caſe they ſhould preſume to make any ſuch for the future. Eumenes, after having commended them for their fidelity, related to them this very ancient fable. "A "lion entertaining a paſſion for a young virgin, de- "manded her one day in marriage of her father, "whoſe anſwer was, that he eſteemed this alliance a "great honour to him, and was ready to preſent his "daughter to him; but that his large nails and teeth "made him apprehenſive leſt he ſhould employ them "a little too rudely upon her, if the leaſt difference "ſhould ariſe between them with relation to their "houſehold affairs. The lion, who was paſſionately

(z) Diod. l. xix. p. 672.

" fond of the maid, immediately ſuffered his claws " to be pared off, and his teeth to be drawn out. " After which the father caught up a ſtrong cudgel, " and ſoon drove away his pretended ſon-in-law. " This, continued Eumenes, is the aim of Antigonus. " He amuſes you with mighty promiſes, in order to " make himſelf maſter of your forces; but when he " has accompliſhed that deſign, he will ſoon make " you ſenſible of his teeth and claws."

(*a*) A few days after this event, ſome deſerters from the army of Antigonus having acquainted Eumenes, that that general was preparing to decamp the next night, about the hour of nine or ten in the evening, Eumenes at firſt ſuſpected, that his intention was to advance into the province of Gabene, which was a fertile country, capable of ſubſiſting numerous armies, and very commodious and ſecure for the troops, by reaſon of the inundations and rivers with which it abounded, and therefore he reſolved to prevent his execution of that deſign. With this view he prevailed, by ſums of money, upon ſome foreign ſoldiers, to go like deſerters into the camp of Antigonus, and acquaint him, that Eumenes intended to attack him the enſuing night. In the mean time he cauſed the baggage to be conveyed away, and ordered the troops to take ſome refreſhment, and then march. Antigonus, upon this falſe intelligence, cauſed his troops to continue under arms, while Eumenes in the mean time advanced on his way. Antigonus was ſoon informed by couriers, that he had decamped, and finding that he had been over-reached by his enemy, he ſtill perſiſted in his firſt intention; and having ordered his troops to ſtrike their tents, he proceeded with ſo much expedition, that his march reſembled a purſuit. But when he ſaw that it was impoſſible to advance with his whole army up to Eumenes, who had gained upon him, at leaſt ſix hours, in his march, he left his infantry under the command of Pithon, and proceeded with the cavalry, on a full gallop,

(*a*) Diod. l. xix. p. 672, 673.

gallop, and came up by break of day with the rear-guard of the enemy, who were deſcending a hill. He then halted upon the top; and Eumenes, who diſcovered this body of cavalry, imagined it to be the whole army; upon which he diſcontinued his march, and formed his troops in order of battle. By theſe means Antigonus played off a retaliation upon Eumenes, and amuſed him in his turn; for he prevented the continuance of his march, and gave his own infantry ſufficient time to come up.

(*b*) The two armies were then drawn up; that of Eumenes conſiſted of thirty-five thouſand foot, with above ſix thouſand horſe, and a hundred and fourteen elephants. That of Antigonus was compoſed of twenty-eight thouſand foot, eight thouſand five hundred horſe, and ſixty-five elephants. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy till the night was far advanced, for the moon was then in the full, but the ſlaughter was not very conſiderable on either ſide. Antigonus loſt three thouſand ſeven hundred of his infantry, and fifty-four of his horſe, and above four thouſand of his men were wounded. Eumenes loſt five hundred and forty of his infantry, and a very inconſiderable number of his cavalry, and had above nine hundred wounded. The victory was really on his ſide; but as his troops, notwithſtanding all his intreaties, would not return to the field of battle to carry off the dead bodies, which among the ancients, was an evidence of victory, it was in conſequence attributed to Antigonus, whoſe army appeared again in the field, and buried the dead. Eumenes ſent a herald the next day, to deſire leave to inter his ſlain: This was granted him, and he rendered them funeral honours with all poſſible magnificence.

(*c*) A very ſingular diſpute aroſe at the performance of this ceremony. The men happened to find among the ſlain, the body of an Indian officer, who had brought his two wives with him, one of whom he had but lately married. The law of the country,

(*b*) Diod. l. xix. p. 673—678. (*c*) Ibid. p. 678—680.

which is ſaid to be ſtill ſubſiſting, would not allow a wife to ſurvive her huſband; and if ſhe refuſed to be burnt with him on the funeral pile, her character was for ever branded with infamy, and ſhe was obliged to continue in a ſtate of widowhood the remainder of her days. She was even condemned to a kind of excommunication, as ſhe was rendered incapable of aſſiſting at any ſacrifice, or other religious ceremony. This law, however, extended only to one wife; but in the preſent inſtance, there were two; each of whom inſiſted on being preferred to the other. The eldeſt pleaded her ſuperiority of years; to which the youngeſt replied, that the law excluded her rival, becauſe ſhe was then pregnant, and the conteſt was accordingly determined in that manner. The firſt of them retired with a very dejected air, her eyes bathed in tears, and tearing her hair and habit, as if ſhe had ſuſtained ſome great calamity. The other, on the contrary, with a mien of joy and triumph, amidſt a numerous retinue of her relations and friends, and arrayed in her richeſt ornaments, as on the day of her nuptials, advanced with a ſolemn pace, where the funeral ceremonies were to be performed. She there diſtributed all her jewels among her friends and relations; and, having taken her laſt farewel, ſhe placed herſelf on the funeral pile, by the aſſiſtance of her own brother, and expired amidſt the praiſes and acclamations of moſt of the ſpectators; but ſome of them, according to the hiſtorian, diſapproved of this ſtrange cuſtom, as barbarous and inhuman. The action of this woman was undoubtedly a real murther, and might juſtly be conſidered as a violation of the moſt expreſs law of nature, which prohibits all attempts on a perſon's own life; and commands us not to diſpoſe of it in compliance with the dictates of caprice, or forget that it is only a depoſite, which ought to be reſigned to none but that being from whom we received it. Such a ſacrifice is ſo far from deſerving to be enumerated among the inſtances of reſpect and amity due to her huſband, that he is rather

treated

treated as an unrelenting and bloody idol, by the immolation of ſuch precious victims.

(*d*) During the courſe of this campaign, the war was maintained with obſtinacy on both ſides, and Perſia and Media were the theatre of its operations. The armies traverſed thoſe two great provinces by marches and counter-marches, and each party had recourſe to all the art and ſtratagems that the greateſt capacity in conjunction with a long ſeries of experience in the profeſſion of war, could ſupply. Eumenes, though he had a mutinous and untractable army to govern, obtained however ſeveral advantages over his enemies in this campaign; and when his troops grew impatient for winter quarters, he had ſtill the dexterity to ſecure the beſt in all the province of Gabene, and obliged Antigonus to ſeek his to the north in Media, where he was incapable of arriving, till after a march of twenty-five days.

(*e*) The troops of Eumenes were ſo ungovernable, that he could not prevail upon them to poſt themſelves near enough to each other, to be aſſembled on any emergency. They abſolutely inſiſted on very diſtant quarters, which took in the whole extent of the province, under pretence of being more commodiouſly ſtationed, and of having every thing in greater abundance. In a word, they were diſperſed to ſuch a diſtance from each other, that it required ſeveral days for re-aſſembling them in a body. Antigonus, who was informed of this circumſtance, marched from a very remote quarter, in the depth of winter, in hopes to ſurpriſe theſe different bodies ſo diſperſed.

Eumenes, however, was not a man to be ſurpriſed in ſuch a manner, but had the precaution to diſpatch, to various parts, ſpies mounted on dromedaries, the ſwifteſt of all animals, to gain timely intelligence of the enemy's motions, and he had poſted them ſo judiciouſly, that he received information of this march, before Antigonus could arrive at any of his

(*d*) Diod. l. xix. p. 680—684.
(*e*) Ibid. p. 684—688. Plut. in Eumen. p. 592. Cor. Nep. c. viii—xii.

his quarters; this furniſhed him with an expedient to ſave his army by a ſtratagem, when all the other generals looked upon it as loſt. He poſted the troops who were neareſt to him on the mountains that roſe toward the quarter from whence the enemies were advancing, and ordered them, the following night, to kindle as many fires as might cauſe it to be imagined all the army were encamped in that ſituation. Antigonus was ſoon informed, by his advanced guard, that thoſe fires were ſeen at a great diſtance, upon which he concluded that Eumenes was there encamped with all his forces, and in a condition to receive him. In order, therefore, not to expoſe his men, who were fatigued by long marches, to an engagement with freſh troops, he cauſed them to halt, that they might have time to recover themſelves a little; by which means Eumenes had all the opportunity that was neceſſary, for aſſembling his forces, before the enemy could advance upon him. Antigonus, finding his ſcheme defeated, and extremely mortified at being thus over-reached, determined to come to an engagement.

The troops of Eumenes being all aſſembled about him, were ſtruck with admiration at his extraordinary prudence and ability, and reſolved that he ſhould exerciſe the ſole command. Antigenes and Teutames, the two captains who led the Argyraſpides, were ſo exceedingly mortified at a diſtinction ſo glorious for Eumenes, that they formed a reſolution to deſtroy him, and drew moſt of the Satrapæ and principal officers in their conſpiracy. Envy is a malady that ſeldom admits of a cure, and is generally heigthened by the remedies adminiſtered to it. All the precautions of prudence, moderation, and condeſcenſion, which Eumenes employed, were incapable of mollifying the hearts of thoſe Barbarians, and extinguiſhing their jealouſy, and he muſt have renounced his merit and virtue, which occaſioned it, to have been capable of appeaſing them. He frequently lamented to himſelf his unhappineſs in being fated to live, not with men, as his expreſſion was, but with brute beaſts.

Several

Several conſpiracies had already been formed againſt him, and he daily beheld himſelf expoſed to the ſame danger. In order to fruſtrate their effects, if poſſible, he had borrowed, on various pretexts of preſſing neceſſity, many conſiderable ſums of thoſe who appeared moſt inveterate againſt him, that he, at leaſt, might reſtrain them, by the conſideration of their own intereſt, and an apprehenſion of loſing the ſums they had lent him, ſhould he happen to periſh.

His enemies, however, being now determined to deſtroy him, held a council, in order to deliberate on the time, place, and means of accompliſhing their intentions. They all agreed to protract his fall, till after the deciſion of the impending battle, and then to deſtroy him near the ſpot where it was fought. Eudemus, who commanded the elephants, went immediately, with Phædimus, to acquaint Eumenes with this reſolution, not from any affection to his perſon, but only from their apprehenſions of loſing the money he had borrowed of them. Eumenes returned them his thanks, and highly applauded their affection and fidelity.

When he returned to his tent, he immediately made his will, and then burnt all his papers, with the letters that had been written to him, becauſe he was unwilling that thoſe who had favoured him with any ſecret intelligence, ſhould be expoſed to any accuſation or prejudice after his death. When he had thus diſpoſed of his affairs, and found himſelf alone, he deliberated on the conduct he ought to purſue. It was then a thouſand contrary thoughts agitated his mind. Could it poſſibly be prudent in him to repoſe any confidence in thoſe officers and generals, who had ſworn his deſtruction? Might he not lawfully arm againſt them the zeal and affection of the ſoldiers, who were inviolably devoted to him? On the other hand, would it not be his beſt expedient, to paſs through Media and Armenia, and retire to Cappadocia, the place of his reſidence; where he might hope for a ſure aſylum from danger? Or, in order

to avenge himſelf on thoſe traitors, would it not be better for him to abandon them in the criſis of the battle, and reſign the victory to his enemies? For in a ſituation ſo deſperate as his own, what thoughts will not riſe up in the mind of a man reduced to the laſt extremity by a ſet of perfidious traitors! This laſt thought, however, infuſed a horrour into his ſoul; and as he was determined to diſcharge his duty to his lateſt breath, and to combat, to the cloſe of his life, for the prince who had armed him in his cauſe, he reſigned his deſtiny, ſays Plutarch, to the will of the gods, and thought only of preparing his troops for the battle.

He had thirty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred foot, and above ſix thouſand horſe, with four hundred elephants. The army of Antigonus was compoſed of twenty-two thouſand foot, nine thouſand horſe, with a body of Median cavalry, and ſixty-five elephants. This general poſted his cavalry on the two wings, his infantry he diſpoſed in the center, and formed his elephants into a firſt line, which extended along the front of the army, and he filled up the intervals between the elephants with light-armed troops. He gave the command of the left wing to Pithon; that of the right he aſſigned to his ſon Demetrius, where he was to act in perſon, at the head of a body of choſen troops. Eumenes drew up his army almoſt in the ſame manner; his beſt troops he diſpoſed into the left wing, and placed himſelf in their front, in order to oppoſe Antigonus, and gave the command of the right to Philip.

Before the armies began the charge, he exhorted the Greeks and Barbarians to perform their duty well; for as to his phalanx, and the Argyraſpides, they ſo little needed any animating expreſſions, that they were the firſt to encourage him with aſſurances, that the enemy ſhould not wait a moment for them. They were the oldeſt troops, who had ſerved under Philip and Alexander, and were all veteran champions, whom victory had crowned in a hundred combats;

bats; they had hitherto been reputed invincible, and had never been foiled in any action; for which reaſon, they advanced to the troops of Antigonus, and charged them fiercely with this exclamation; *Villains! you now fight with your fathers!* They then broke in upon the infantry with irreſiſtible fury: Not one of the battalions could ſuſtain the ſhock, and moſt of them were cut to pieces.

The event was different with reſpect to the cavalry, for as the engagement between them began on a ſandy ſoil, the motion of the men and horſes raiſed ſuch a thick gloom of duſt, as made them incapable of ſeeing to the diſtance of three paces. Antigonus, befriended by this darkneſs, detached from his cavalry a body of troops ſuperior to that of the enemy, and carried off all their baggage, without their perceiving it, and at the ſame time broke in upon their horſe. Peuceſtes, who commanded them, and, till then, had given a thouſand proofs of true bravery, fell back, and drew all the reſt after him. Eumenes employed all his efforts to rally them but in vain; the confuſion was univerſal in that quarter, as the advantage had been complete in the other. The capture of the baggage was of more importance to Antigonus, than the victory could be to Eumenes; for the ſoldiers of this latter, finding, at their return, all their baggage carried off, with their wives and children, inſtead of employing their ſwords againſt the enemy, in order to recover them, which would have been very practicable at that time, and was what Eumenes had promiſed to accompliſh, they turned all their fury againſt their own general.

Having choſen their time, they fell upon him, forced his ſword out of his hand, and bound his hands behind him with his own belt. In this condition they led him through the Macedonian phalanx, then drawn up in lines under arms, in order to deliver him up to Antigonus, who had promiſed to reſtore them all their baggage on that condition. "Kill "me, O ſoldiers," ſaid Eumenes, as he paſſed by them,

them, "kill me yourſelves, I conjure ye in the name "of all the gods! for though I periſh by the com- "mand of Antigonus, my death will however be "as much your act as if I had fallen by your "ſwords. If you are unwilling to do me that office "with your own hands, permit me, at leaſt, to diſ- "charge it by one of mine. That ſhall render me "the ſervice which you refuſe me. On this con- "dition I abſolve you from all the ſeverities you have "reaſon to apprehend from the vengeance of the "gods, for the crime you are preparing to perpe- "trate on me."

Upon this they haſtened him along to prevent the repetition of ſuch pathetick addreſſes, which might awaken the affection of the troops for their general.

Moſt of the ſoldiers of Antigonus went out to meet him, and left ſcarce a ſingle man in his camp. When that illuſtrious priſoner arrived there, Antigonus had not the courage to ſee him, becauſe his preſence alone would have reproached him in the higheſt de- gree. As thoſe who guarded him aſked Antigonus in what manner he would have him kept: *As you would an elephant*, replied he, *or a lion*, which are two animals moſt to be dreaded. But within a few days he was touched with compaſſion, and ordered him to be eaſed of the weightieſt of his chains; he likewiſe appointed one of his own domeſticks to ſerve him, and permitted his friends to ſee him, and paſs whole days in his company. They were alſo allowed to furniſh him with all neceſſary refreſhments.

Antigonus deliberated with himſelf for ſome time, in what manner he ſhould treat his priſoner. They had been intimate friends, when they ſerved under Alexander, and the remembrance of that amity re- kindled ſome tender ſentiments in his favour, and combated for a while his intereſt. His ſon Deme- trius alſo ſollicited ſtrongly in his favour; paſſionately deſiring, in mere generoſity, that the life of ſo great a man might be ſaved. But Antigonus, who was well acquainted with his inflexible fidelity for the family

family of Alexander, and knew what a dangerous enemy he had in him, and how capable he was of diſconcerting all his meaſures, ſhould he eſcape from his hands, was too much afraid of him to grant him his life, and therefore ordered him to be deſtroyed in priſon.

Such was the end of the moſt accompliſhed man of his age in every particular, and the worthieſt to ſucceed Alexander the great. He had not, indeed, the fortune of that monarch, but he, perhaps, was not his inferior in merit. He was truely brave without temerity; and prudent without weakneſs. His deſcent was but mean, though he was not aſhamed of it, and he gradually roſe to the higheſt ſtations, and might even have aſpired to the throne, if he had either had more ambition or leſs probity. At a time when intrigues and cabals, ſpirited by a motive moſt capable of affecting a human heart, I mean the thirſt of empire, knew neither ſincerity nor fidelity, nor had any reſpect to the ties of blood, or the rights of friendſhip, but trampled on the moſt ſacred laws; Eumenes always retained an inviolable fidelity and attachment to the royal family, which no hopes or fears, no viciſſitude of fortune, nor any elevation, had power to ſhake. This very character of probity rendered him inſupportable to his colleagues; for it frequently happens *, that virtue creates enmities and averſions, becauſe it ſeems to reproach thoſe who think in a different manner, and places their defects in too near a view.

He poſſeſſed all the military virtues in a ſupreme degree; or, in other words, he was a complete maſter of the art of war, as well as of fortitude, foreſight, a wonderful fertility of invention for ſtratagems and reſources in the moſt unexpected dangers, and moſt deſperate conjunctures: But I place in a much nobler light, that character of probity, and thoſe ſentiments

* Induſtriæ innocentiæque quaſi malis artibus infenſi——etiam gloria ac virtus infenſos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diverſa arguens. *Tacit.*

ſentiments of honour, which prevailed in him, and were always inſeparable from the other ſhining qualities I have mentioned.

A merit ſo illuſtrious and univerſal, and at the ſame time ſo modeſt, which ought to have excited the eſteem and admiration of the other commanders, only gave them offence, and inflamed their envy; a defect too frequently viſible in perſons of high rank. Theſe Satrapæ, full of themſelves, ſaw with jealouſy and indignation, that an officer of no birth, but much better qualified, and more brave and experienced than themſelves, had aſcended by degrees to the moſt exalted ſtations, which they imagined due only to thoſe who were dignified with great names, and deſcended from ancient and illuſtrious families: As if true nobility did not conſiſt in merit and virtue.

Antigonus and the whole army celebrated the funeral obſequies of Eumenes with great magnificence, and conſented to render him the utmoſt honours! his death having extinguiſhed all their envy and fear. They depoſited his bones and aſhes in an urn of ſilver, and ſent it to his wife and children in Cappadocia; poor compenſation for a deſolate widow and her helpleſs orphans!

SECT. VI. SELEUCUS, PTOLEMY, LYSIMACHUS, *and* CASSANDER, *form a confederacy againſt* ANTIGONUS. *Who deprives* PTOLEMY *of Syria and Phœnica, and makes himſelf maſter of Tyre, after a long ſiege.* DEMETRIUS, *the ſon of* ANTIGONUS, *begins to make himſelf known in Aſia Minor. He loſes a firſt battle, and gains a ſecond.* SELEUCUS *takes Babylon. A treaty of peace between the princes is immediately broken.* CASSANDER *cauſes the young king* ALEXANDER, *and his mother* ROXANA, *to be put to death.* HERCULES, *another ſon of* ALEXANDER *the Great, is likewiſe ſlain, with his mother* BARSINA, *by* POLYSPERCHON. ANTIGONUS *cauſes* CLEOPATRA, *the ſiſter of the ſame* ALEXANDER, *to be put to death. The revolt of* OPHELLUS *in Libya.*

(*a*) ANTIGONUS, concluding that he ſhould be maſter of the empire of Aſia for the future, made a new regulation in the eaſtern provinces, for his better ſecurity. He diſcarded all the governors he ſuſpected, and advanced to the places thoſe perſons in whom he thought he might confide. He even deſtroyed ſeveral who had rendered themſelves formidable to him by too much merit. Pithon, governor of Media, and Antigenes, general of the Argyraſpides, were among theſe latter. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, was likewiſe minuted down in his liſt of proſcriptions, but he found means to eſcape the danger, and threw himſelf under the protection of Ptolemy king of Egypt. As for the Argyraſpides, who had betrayed Eumenes, he ſent them into Arachoſia, the remoteſt province in the empire, and ordered Syburtius, who governed there, to take ſuch meaſures as might deſtroy them all, and that not one of them might ever return to Greece. The juſt horror he conceived at the infamous manner in which they betrayed their general, contributed not a little to this reſolution, though he enjoyed the fruit of their treaſon without the leaſt ſcruple or remorſe; A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

(*a*) Diod. l. xix. p. 689—692, & 697, 698.

but a motive, ſtill more prevalent, determined him chiefly to this proceeding. Theſe ſoldiers were mutinous, untractable, licentious, and averſe to all obedience; their example, therefore, was capable of corrupting the other troops, and even of deſtroying him, by a new inſtance of treachery; he therefore was reſolved to exterminate them without heſitation.

A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314.

(*b*) Seleucus knew how to repreſent the formidable power of Antigonus ſo effectually to Ptolemy, that he engaged him in a league with Lyſimachus and Caſſander, whom he had alſo convinced by an expreſs of the danger they had reaſon to apprehend from the power of that prince. Antigonus was very ſenſible that Seleucus would not fail to ſollicit them into meaſures againſt his intereſt, for which reaſon he ſent an embaſſy to each of the three, to renew the new intelligence between them, by new aſſurances of his friendſhip. But what confidence could be repoſed in ſuch aſſurances from a perfidious man who had lately deſtroyed ſo many governors, from no inducement but the ambition of reigning alone at the expence of all his colleagues? The anſwers therefore which he received, made him ſufficiently ſenſible, that it was incumbent on him to prepare for war: Upon which he quitted the Eaſt, and advanced into Cilicia, with very conſiderable treaſures which he had drawn from Babylon and Suſa. He there raiſed new levies, regulated ſeveral affairs in the provinces of Aſia Minor, and then marched into Syria and Phœnicia.

(*c*) His deſign was to diveſt Ptolemy of thoſe two provinces, and make himſelf maſter of their maritime forces, which were abſolutely neceſſary for him in the war he was preparing to undertake againſt the confederates. For unleſs he could be maſter at ſea, and have at leaſt the ports and veſſels of the Phœnicians at his diſpoſal, he could never expect any ſucceſs againſt them. He, however, arrived too late to ſurpriſe the ſhips; for Ptolemy had already ſent to

(*b*) Diod. l. xix. p. 698—700. (*c*) Ibid. p. 700—703.

to Egypt all that could be found in Phœnicia, and it was with difficulty that Antigonus made himſelf maſter of the ports; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, oppoſed him with all their forces. The two laſt, indeed, were ſoon taken, but a conſiderable length of time was neceſſary for the reduction of Tyre.

However, as he was already maſter of all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia, he immediately gave orders for building veſſels, and a vaſt number of trees were cut down, for that purpoſe, on mount Libanus, which was covered with cedar, and cypreſs-trees of extraordinary beauty and height, and they were conveyed to the different ports where the ſhips were to be built, in which work he employed ſeveral thouſand men. In a word, with theſe ſhips, and others, that joined him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and ſome particular cities with which he had contracted an alliance, he formed a conſiderable fleet, and rendered himſelf maſter of the ſea.

His ardour for this work was redoubled by an affront he had received from Seleucus, who, with a hundred ſhips that Ptolemy had ſent him, ſailed up to Tyre, in ſight of all the forces of Antigonus, with an intention to brave him whilſt he was engaged in the ſiege of that city. And in reality this inſult had greatly diſcouraged his troops, and given his allies ſuch an impreſſion of his weakneſs, as was very injurious to him. In order, therefore, to prevent the effect of thoſe diſadvantageous opinions, he ſent for the principal allies, and aſſured them he would have ſuch a fleet at ſea that ſummer, as ſhould be ſuperior to the naval force of all his enemies, and he was punctual to his promiſe before the expiration of the year.

But when he perceived, that while he was thus employed in Phœnicia, Caſſander gained upon him by land in Aſia Minor, he marched thither with part of his troops, and left the reſt with his ſon Demetrius, who was then but twenty-two years of age, to defend Syria and Phœnicia againſt Ptolemy. This Demetrius A. M. 3691. Ant. J. C. 313.

will be much celebrated in the ſequel of this hiſtory, and I ſhall ſoon point out his particular character.

(*d*) Tyre was then reduced to the laſt extremities; the fleet of Antigonus cut off all communication of proviſions, and the city was ſoon obliged to capitulate. The garriſon which Ptolemy had there, obtained permiſſion to march out with all their effects, and the inhabitants were promiſed the enjoyment of theirs without moleſtation. Andronicus, who commanded at the ſiege, was tranſported with gaining a place of ſuch importance on any conditions whatever; and eſpecially after a ſiege which had harraſſed his troops ſo exceedingly for fifteen months.

It was no longer than nineteen years before this event, that Alexander had deſtroyed this city, in ſuch a manner as made it natural to believe it would require whole ages to re-eſtabliſh it; and yet in ſo ſhort a time it became capable of ſuſtaining this new ſiege, which laſted more than as long again as that of Alexander. This circumſtance diſcovers the great reſources derived from commerce; for this was the only expedient by which Tyre roſe out of its ruins, and recovered moſt of its former ſplendour. This city was then the center of all the traffick of the Eaſt and Weſt.

(*e*) Demetrius, who now began to be known, and will for the future be ſurnamed Poliorcetes *, which ſignifies *taker of cities*, was the ſon of Antigonus. He was finely made, and of uncommon beauty. A pleaſing ſweetneſs, blended with gravity, was viſible in his aſpect †, and he had an air of ſerenity, intermixed with ſomething which carried awe along with it. Vivacity of youth in him was tempered with a majeſtick mien, and an air truely royal and heroick. The ſame mixture was likewiſe obſervable in his manners, which were equally qualified to charm and aſtoniſh.

(*d*) Diod. l. xix. p. 703.

(*e*) Plut. in Demet. p. 889, 880.

* *The word is derived from* πολιορκεῖν, *to beſiege a city, whoſe root is* πόλις, *a city, and* ἕρκος, *a fence, a trench, a bulwark.*

† Τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ χάριν καὶ βάρος, καὶ φόβον καὶ ὄρεξιν εἶχε, καὶ συνεπέκραττο τῷ νεαρῷ καὶ ἰταμῷ δυσμίμητος ἀρχική τις ἐπιφάνεια, καὶ βασιλικὴ σεμνότης.

niſh. When he had no affairs to tranſact, his intercourſe with his friends was enchanting. Nothing could equal the ſumptuoſity inſeparable from his feaſts, luxury, and his whole manner of living; and it may be juſtly ſaid, that he was the moſt voluptuous and delicate of all princes. On the other hand, as alluring as all theſe ſoft pleaſures might appear to him, when he had any enterpriſe to undertake, he was the moſt active and vigilant of mankind: Nothing but his patience and aſſiduity in fatigue were equal to his vivacity and courage. Such is the character of the young prince who now begins to appear upon the ſtage of action.

Plutarch remarks in him, as a peculiarity which diſtinguiſhed him from the other princes of his time, his profound reſpect for his parents, which neither flowed from affectation or ceremony, but was ſincere and real, and the growth of the heart itſelf. Antigonus, on his part, had a tenderneſs and affection for his ſon, that was truely paternal, and extended even to familiarity, though without any diminution of the authority of the ſovereign and the father; and this created a union and confidence between them, entirely free from all fear and ſuſpicion. Plutarch relates an inſtance of it to this effect. One day, when Antigonus was engaged in giving audience to ſome ambaſſadors, Demetrius, returning from the chaſe, advanced into the great hall, where he ſaluted his father with a kiſs, and then ſeated himſelf at his ſide, with his darts in his hand. Antigonus had juſt given the ambaſſadors their anſwer, but he ordered them to be introduced a ſecond time; *You may likewiſe inform your maſters*, ſaid he, *of the manner in which my ſon and I live together.* Intimating thereby, that he was not afraid to let his ſon approach him with arms *, and that this good intelligence, that ſubſiſted between him and his ſon, conſtituted the greateſt ſtrength of his dominions, at the ſame time that it affected him

* *Neither the Greeks nor Romans ever wore arms but in war, or when they hunted.*

with the moſt ſenſible pleaſure. But to return to our ſubject.

(f) Antigonus having paſſed into Aſia, ſoon ſtopped the progreſs of Caſſander's arms, and preſſed him ſo vigorouſly, that he obliged him to come to an accommodation, on very honourable terms; but the treaty was hardly concluded before he repented of his acceſſion to it, and broke it, by demanding ſuccours of Ptolemy and Seleucus, and renewing the war. The violation of treaties were conſidered as nothing, by the generality of thoſe princes whoſe hiſtory I am now writing. Theſe unworthy expedients, which are juſtly thought diſhonourable in private perſons, appeared to thoſe as ſo many circumſtances eſſential to their glory. They applauded themſelves for their perfidious meaſures, as if they had been inſtances of their abilities in government, and were never ſenſible that ſuch proceedings would teach their troops to be wanting in their fidelity to them, and leave them deſtitute of any pretext of complaint againſt their own ſubjects, who, by revolting from their authority, only trod in the ſame paths which they themſelves had already marked out. By ſuch contagious examples, a whole age is ſoon corrupted, and learns to renounce, without a bluſh, all ſentiments of honour and probity, becauſe that which is once become common, no longer appears ſhameful.

The renewal of this war detained Antigonus in thoſe parts longer than he intended, and afforded Ptolemy an opportunity of obtaining conſiderable advantages over him in another quarter.

(g) He firſt ſailed with his fleet to the iſle of Cyprus, and reduced the greateſt part of it to his obedience. Nicocles, king of Pathos, one of the cities of that iſland, ſubmitted to him like the reſt, but made a ſecret alliance with Antigonus, a year or two after. Ptolemy received intelligence of this proceeding, and, in order to prevent the other princes from imitating his example, he ordered ſome of his officers in

(f) Diod. l. xix. p. 10. (g) Ibid. l. xx. p. 761.

in Cyprus to deſtroy him; but they being unwilling to execute that commiſſion themſelves, earneſtly intreated Nicocles to prevent it by a voluntary death. The unhappy prince conſented to the propoſal, and, ſeeing himſelf utterly deſtitute of defence, became his own executioner. But though Ptolemy had commanded thoſe officers to treat the queen Axithea, and the other princeſſes whom they found in the palace of Nicocles, with the reſpect due to their rank, yet they could not prevent them from following the example of the unfortunate king. The queen, after ſhe had ſlain her daughters with her own hands, and exhorted the other princeſſes not to ſurvive the calamity by which their unhappy brother fell, plunged her dagger into her own boſom. The death of theſe princeſſes was ſucceeded by that of their huſbands, who, before they ſlew themſelves, ſet fire to the four corners of the palace. Such was the dreadful and bloody ſcene which was acted at Cyprus.

Ptolemy, after he once became maſter of that iſland, made a deſcent into Syria, and from thence proceeded to Cilicia, where he acquired great ſpoils, and took a large number of priſoners, whom he carried with him into Egypt. Seleucus imparted to him, at his return, a project for regaining Syria and Phœnicia, and the execution of it was agreed to be undertaken. Ptolemy accordingly marched thither in perſon with a fine army, after he had happily ſuppreſſed a revolt which had been kindled among the Cyreneans, and found Demetrius at Gaza, who oppoſed his entrance into that place. This occaſioned a ſharp engagement, in which Ptolemy was at laſt victorious. Demetrius had five thouſand of his men killed, and eight thouſand more made priſoners: He likewiſe loſt his tents, his treaſure, and all his equipage, and was obliged to retreat as far as Azotus, and from thence to Tripoli, a city of Phœnicia on the frontiers of Upper Syria, and to abandon all Phœnicia, Paleſtine, and Cœloſyria, to Ptolemy.

Before his departure from Azotus, he desired leave to bury the dead, which Ptolemy not only granted, but also sent him back all his equipage, tents, furniture, friends and domesticks, without any ransom, and caused it to be declared to him, *That they ought not to make war against each other for riches, but for glory*; and it was impossible for a Pagan to think better. May we not likewise say, that he uttered his real sentiments? Demetrius, touched with so obliging an instance of generosity, immediately begged of the gods not to leave him long indebted to Ptolemy for so great a benefaction, but to furnish him with an opportunity of returning him one of a like nature.

Ptolemy sent the rest of the prisoners into Egypt, to serve him in his fleet, and then pursued his conquests. All the coast of Phœnicia submitted to him, except the city of Tyre; upon which he sent a secret message to Andronicus, the governor of that place, and one of the bravest officers of Antigonus, and the most attached to the service of his master; to induce him to abandon the city with a good grace, and not oblige him to besiege it in form. Andronicus, who depended on the Tyrians' fidelity to Antigonus, returned a haughty, and even an insulting and contemptuous answer to Ptolemy; but he was deceived in his expectations, for the garrison and inhabitants compelled him to surrender. He then imagined himself inevitably lost, and that nothing could make a conqueror forget the insolence with which he had treated him; but he was deceived again. The king of Egypt, instead of any reprisals upon an officer who had insulted him with so much indignity, made it a kind of duty to engage him in his service by the regard he professed for him, when he was introduced to salute him.

Demetrius was not discouraged with the loss of the battle, as a young prince who had been so unfortunate in his first enterprise, might naturally have been; but he employed all his attention in raising fresh troops and making new preparations, with all the steadiness

and

and reſolution of a conſummate general habituated to the art of war, and to the inconſtancy and viciſſitudes of arms; in a word, he fortified the cities, and was continually exerciſing his ſoldiers.

Antigonus received intelligence of the loſs of that battle, without any viſible emotion, and he coldly ſaid, *Ptolemy has defeated boys, but ſhall ſoon have men to deal with*; and as he was unwilling to abate the courage and ardour of his ſon, he complied with his requeſt of making a ſecond tryal of his forces againſt Ptolemy.

(*b*) Some time after this event, Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, arrived with a numerous army, fully perſuaded that he ſhould drive Demetrius out of Syria; for he had entertained a very contemptible opinion of him from his defeat: But Demetrius, who had known how to derive advantages from his misfortune, and was now become more circumſpect and attentive, fell upon him when he leaſt expected it, and made himſelf maſter of his camp and all his baggage, took ſeven thouſand of his men priſoners, even ſeiſed him with his own hands, and carried off a great booty. The glory and riches Demetrius had acquired by this victory, affected him leſs than the pleaſure of being in a condition to acquit himſelf with reſpect to his enemy, and return the obligation he had received from him. He would not, however, act in this manner by his own authority, but wrote an account of the whole affair to his father, who permitted him to act as he ſhould judge proper. Upon which he immediately ſent back Cilles, with all his friends, laden with magnificent preſents, and all the baggage he had taken. There is certainly ſomething very noble in contending with an enemy in this generous manner; and it was a diſpoſition ſtill more eſtimable, eſpecially in a young and victorious prince, to make it a point of glory, to depend entirely upon his father, and to take no meaſures in ſuch a conjuncture without conſulting him.

A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311.

Seleucus,

(*b*) Diod. l. xix. p. 729.

(*i*) Seleucus, after the victory obtained over Demetrius at Gaza, had obtained a thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe from Ptolemy, and proceeded with this ſmall eſcort to the Eaſt, with an intention to re-enter Babylon. When he arrived at Carræ, in Meſopotamia, he made the Macedonian garriſon join his troops, partly by conſent, and partly by compulſion. As ſoon as his approach to Babylon was known, his ancient ſubjects came in great numbers to range themſelves under his enſigns, for the moderation of his government had rendered him greatly beloved in that province; whilſt the ſeverity of Antigonus was univerſally deteſted. The people were charmed at his return, and the hopes of his re-eſtabliſhment. When he arrived at Babylon, he found the gates open, and was received with the general acclamations of the people. Thoſe who favoured the party of Antigonus, retired into the caſtle; but as Seleucus was maſter of the city, and the affections of the people, he ſoon made himſelf maſter of that fortreſs, and there found his children, friends, and domeſticks, whom Antigonus had detained priſoners in that place from the retreat of Seleucus into Egypt.

It was immediately judged neceſſary to raiſe a good army to defend theſe acquiſitions, and he was hardly re-inſtated in Babylon, before Nicanor, the governor of Media under Antigonus, was upon his march to diſlodge him. Seleucus having received intelligence of his motion, paſſed the Tigris, in order to confront him, and he had the good fortune to ſurpriſe him in a diſadvantageous poſt, where he aſſaulted his camp by night, and entirely defeated his army. Nicanor was compelled to fly, with a ſmall number of his friends, and to croſs the deſerts before he could arrive at the place where Antigonus then was. All the troops, who had eſcaped from the defeat, declared for Seleucus, either through a diſſatisfaction in the ſervice of Antigonus, or elſe from the apprehenſions of the conqueror. Seleucus was now maſter of a fine

(*i*) Diod. l. xix. p. 726—728.

fine army, which he employed in the conqueſt of Media and Suſiana, with the other adjacent provinces, by which means he rendered himſelf very powerful. The lenity of his government, his juſtice, equity, and humanity to all his ſubjects, contributed principally to the eſtabliſhment of his power; and he was then ſenſible how advantageous it is for a prince to treat his people in that manner, and to poſſeſs their affections. He arrived in his own territories with a handful of men, but the love of his people was equivalent to an army, and he not only aſſembled a vaſt body of them about him in a ſhort time, but they were likewiſe rendered invincible by their affection for him.

With this entry into Babylon, commences the famous Æra of the Seleucides, received by all the people of the Eaſt, as well Pagans as Jews, Chriſtians, and Mahommedans. The Jews called it the Æra of Contracts, becauſe when they were ſubjected to the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were obliged to inſert it into the dates of their contracts and other civil writings. The Arabians ſtyle it the Æra of Bicornus, intimating Seleucus thereby, according to ſome authors, who declare that the ſculptors repreſented him with two horns of an ox on his head, becauſe this prince was ſo ſtrong, that he could ſeiſe that animal by the horns and ſtop him ſhort in his full career. The two books of the Maccabees call it the Æra of the Greeks, and uſe it in their dates; with this difference, however, that the firſt of theſe books repreſents it as beginning in the ſpring, the other, in the autumn of the ſame year. The thirty-one years of the reign aſcribed to Seleucus, begin at this period. A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 321.

(*k*) Antigonus was at Celænæ, when he received intelligence of the victory obtained by his ſon Demetrius over the troops of Ptolemy; and immediately advanced to Syria, in order to ſecure all the advantages that were preſented to him by that event. He croſſed

(*k*) Diod. l. xix. p. 719.

croſſed mount Taurus, and joined his ſon, whom he tenderly embraced at the firſt interview, ſhedding at the ſame time tears of joy. Ptolemy, being ſenſible that he was not ſtrong enough to oppoſe the united forces of the father and ſon, reſolved to demoliſh the fortifications of Aca, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza; after which he retired into Egypt, with the greateſt part of the riches of the country, and a numerous train of the inhabitants. In this manner was all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœloſyria, ſubjected a ſecond time to the power of Antigonus.

(*l*) The inhabitants of theſe provinces who were carried off by Ptolemy, followed him more out of inclination, than by any conſtraint; and the moderation and humanity with which he always treated thoſe who ſubmitted to his government, had gained their hearts ſo effectually, that they were more deſirous of living under him in a foreign country, than to continue ſubject in their own to Antigonus, from whom they had no expectations of ſo gentle a treatment. They were likewiſe ſtrengthened in this reſolution by the advantageous propoſals of Ptolemy; for, as he then intended to make Alexandria the capital of Egypt, it was very eaſy to draw the inhabitants thither, where he offered them extraordinary privileges and immunities. He therefore ſettled in that city moſt of thoſe who followed him on this occaſion, among whom was a numerous body of Jews. Alexander had formerly placed many of that nation there; but Ptolemy, in his return from one of his firſt expeditions, planted a much greater number in that city than Alexander himſelf, and they there found a fine country, and a powerful protection. The rumour of theſe advantages being propagated through all Judæa, rendered many more of the inhabitants deſirous of eſtabliſhing themſelves at Alexandria, and they accompliſhed that deſign upon this occaſion. Alexander had granted the Jews who ſettled there, under his government, the ſame privileges as were enjoyed by the Macedonians;

(*l*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. & contr. Appian. l. i. & ii.

Macedonians; and Ptolemy purſued the ſame conduct with reſpect to this new colony. In a word, he ſettled ſuch a number of them there, that the quarter inhabited by the Jews almoſt formed an entire city of itſelf. A large body of Samaritans alſo eſtabliſhed themſelves there, on the ſame footing with the Jews, and increaſed exceedingly in numbers.

(*m*) Antigonus, after he had re-poſſeſſed himſelf of Syria and Judæa, ſent Athenæus, one of his generals againſt the Nabathæan Arabs, a nation of robbers, who made ſeveral inroads into the country he had newly conquered, and had lately carried off a very large booty. Their capital city was Petra, ſo called by the Greeks, becauſe it was ſituated on a high rock, in the middle of a deſert country. Athenæus made himſelf maſter of the place, and likewiſe of the ſpoils depoſited in it; but the Arabs attacked him by ſurpriſe in his retreat, and defeated the greateſt part of his troops; they likewiſe killed him on the ſpot, regained all the booty, and carried it back to Petra, from whence they wrote a letter to Antigonus, who was then in Syria, complaining of the injuſtice with which they had been treated by Athenæus. Antigonus pretended at firſt to diſapprove his proceedings; but as ſoon as he had aſſembled his troops, he gave the command of them to his ſon Demetrius, with orders to chaſtiſe the inſolence of thoſe robbers: But as this prince found it impracticable to force them in their retreat, or re-take Petra, he contented himſelf with making the beſt treaty he could with this people, and then marched back with his troops.

(*n*) Antigonus, upon the intelligence he received of the ſucceſs of Seleucus in the Eaſt, ſent his ſon Demetrius thither at the head of an army, to drive him out of Babylon, and diſpoſſeſs him of that province, while he himſelf advanced to the coaſts of Aſia Minor, to oppoſe the operations of the confederate princes, whoſe power daily increaſed. He likewiſe ordered

A. M. 3693 Ant. J. C. 311.

(*m*) Diod. l. xix. p. 730—733. (*n*) Ibid. p. 735, 736. Plut. in Demetr. p. 891.

ordered his ſon to join him, after he had executed his commiſſion in the Eaſt. Demetrius, in conformity to his father's directions, aſſembled the army at Damaſcus, and marched to Babylon; and as Seleucus was then in Media, he entered the city without any oppoſition. Patroclus, who had been entruſted with the government of that city by Seleucus, finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to reſiſt Demetrius, retired with his troops into the marſhes, where the rivers, canals, and fens that covered him, made the approach impracticable. He had the precaution, when he left Babylon, to cauſe the inhabitants alſo to retire from thence, who all ſaved themſelves; ſome on the other ſide of the Tigris, others in the deſerts, and the reſt in places of ſecurity.

Demetrius cauſed the caſtles to be attacked, of which there were two in Babylon, very large, and ſtrengthened with good garriſons on the two oppoſite banks of the Euphrates. One of theſe he took, and placed in it a garriſon of ſeven thouſand men. The other ſuſtained the ſiege till Antigonus ordered his ſon to join him. This prince therefore left Archælaus, one of the principal officers of the army, with a thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot, to continue the ſiege, and marched with the reſt of the troops into Aſia Minor, to re-inforce his father.

Before his departure, he cauſed Babylon to be plundered; but this action proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and attached the inhabitants more than ever to Seleucus; even thoſe who, till then, had eſpouſed the intereſt of Antigonus, never imagined that the city would be treated in that manner, and looked upon this pillage as an act of deſertion, and a formal declaration of his having entirely abandoned them. This induced them to turn their thoughts to an accommodation with Seleucus, and they accordingly went over to his party; by which means Seleucus, upon his return, which immediately followed the departure of Demetrius, had no difficulty to drive out the few troops that Demetrius had left

left in the city, and he retook the caſtle they had poſſeſſed. When this event was accompliſhed, he eſtabliſhed his authority in ſuch a ſolid manner, that nothing was capable of ſhaking it. This, therefore, is the epocha to which the Babylonians refer the foundation of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Aſia place it ſix months ſooner, and in the preceding year.

(o) Demetrius, upon his arrival in Aſia Minor, obliged Ptolemy to raiſe the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus, and this event was ſucceeded by a treaty of peace between the confederate princes and Antigonus; by which it was ſtipulated, that Caſſander ſhould have the management of the Macedonian affairs, till Alexander, the ſon of Roxana, was of age to reign. Lyſimachus was to have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt; and the frontiers of Libya, with Arabia, and all Aſia, was allotted to Antigonus. All the cities of Greece were likewiſe to enjoy their liberty; but this accommodation was of no long duration: And indeed it is ſurpriſing, that princes, ſo well acquainted with each other, and ſenſible that the ſacred ſolemnity of oaths was only employed for their mutual deluſion, ſhould expect any ſucceſs from an expedient that had been practiſed ſo frequently in vain, and was then ſo much in diſgrace. This treaty was hardly concluded, before each party complained of infractions, and hoſtilities were renewed. The true reaſon was, the extraordinary power of Antigonus, which daily increaſed, and became ſo formidable to the other three, that they were incapable of enjoying any ſatisfaction, till they had reduced him.

It was manifeſt that they were only ſollicitous for their own intereſt, and had no regard for the family of Alexander. The Macedonians began to be impatient; and declared aloud, that it was time for them to cauſe the young Alexander to appear upon the ſtage of action, as he was then fourteen years of age, and to bring him out of priſon, in order to make

(o) Diod. l. xix. p. 739. Plut. in Demet. p. 892.

make him acquainted with the ſtate of his affairs. Caſſander, who foreſaw in this proceeding, the deſtruction of his own meaſures, cauſed the young king and his mother Roxana to be ſecretly put to death, in the caſtle of Amphipolis, where he had confined them for ſome years.

A. M. 3694. Ant. J. C. 310. (p) Polyſperchon, who governed in Peloponneſus, took this opportunity to declare openly againſt the conduct of Caſſander, and made the people ſenſible of the enormous wickedneſs of this action, with a view of rendering him odious to the Macedonians, and entirely ſupplant him in their affections. As he had then no thoughts of re-entering Macedonia, from whence he had been driven by Caſſander, he affected an air of great zeal for the houſe of Alexander, and in order to render it apparent, he cauſed Hercules, another ſon of Alexander by Barſina, the widow of Memnon, and who was then about ſeventeen years of age, to be brought from Pergamus, upon which he himſelf advanced with an army, and propoſed to the Macedonians, to place him upon the throne. Caſſander was terrified at this proceeding, and repreſented to him, at an interview between them, that he was preparing to raiſe himſelf a maſter; but that it would be more for his intereſt to remove Hercules out of the way, and ſecure the ſovereignty of Greece to himſelf, offering, at the ſame time, his own aſſiſtance for that purpoſe. This diſcourſe eaſily prevailed upon him to ſacrifice the young prince to Caſſander, as he was now perſuaded that he ſhould derive great advantages from his death. Hercules, therefore, and his mother, ſuffered the ſame fate from him the next year, as Roxana and her ſon had before from Caſſander, and each of theſe wretches ſacrificed, in his turn, an heir of the crown, in order to ſhare it between themſelves.

As there was now no prince of Alexander's houſe left, each of them retained his government with the authority of a ſovereign, and were perſuaded that they had effectually ſecured their acquiſitions, by the murther

(p) Diod. l. xx. p. 760, 761, & 766, 767.

murther of thoſe princes who alone had a lawful title to them, even congratulating themſelves for having extinguiſhed in their own minds all remains of reſpect for the memory of Alexander, their maſter and benefactor, which till then had held their hands. Who, without horrour, could behold an action ſo perfidious, and, at the ſame time, ſo ſhameful and baſe! But ſuch was the inſenſibility of them both, that they were equally forward to felicitate themſelves on the ſucceſs of an impious confederacy, which ended in the effuſion of their maſter's blood. The blackeſt of all crimes never coſt the ambitious any remorſe, provided they conduce to their ends.

(*q*) Ptolemy having commenced the war anew, took ſeveral cities from Antigonus in Cilicia, and other parts; but Demetrius ſoon regained what his father had loſt in Cilicia; and the other generals of Antigonus had the ſame ſucceſs againſt thoſe of Ptolemy, who did not command this expedition in perſon. Cyprus was now the only territory where Ptolemy preſerved his conqueſts; for when he had cauſed Nicocles, king of Paphos, to ſuffer death, he entirely cruſhed the party of Antigonus in that iſland.

(*r*) In order to obtain ſome compenſation for what he had loſt in Cilicia, he invaded Pamphylia, Lycia, and ſome other provinces of Aſia Minor, where he took ſeveral places from Antigonus.

(*s*) He then ſailed into the Ægean ſea, and made himſelf maſter of the iſle of Andros; after which he took Sicyon, Corinth, and ſome other cities. A. M. 3696. Ant. J. C. 308.

During his continuance in thoſe parts, he formed an intimate correſpondence with Cleopatra, the ſiſter of Alexander, who had eſpouſed Alexander king of Epirus, and at whoſe nuptials Philip had been aſſaſſinated. This princeſs, after the death of her conſort, who was ſlain in the wars of Italy, had continued in a ſtate of widowhood, and, for ſeveral years, had reſided at Sardis in Lydia; but as Antigonus,

(*q*) Diod. l. xx. p. 760.
(*r*) Ibid. p. 766. (*s*) Ibid. p. 774, 775.

who was maſter of that city, did not treat her with any extraordinary reſpect. Ptolemy made an artful improvement of her diſcontent, in order to gain her over to his intereſt. With this intention he invited her to an interview, in hopes of deriving, from her preſence, ſome advantages againſt Antigonus. The princeſs had already ſet out, but the governour of Sardis cauſed her to be ſtopped, and immediately brought back, by the command of Antigonus, and then ſecretly deſtroyed her. Antigonus, ſoon after this event, came to Sardis, where he ordered all the women, who had been inſtrumental in her murther, to be proceeded againſt.

We may here behold with admiration, how heavily the arm of the Almighty fell upon all the race of Alexander, and with what ſeverity it purſued the ſmall remains of his family, and all thoſe who had the misfortune to be any way related to that famous conqueror, whoſe favour was ardently courted by all the world a few years before. A fatal curſe conſumed his whole family, and avenged upon it all the acts of violence which had been committed by that prince. God even uſed the miniſtration of his courtiers, officers, and domeſticks, to render the ſeverity of his judgements viſible to all mankind, who, by theſe means, received ſome kind of reparation for the calamities they had ſuffered from Alexander.

Antigonus, though he was the miniſter of the deity in the execution of his juſt decrees, was not the leſs criminal on that account, becauſe he only acted from motives of ambition and cruelty, which, in the event, filled him with all imaginable horror, and which he wiſhed he could be capable of concealing from the obſervation of mankind. He celebrated the funeral of Cleopatra with extraordinary magnificence, hoping, by this plauſible exterior, to dazzle the eyes of the publick, and avoid the hatred due to ſo black a crime. But ſo deep a ſtain of hypocriſy as this, uſually diſcovers the crime it labours to conceal, and only increaſes

creaſes the juſt horrour the world generally entertains for thoſe who have committed it.

This barbarous and unmanly action was not the only one that Antigonus committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy raiſed the ſuperſtructure of their power on the clemency and juſtice with which they governed their people; and, by theſe expedients, eſtabliſhed laſting empires, which continued in their families for ſeveral generations: But the character of Antigonus was of a different caſt. It was a maxim with him, to remove all obſtacles to his deſigns, without the leaſt regard to juſtice or humanity; in conſequence of which, when that brutal and tyrannical force, by which alone he had ſupported himſelf, came to fail him, he loſt both life and empire.

Ptolemy, with all the wiſdom and moderation of his government, was not ſecure from revolts. The treachery of Ophellas, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, who formed an inſurrection much about this time, gave him a juſt inquietude, but it happened very fortunately to be attended with no ſiniſter effect. This officer had ſerved firſt under Alexander, and, after the death of that prince, had embraced the intereſt of Ptolemy, whom he followed into Egypt. Ptolemy intruſted him with the command of the army, which was intended for the reduction of Libya and Cyrenaica, provinces that had been allotted to him, as well as Egypt and Arabia, in the partition of the empire. When thoſe two provinces were ſubdued, Ptolemy conferred the government of them upon Ophellas, who, when he was ſenſible that this prince was too much engaged with Antigonus and Demetrius, to give him any apprehenſions, had rendered himſelf independent, and continued, for that year, in the peaceable enjoyment of his uſurpation.

Agathocles, king of Sicily, having marched into Africa to attack the Carthaginians, endeavoured to engage Ophellas in his intereſt, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of all Africa for himſelf. Ophellas, won by ſo grateful a propoſal, joined Aga-

thocles with an army of twenty thouſand men in the Carthaginian territories; but he had ſcarce arrived there, before the perfidious wretch, who had drawn him thither, cauſed him to be ſlain, and kept his army in his own ſervice. The hiſtory of the Carthaginians will inform the reader, in what manner this black inſtance of treachery ſucceeded. Ptolemy, upon the death of Ophellas, recovered Libya and Cyrenaica. The wife of the latter was an Athenian lady of uncommon beauty; her name was Eurydice, and ſhe was deſcended from Miltiades. After the death of her huſband ſhe returned to Athens, where Demetrius ſaw her the following year, and eſpouſed her.

SECT. VII. DEMETRIUS, *the ſon of* ANTIGONUS, *beſieges and takes Athens, and eſtabliſhes a democracy in that city.* DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS, *who commanded there, retires to Thebes. He is condemned to ſuffer death, and his ſtatues are thrown down. He retires into Egypt. The exceſſive honours rendered by the Athenians to* ANTIGONUS *and his ſon* DEMETRIUS. *This latter obtains a great naval victory over* PTOLEMY, *takes Salamina, and makes himſelf maſter of all the iſland of Cyprus.* ANTIGONUS *and* DEMETRIUS *aſſume the title of kings after this victory, and their example is followed by the other princes.* ANTIGONUS *forms an enterpriſe againſt Egypt, which proves unſucceſsful.*

A. M. 3698. Ant. J. C. 306.

(*a*) ANTIGONUS and Demetrius had formed a deſign to reſtore liberty to all Greece, which was kept in a kind of ſlavery by Caſſander, Ptolemy, and Polyſperchon. Theſe confederate princes, in order to ſubject the Greeks, had judged it expedient to eſtabliſh ariſtocracy in all the cities they conquered. This is the government of the rich and powerful, and correſponds, the moſt of any, with regal authority. Antigonus, to engage the people in his intereſt, had recourſe to a contrary method, by ſubſtituting a democracy, which more effectually ſoothed the inclination

(*a*) Plut. in Demetr. p. 892—894.

nation of the Greeks, by lodging the power in the hands of the people. This conduct was a renovation of the policy which had been ſo frequently employed againſt the Lacedæmonians, by the Athenians and Perſians, that had always ſucceeded; and it was impoſſible for it to be ineffectual in this conjuncture, if ſupported by a good army. Antigonus could not enter upon his meaſures in a better manner, than by opening the ſcene with the ſignal of democratick liberty in Athens; which was not only the moſt jealous, but was likewiſe at the head of all the other republicks,

When the ſiege of Athens had been reſolved upon, Antigonus was told by one of his friends, that if he ſhould happen to take the city, he ought to keep it for himſelf, as the key of all Greece; but he entirely rejected that propoſal, and replied, "that the "beſt and ſtrongeſt key which he knew, was the "friendſhip of the people; and that Athens being "in a manner the light by which all the world ſteer-"ed, would not fail to ſpread univerſally the glory "of his actions." It is very ſurpriſing to ſee in what manner princes, who are very unjuſt and ſelf-intereſted, can ſometimes borrow the language of equity and generoſity, and are ſollicitous of doing themſelves honour by aſſuming the appearance of virtues, to which, in reality, they are utter ſtrangers.

Demetrius ſet out for Athens with five thouſand talents, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ſhips. Demetrius Phalereus had commanded in that city for the ſpace of ten years, in the name, and under the authority of Caſſander; and the republick, as I have already obſerved, never experienced a juſter government, or enjoyed a ſeries of greater tranquillity and happineſs. The citizens, in gratitude to his adminiſtration, had erected as many ſtatues to his honour, as there are days in the year, namely, three hundred and ſixty, for, at that time, the year, according to Pliny *, was limited to this number of days. An

* Nondum anno hunc numerum dierum excedente. *Pliny*, l. xxxiv. c.

honour like this had never been accorded to any citizen.

When the fleet of Demetrius approached, all the inhabitants prepared for its reception, believing the ſhips belonged to Ptolemy; but when the captains, and principal officers, were at laſt undeceived, they immediately had recourſe to arms for their defence; every place was filled with tumult and confuſion, the Athenians being reduced to a ſudden and unexpected neceſſity of repelling an enemy, who advanced upon them without being diſcovered, and had already made a deſcent; for Demetrius had entered the port, which he found entirely open, and might eaſily be diſtinguiſhed on the deck of his galley, where with his hand he made a ſignal to the people to keep themſelves quiet, and afford him an audience. The tumult being then calmed, he cauſed them to be informed aloud by a herald, who placed himſelf at his ſide, "That his father Antigonus had ſent him, "under happy auſpices, to re-inſtate the Athenians "in the poſſeſſion of their liberty, to drive the gar-"riſon out of their citadel, and to re-eſtabliſh their "laws, and ancient plan of government."

The Athenians, at this proclamation, caſt their bucklers down at their feet, and clapping their hands with loud acclamations of joy, preſſed Demetrius to deſcend from his galley, and called him their preſerver and benefactor. Thoſe who were then with Demetrius Phalereus, were unanimouſly of opinion, that as the ſon of Antigonus was already maſter of the city, it would be better to receive him, though they ſhould even be certain that he would not perform any one article of what he had promiſed: Upon which they immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to him with a tender of their ſubmiſſions.

Demetrius received them in a gracious manner, and gave them a very favourable audience; and in order to convince them of his good diſpoſition towards them, he gave them Ariſtodemus of Miletus, one of his father's moſt intimate friends, as an ho-

ſtage,

ſtage, at their diſmiſſion. He was likewiſe careful to provide for the ſafety of Demetrius Phalereus, who, in conſequence of this revolution, had more reaſon to be apprehenſive of his citizens, than even of the enemies themſelves. The reputation and virtue of this great man had inſpired the young prince with the utmoſt reſpect for his perſon; and he ſent him with a ſufficient guard to Thebes, in compliance with his own requeſt. He then told the Athenians, that he was determined not to ſee their city; and that as deſirous as he was to viſit it, he would not ſo much as enter within the walls, till he had entirely freed the inhabitants from ſubjection, by driving out the garriſon that incroached upon their liberties. At the ſame time, he ordered a large ditch to be opened, and raiſed good intrenchments before the fortreſs of Munychia, to deprive it of all communication with the city; after which he embarked for Megara, where Caſſander had placed a ſtrong garriſon.

When he arrived at that city, he was informed, that Crateſipolis, the wife of Alexander, and daughter of Polyſperchon, who was greatly celebrated for her beauty, then reſided at Patræ, and was extremely deſirous to ſee him, and be at his devotion. He therefore left his army in the territories of Megara, and having ſelected a ſmall number of perſons, moſt diſpoſed to attend him, he ſet out for Patræ; and, when he had arrived within a ſmall diſtance of that city, he ſecretly withdrew himſelf from his people, and cauſed a pavilion to be erected in a private place, that Crateſipolis might not be ſeen when ſhe came to him. A party of the enemies happening to be appriſed of this imprudent proceeding, marched againſt him when he leaſt expected ſuch a viſit, and he had but juſt time to diſguiſe himſelf in a mean habit, and elude the danger by a precipitate flight; ſo that he was on the very point of being taken in the moſt ignominious manner, on account of his incontinence. The enemy ſeiſed his tent, with the riches that were in it.

The city of Megara being taken, the ſoldiers demanded leave to plunder the inhabitants; but the Athenians interceded for them ſo effectually, that the city was ſaved. Demetrius drove out the garriſon of Caſſander, and re-inſtated Megara in its liberties. Stilpon *, a celebrated philoſopher, lived in that city, and was viſited by Demetrius, who aſked him if he had not loſt any thing? *Nothing at all*, replied Stilpon, *for I carry all my effects about me*; meaning by that expreſſion, his juſtice, probity, temperance, and wiſdom; with the advantage of not ranking any thing in the claſs of bleſſings, that could be taken from him. What could all the kings of the earth do in conjunction againſt ſuch a man as this, who neither deſires nor dreads any thing, and who has been taught by philoſophy, not to conſider death itſelf as a calamity?

Though the city was ſaved from pillage, yet all the ſlaves in general were taken and carried off by the conquerors. Demetrius, on the day of his return from thence, careſſed Stilpon exceedingly, and told him, that he left the city to him in an entire ſtate of Freedom. *What you ſay, my lord, is certainly true*, replied the philoſopher, *for you have not left ſo much as one ſlave in it.*

Demetrius, when he returned to Athens, poſted his troops before the port of Munychia, and carried on the ſiege with ſo much vigour, that he ſoon drove out the garriſon, and raſed the fort. The Athenians, after this event, intreated him with great importunity, to come and refreſh himſelf in the city; upon which he accordingly entered it, and then aſſembled the people, to whom he reſtored their ancient form of government,

* Megara Demetrius ceperat, cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. Ab hoc Stilpon philoſophus interrogatus num quid perdidiſſet: Nihil, inquit; omnia namque mea mecum ſunt —— Habebat enim ſecum vera bona, in quæ non eſt manus injectio —— Hæc ſunt, juſtitia, virtus, temperantia, prudentia; & hoc ipſum, nihil bonum putare quod eripi poſſit —— Cogita nunc, an huic quiſquam facere injuriam poſſit, cui bellum, & hoſtis ille egregiam artem quaſſandarum urbium profeſſus, eripere nihil potuit. *Senec. de Conſt. ſap.* c. v. & Ep. IX.

government, promiſing, at the ſame time that his father ſhould ſend them an hundred and fifty thouſand meaſures of corn, and all neceſſary materials for building an hundred galleys, of three benches of oars. In this manner did the Athenians recover their democracy, about fourteen years after its abolition.

Their gratitude to their benefactors extended even to impiety and irreligion, by the exceſſive honours they decreed them. They firſt conferred the title of king on Antigonus and Demetrius, which neither theſe nor any of the other princes had ever had the preſumption to take till then, though they had aſſumed to themſelves all the power and effects of royalty. The Athenians likewiſe honoured them with the appellation of *tutelar deities*; and inſtead of the magiſtracy of the Archon, which gave the year its denomination, they elected a prieſt of theſe tutelar deities, in whoſe name all the publick acts and decrees were paſſed. They alſo ordered their pictures to be painted on the veil, which was carried in proceſſion at their ſolemn feſtivals in honour of Minerva, called Panathenæa, and by an exceſs of adulation, ſcarce credible, they conſecrated the ſpot of ground on which Demetrius deſcended from his chariot, and erected an altar upon it, which they called the *altar of Demetrius deſcending from his chariot*; and they added to the ten ancient tribes two more, which they ſtiled, *the tribe of Demetrius*, and *the tribe of Antigonus*. They likewiſe changed the names of two months in their favour, and publiſhed an order, that thoſe who ſhould be ſent to Antigonus or Demetrius, by any decree of the people, inſtead of being diſtinguiſhed by the common title of ambaſſadors, ſhould be called Theoroi, which was an appellation reſerved for thoſe who were choſen to go and offer ſacrifices to the gods of Delphos, or Olympia, in the name of the cities. But even all theſe honours were not ſo ſtrange and extravagant as the decree obtained by Democlides, who propoſed, "that in order to the more effectual "conſecration of the bucklers that were to be dedi-

"cated

" cated in the temple of Apollo, at Delphos, proper " perſons ſhould be diſpatched to Demetrius, the tu- " telar deity; and that after they had offered ſacri- " fices to him, they ſhould enquire of this tutelar " deity, in what manner they ought to conduct them- " ſelves, ſo as to celebrate, with the greateſt prompti- " tude, and the utmoſt devotion and magnificence, " the dedication of thoſe offerings, and that the " people would comply with all the directions of the " oracle, on that occaſion.

The extreme ingratitude the Athenians diſcovered, in reſpect to Demetrius Phalereus, was no leſs criminal and extravagant, than the immoderate acknowledgment they had rendered to their new maſter. They had always conſidered the former as too much devoted to oligarchy, and were offended at his ſuffering the Macedonian garriſon to continue in their citadel, for the ſpace of ten years, without making the leaſt application to Caſſander for their removal. In which he, however, had only purſued the conduct of Phocion, and undoubtedly conſidered thoſe troops as a neceſſary reſtraint on the turbulent diſpoſition of the Athenians. (*b*) They might poſſibly imagine likewiſe, that by declaring againſt him, they ſhould ingratiate themſelves more effectually with the conqueror. But whatever their motives might be, they firſt condemned him to ſuffer death, for contumacy; and as they were incapable of executing their reſentment upon his perſon, becauſe he had retired from their city, they threw down the numerous ſtatues they had raiſed in honour of Demetrius Phalereus; who, when he had received intelligence of their proceedings, *At leaſt*, ſaid he, *it will not be in their power to deſtroy that virtue in me by which thoſe ſtatues were deſerved.*

What eſtimation is to be made of thoſe honours, which, at one time, are beſtowed with ſo much profuſion, and as ſuddenly revoked at another; honours that have been denied to virtue, and proſtituted to vicious

(*b*) Diog. Laert.

cious princes, with a conſtant diſpoſition to diveſt them of thoſe favours, upon the firſt impreſſions of diſcontent, and degrade them from their divinity with as much precipitation as they conferred it upon them! What weakneſs and ſtupidity do thoſe diſcover, who are either touched with ſtrong impreſſions of joy when they receive ſuch honours, or appear dejected when they happen to loſe them!

The Athenians ſtill proceeded to greater extremities. Demetrius Phalereus was accuſed of having acted contrary to their laws in many inſtances during his adminiſtration, and they omitted no endeavours to render him odious. It was neceſſary for them to have recourſe to this injuſtice and calumny, as infamous as ſuch expedients were in their own nature, to eſcape, if poſſible, the juſt reproach of having condemned that merit and virtue which had been univerſally known and experienced. The ſtatues, while they ſubſiſted, were ſo many publick teſtimonials, continually declaring in favour of the innocence of Demetrius, and againſt the injuſtice of the Athenians. Their own evidence then turned againſt them, and that they could not invalidate. The reputation of Demetrius was not obliterated by the deſtruction of his ſtatues; and therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould appear criminal that the Athenians might be able to repreſent themſelves as innocent and juſt; and they imagined that a ſolemn and authentick condemnation would ſupply the defect of proofs, and the regularity of forms. They did not even ſpare his friends; and all thoſe who had maintained a ſtrict intimacy with him were expoſed to inſults. Menander, that celebrated poet, from whom Terence has tranſcribed the greateſt part of his comedies, was on the point of being proſecuted, for no other reaſon than his having contracted a friendſhip with Demetrius.

There is ſome reaſon to believe, that Demetrius, after he had paſſed ſome time at Thebes, retired for refuge to Caſſander, who was ſenſible of his merit, and teſtified a particular eſteem for him, and that he

continued

continued under his protection as long as that prince lived. But as he had reaſon, after the death of Caſſander, to be apprehenſive of all things from the brutality of his ſon Antipater, who had cauſed his own mother to be deſtroyed, he retired into Egypt, to Ptolemy Soter, who had rendered himſelf illuſtrious by his liberalities, and regard to men of letters, and whoſe court was then the aſylum of all perſons in diſtreſs.

(*e*) His reception at that court was as favourable as poſſible; and the king according to Ælian gave him the office of ſuperintending the obſervation of the laws of the ſtate. He held the firſt rank among the friends of that prince; lived in affluence, and was in a condition to tranſmit preſents to his friends at Athens. Theſe were undoubtedly ſome of thoſe real friends, of whom Demetrius himſelf declared, that they never came to him in his proſperity, till he firſt had ſent for them, but that they always viſited him in his adverſity, without waiting for any invitation.

During his exile, he compoſed ſeveral treatiſes on government, the duties of civil life, and other ſubjects of the like nature. This employment was a kind of ſuſtenance to his mind *, and cheriſhed in it thoſe ſentiments of humanity, with which it was ſo largely repleniſhed. How grateful a conſolation and reſource is this, either in ſolitude, or a ſtate of exile, to a man ſollicitous of improving his hours of leiſure to the advantage of himſelf, and the publick!

The reader, when he conſiders the ſurpriſing number of ſtatues erected in honour to one man, will undoubtedly beſtow ſome reflexions on the ſtrange difference he diſcovers between the glorious ages of Athens, and that we are now deſcribing. A very judicious author (*d*) has a fine remark on this occaſion

(*c*) Ælian. l. iii. c. 17. Plut. in exil. p. 601. (*d*) Cor. Nep. in Miltiad. c. vi.

* Multa præclara in illo calamitoſo exilio ſcripſit, non ad uſum aliquem ſuum, quo erat orbatus; ſed animi cultus ille erat ei quaſi quidam humanitatis cibus. *Cic. de Finib. bon. & mal.* l. v. n. 54.

ſion. All the recompence, ſays he, which the Athenians formerly granted Miltiades for preſerving the ſtate, was the privilege of being repreſented in a picture as the principal figure, and at the head of nine other generals, animating the troops for the battle; but the ſame people being afterwards ſoftened and corrupted by the flattery of their orators, decreed above three hundred ſtatues to Demetrius Phalereus. Such a prodigality of honours are no proofs of real merit, but the effects of ſervile adulation; and Demetrius Phalereus was culpable to a conſiderable degree, in not oppoſing them to the utmoſt of his power, if he really was in a condition to prevent their taking place. (*e*) The conduct of Cato was much more prudent, when he declined ſeveral marks of diſtinction which the people were deſirous of granting him; and when he was aſked, one day, why no ſtatues had been erected to him, when Rome was crouded with thoſe of ſo many others, *I had much rather*, ſaid he, *people ſhould enquire why I have none, than why I have any.*

True honour and diſtinction, ſays Plutarch, in the place I laſt cited, conſiſted in the ſincere eſteem and affection of the people, founded on real merit and effectual ſervices. Theſe are ſentiments which are ſo far from being extinguiſhed by death, that they are perpetuated from age to age: whereas, a profuſion of honours through flattery, or the apprehenſions entertained of bad princes, and tyrants, are never known to ſurvive them, and frequently die away before them. The ſame Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom we have lately ſeen conſulted and adored like and oracle and a god, will ſoon have the mortification to behold the Athenians ſhutting their gates againſt him, for no other reaſon than the change of his fortune.

(*f*) Demetrius, while he continued at Athens, eſpouſed Eurydice, the widow of Ophellas. He had already had ſeveral wives, and, among the reſt, Phila, the daughter of Antipater, whom his father compelled him

(*e*) Plut. in præc. reip. ger. p. 820. (*f*) Plut. in Demetr. p. 894.

him to marry againſt his inclinations, citing to him a verſe out of Euripides, which he changed into a parody by the alteration of one word. *Wherever fortune is, a perſon ought to marry, even againſt his inclination* *. As ancient as this maxim is, it has never grown obſolete hitherto, but retains its full force, how contrary ſoever it be to the ſentiments of nature. Demetrius was ſeverely cenſured at Athens, for infamous exceſſes.

(g) In a ſhort time after this marriage, his father ordered him to quit Greece, and ſent him with a ſtrong fleet, and a numerous army, to conquer the iſle of Cyprus from Ptolemy. Before he undertook this expedition, he ſent ambaſſadors to the Rhodians, to invite them to an alliance with him againſt Ptolemy; but this attempt proved ineffectual, and they conſtantly inſiſted on the liberty of perſevering in the neutrality they had embraced. Demetrius being ſenſible that the intelligence Ptolemy maintained in Rhodes had defeated his deſign, advanced to Cyprus, where he made a deſcent, and marched to Salamina, the capital of that iſland. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who had ſhut himſelf up there with moſt of his troops, marched out to give him battle, but was defeated, and compelled to re-enter the place after he had loſt a thouſand of his men, who were ſlain upon the ſpot, and three thouſand more who were taken priſoners.

Menelaus, not doubting but the prince, elate with this ſucceſs, would undertake the ſiege of Salamina made all the neceſſary preparations, on his part, for a vigorous defence; and while he was employing all his attention to that effect, he ſent three couriers poſt to Ptolemy, to carry him the news of his defeat, and the ſiege with which he was threatened; they were alſo to ſollicit him to haſten the ſuccours he demanded, and, if poſſible, to lead them in perſon.

Demetrius,

(g) Diod. l. xx. p. 783—789. Plut in Demetr. p. 895. 896. Juſtin. l. xv. c. 2.

* Ὅπου τὸ κέρδος, παρὰ φύσιν γαμητέον. *It was* δυλευτέον, *a man muſt ſerve.*

Demetrius, after he had obtained an exact account of the ſituation of the place, as alſo of its forces, and thoſe of the garriſon, was ſenſible that he had not a ſufficient number of battering-rams, and other military machines for its reduction; and therefore ſent to Syria for a great number of expert workmen, with an infinite quantity of iron and wood, in order to make all the neceſſary preparations for aſſaulting a city of that importance; and he then built the famous engine called Helepolis, of which I ſhall give an exact deſcription.

When all the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made, Demetrius carried on his approaches to the city, and began to batter the walls with his engines; and as they were judiciouſly worked, they had all the effect that could be expected. The beſiegers, after various attacks, opened ſeveral large breaches in the wall, by which means the beſieged were rendered incapable of ſuſtaining the aſſault much longer, unleſs they could reſolve on ſome bold attempt, to prevent the attack, which Demetrius intended to make the next day. During the night, which had ſuſpended the hoſtilities on both ſides, the inhabitants of Salamina piled a vaſt quantity of dry wood on their walls, with an intermixture of other combuſtible materials, and, about midnight, threw them all down at the foot of the Helepolis, battering rams, and other engines, and then kindled them with long flaming poles. The fire immediately ſeiſed them with ſo much violence, that they were all in flames in a very ſhort time. The enemies ran from all quarters to extinguiſh the fire; but this coſt them a conſiderable time to effect, and moſt of the machines were greatly damaged. Demetrius, however, was not diſcouraged at this diſaſter.

Ptolemy, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill ſucceſs in the action againſt Demetrius, cauſed a powerful fleet to be fitted out with all expedition, and advanced, as ſoon as poſſible, to his aſſiſtance. The battle for which both parties prepared,

after

after ſome ineffectual overtures of accommodation, created great expectations of the event, not only in the generals who were then upon the ſpot, but in all the abſent princes and commanders. The ſucceſs appeared to be uncertain; but it was very apparent, that it would eventually give one of the contending parties an entire ſuperiority over the reſt. Ptolemy, who arrived with a fleet of an hundred and fifty ſail, had ordered Menelaus, who was then at Salamina, to come up with the ſixty veſſels under his command, in order to charge the rear-guard of Demetrius, and throw them into diſorder, amidſt the firſt heat of the battle. But Demetrius had the precaution to leave ten of his ſhips to oppoſe thoſe ſixty of Menelaus; for this ſmall number was ſufficient to guard the enterance into the port, which was very narrow, and prevent Menelaus from coming out. When this preliminary to the engagement was ſettled, Demetrius drew out his land-forces, and extended them along the points of land which projected into the ſea, that he might be in a condition, in caſe any misfortune happened, to aſſiſt thoſe who would be obliged to ſave themſelves by ſwimming; after which he ſailed into the open ſea, with an hundred and eighty galleys, and charged the fleet of Ptolemy with ſo much impetuoſity, that he broke the lines of battle. Ptolemy, finding his defeat inevitable, had immediately recourſe to flight with eight galleys, which were all that eſcaped; for of the other veſſels which compoſed his fleet, ſome were either ſhattered or ſunk in the battle, and all the others, to the number of ſeventy, were taken with their whole complements. All the remains, therefore, of Ptolemy's train and baggage, with his domeſticks, friends, and wives, proviſions, arms, money, and machines of war, on board the ſtore-ſhips which lay at anchor, were ſeiſed by Demetrius, who cauſed them to be carried to his camp.

Menelaus no longer made any oppoſition, after this battle at ſea, but ſurrendered himſelf to Demetrius,

trius, with the city, and all his ſhips and land-forces, which laſt conſiſted of twelve hundred horſe, and twelve thouſand foot.

Demetrius exalted the glory of this victory, by his humanity and generous conduct after it. He cauſed the ſlain to be interred in a magnificent manner, and generouſly reſtored liberty to Menelaus and Lentiſcus, one the brother, and the other the ſon of Ptolemy, who were found among the priſoners: He alſo diſmiſſed them, with their friends and domeſticks, and all their baggage, without any ranſom; that he might once more return the civilities he had formerly experienced from Ptolemy, on a like occaſion, after the battle of Gaza. * With ſo much more generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs and politeneſs did enemies make war againſt each other in thoſe days, than we now find between friends in the ordinary commerce of life. He likewiſe ſelected out of the ſpoils, twelve hundred complete ſuits of armour, and gave them to the Athenians; the reſt of the priſoners, whoſe number amounted to ſeventeen thouſand men, without including the marines taken with the fleet, were incorporated by him into his troops; by which means he greatly re-inforced his army.

Antigonus, who continued in Syria, waited with the utmoſt anxiety and impatience for an account of a battle, by the event of which the fate of himſelf and his ſon was to be decided. When the courier brought him intelligence, that Demetrius had obtained a complete victory, his joy roſe in proportion; and all the people, at the ſame inſtant, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus immediately tranſmitted to his ſon the diadem which had glittered on his own brows, and gave him the regal title in the letter he wrote to him. The Egyptians, when they were informed of this proceeding, were alſo no leſs induſtrious in proclaiming Ptolemy king, that they might not ſeem to be dejected at their

* Tanto honeſtius tunc bella gerebantur, quam nunc amicitiæ coluntur. *Juſtin.*

defeat, or be thought to entertain the leſs eſteem and affection for their prince. Lyſimachus and Seleucus ſoon followed their example, the one in Thrace, and the other in Babylon, and the provinces of the Eaſt; and aſſumed the title of king, in their ſeveral dominions, after they had for ſo many years uſurped the ſupreme authority there, without preſuming to take this title upon them till that time, which was about eighteen years after the death of Alexander. Caſſander alone, though he was treated as a king by the others, in their diſcourſe and letters to him, continued to write his in his uſual manner, and without affixing any addition to his name.

Plutarch obſerves, that this new title not only occaſioned theſe princes to augment their train, and pompous appearance, but alſo cauſed them to aſſume airs of pomp and loftineſs, and inſpired them with ſuch haughty impreſſions as they had never manifeſted till then; as if this appellation had ſuddenly exalted them into a ſpecies of beings different from the reſt of mankind.

A. M. 3699. Ant. J. C. 305. (*b*) Seleucus had greatly increaſed his power in the oriental provinces, during the tranſactions we have been deſcribing; for after he had killed Nicanor in a battle, whom Antigonus had ſent againſt him, he not only eſtabliſhed himſelf in the poſſeſſion of Media, Aſſyria, and Babylon, but reduced Perſia, Bactriana, Hyrcania, and all the provinces on this ſide the Indus, which had formerly been conquered by Alexander.

(*i*) Antigonus, on his ſide, to improve the victory his ſon had obtained in Cyprus, aſſembled an army of an hundred thouſand men in Syria, with an intention to invade Egypt. He flattered himſelf, that conqueſt would infallibly attend his arms, and that he ſhould diveſt Ptolemy of that kingdom, with as much eaſe as he had taken Cyprus from him. Whilſt he was conducting this great army by land, Demetrius followed him with his fleet, which coaſted along the ſhores

(*b*) Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Juſtin. l. xv. c. 4. (*i*) Diod. l. xx. p. 304—306. Plut. in Demetr. p. 896, 897.

ſhores to Gaza, where the father and ſon concerted the meaſures each of them were to purſue. The pilots adviſed them to wait till the ſetting of the Pleiades, and defer their departure only for eight days, becauſe the ſea was then very tempeſtuous; but the impatience of Antigonus to ſurpriſe Ptolemy, before his preparations were completed, cauſed him to diſregard that ſalutary advice. Demetrius was ordered to make a deſcent in one of the mouths of the Nile, whilſt Antigonus was to endeavour to open a paſſage by land, into the heart of the country; but neither the one nor the other ſucceeded in his expedition. The fleet of Demetrius ſuſtained great damage by violent ſtorms; and Ptolemy had taken ſuch effectual precautions to ſecure the mouths of the Nile, as rendered it impracticable to Demetrius to land his troops. Antigonus, on the other hand, having employed all his efforts to croſs the deſarts that lay between Paleſtine and Egypt, had much greater difficulties ſtill to ſurmount, and found it impoſſible to paſs the firſt arm of the Nile in his march, ſuch judicious orders had been given by Ptolemy, and ſo advantageouſly were his troops poſted at all the paſſes and avenues; but, what was ſtill more afflictive to Antigonus than all the reſt, his ſoldiers daily deſerted from him in great numbers.

Ptolemy had ſent out boats on ſeveral parts of the river where the enemies reſorted for water, and cauſed it to be proclaimed on his part, from thoſe veſſels, that every deſerter from their troops ſhould receive from him two minæ, and every officer a talent. So conſiderable a recompence ſoon allured great numbers to receive it, eſpecially the troops in the pay of Antigonus; nor were they prevailed upon by money alone, as their inclinations to ſerve Ptolemy were much ſtronger than their motives to continue under Antigonus, whom they conſidered as an old man difficult to be pleaſed, imperious, moroſe, and ſevere; whereas Ptolemy rendered himſelf amiable, by his

gentle diſpoſition and engaging behaviour to all who approached him.

Antigonus, after he had hovered to no effect on the frontiers of Egypt, and even till his proviſions began to fail him, became ſenſible of his inability to enter Egypt; that his army decreaſed every day by ſickneſs and deſertion; and that it was impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt his remaining troops any longer in that country; was obliged to return into Syria, in a very ſhameful manner, after having loſt in this unfortunate expedition, a great number of his land-forces, and abundance of his ſhips.

Ptolemy, having offered a ſacrifice to the gods, in gratitude for the protection they had granted him, ſent to acquaint Lyſimachus, Caſſander, and Seleucus, with the happy event of that campaign, and to renew the alliance between them, againſt the common enemy. This was the laſt attack he had to ſuſtain for the crown of Egypt, and it greatly contributed to fix it upon his head, in conſequence of the prudent meaſures he purſued. Ptolemy, the aſtronomer, therefore fixed the commencement of his reign at this period, and afterwards points out the ſeveral years of its duration, in his chronological canon. He begins the Epocha on the ſeventh of November, and nineteen years after the death of Alexander the Great.

SECT. VIII. DEMETRIUS *forms the ſiege of Rhodes, which he raiſes a year after, by concluding a treaty to the honour of the city. Helepolis, a famous machine. The Coloſſus of Rhodes.* PROTEGENES, *a celebrated painter, ſpared during the ſiege.*

A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. (*a*) ANTIGONUS was almoſt fourſcore years of age at that time, and as he had then contracted a groſs habit of body, and conſequently was but little qualified for the activity of a military life, he made uſe of his ſon's ſervices, who, by the experience he had already acquired, and the ſucceſs which attended

(*a*) Diod. l. xx. p. 819—885, & 817—825. Plut. in Demetr. p. 897, & 898.

attended him, tranſacted the moſt important affairs with great ability. The father, for this reaſon, was not offended at his expenſive luxury and intemperance; for Demetrius, during peace, abandoned himſelf to the greateſt exceſſes of all kinds, without the leaſt regard to decorum. In times of war, indeed, he acted a very different part; he was then a quite different man, vigilant, active, laborious, and invincible to fatigues. Whether he gave into pleaſure, or applied to ſerious affairs, he entirely devoted himſelf to the one or the other; and for the time he engaged in either, was incapable of moderation. He had an inventive genius; and it may be juſtly ſaid, that curioſity, and a fine turn of mind for the ſciences, were inſeparable from him. He never employed his natural induſtry in frivolous and inſignificant amuſements, like many other kings, ſome of whom, as Plutarch obſerves, valued themſelves for their expertneſs in playing on inſtruments, others in painting, and ſome in their dexterity in the turner's art, with an hundred other qualities of private men, but not one of a prince. His application to the mechanick arts had ſomething great and truely royal in it; his gallies, with five benches of oars, were the admiration of his enemies, who beheld them ſailing along their coaſts; and his engines, called *helepoles*, were a ſurpriſing ſpectacle to thoſe whom he beſieged. They were exceedingly uſeful to him in the war with Rhodes, with the conduct of which his father had charged him at the time we are now ſpeaking of.

Among the iſlands called Sporades, Rhodes held the firſt rank, as well for the fertility of its ſoil, as the ſafety of its ports and roads, which, on that account, were reſorted to by great numbers of trading ſhips from all parts. It then formed a ſmall, but very powerful ſtate, whoſe friendſhip was courted by all princes, and who was ſtudious, on its own part, to oblige them, by obſerving an exact neutrality, and carefully declining any declaration in favour of one againſt another, in the wars that aroſe in thoſe times.

As the inhabitants were limited to a little iſland, all their power flowed from their riches, and their riches from their commerce, which it was their capital intereſt to preſerve as free as poſſible with the Mediterranean ſtates, which all contributed to their proſperity. The Rhodians, by perſiſting in ſo prudent a conduct, had rendered their city very flouriſhing; and as they enjoyed continual peace, they became extremely opulent. Notwithſtanding the ſeeming neutrality they maintained, their inclination, as well as intereſt, ſecretly attached them to Ptolemy, becauſe the principal and moſt advantageous branches of their commerce flowed from Egypt. When Antigonus, therefore, demanded ſuccours of them in his war with Cyprus, they entreated him not to compel them to declare againſt Ptolemy, their ancient friend and ally; but this anſwer, as prudent and well-concerted as it really was, drew upon them the diſpleaſure of Antigonus, which he expreſſed in the ſevereſt menaces; and, when he returned from his expedition to Egypt, he ſent his ſon Demetrius, with a fleet and army, to chaſtiſe their inſolent temerity, as he termed it, and likewiſe to reduce them to his obedience.

The Rhodians, who foreſaw the impending ſtorm, had ſent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, to implore their aſſiſtance, and cauſed it to be repreſented to the latter, that their attachment to his intereſt had drawn upon them the danger to which they were then expoſed.

The preparations on each ſide were immenſe. Demetrius arrived before Rhodes with a very numerous fleet, for he had two hundred ſhips of war of different dimenſions; and more than a hundred and ſeventy tranſports, which carried about forty thouſand men, without including the cavalry, and the ſuccours he received from pirates. He had likewiſe near a thouſand ſmall veſſels laden with proviſions, and all other neceſſary accommodations for an army. The expectation of the vaſt booty to be acquired by the capture

ture of ſo rich a city as Rhodes, had allured great numbers of ſoldiers to join Demetrius in this expedition. This prince, who had the moſt fertile and inventive genius that ever was, for attacking places, and forming machines of war, had brought with him an infinite number of the latter. He was ſenſible, that he had to deal with a brave people, and very able commanders, who had acquired great experience in maritime affairs; and that the beſieged had above a hundred military machines almoſt as formidable as his own.

Demetrius, upon his arrival at the iſland, landed in order to take a view of the moſt commodious ſituation for aſſaulting the place. He likewiſe ſent out parties to lay the country waſte on all ſides, and, at the ſame time, cauſed another body of his troops to cut down the trees, and demoliſh the houſes in the parts adjacent to Rhodes, and then employed them as materials to fortify his camp with a triple paliſade.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. All perſons of merit, and reputation for military affairs, in the countries in alliance with the Rhodians, threw themſelves into the city, as much for the honour of ſerving a republick, equally celebrated for its gratitude and the courage of its citizens, as to manifeſt their own fortitude and abilities in the defence of that place, againſt one of the greateſt captains, and the moſt expert in the conduct of ſieges, that antiquity ever produced.

They began with diſmiſſing from the city all ſuch perſons as were uſeleſs; and the number of thoſe who were capable of bearing arms, amounted to ſix thouſand citizens, and a thouſand ſtrangers. Liberty, and the right of deniſons, were promiſed to ſuch ſlaves as ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by their bravery, and the publick engaged to pay the maſters the full price for each of them. It was likewiſe publickly declared, that the citizens would beſtow an honourable interment on thoſe who ſhould loſe their lives in any engagement, and would alſo provide for the ſubſiſtence

of their parents, wives, and children, and portion the daughters in marriage; and that when the ſons ſhould be of age capable of bearing arms, they ſhould be preſented with a complete ſuit of armour, on the publick theatre, at the great ſolemnity of the Bacchanalians.

This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crowds with money to defray the expence of the ſiege, and the ſoldiers pay. The workmen redoubled their induſtry in making arms, that were excellent, as well for the promptitude of execution, as the beauty of work. Some were employed in making catapultas and baliſtas; others formed different machines equally neceſſary; a third claſs repaired the breaches of the walls; while ſeveral others ſupplied them with ſtone. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout the city; each ſtriving with emulation to diſtinguiſh himſelf on that occaſion; ſo that a zeal ſo ardent and univerſal was never known before.

The beſieged firſt ſet out three good ſailors againſt a ſmall fleet of ſuttlers and merchants, who ſupplied the enemy with proviſions: They ſunk a great number of their veſſels, burnt ſeveral, and carried into the city ſuch of the priſoners who were in a condition to pay their ranſom. The Rhodians gained a conſiderable ſum of money by this expedition; for it was mutually agreed, that a thouſand drachmas (about five-and-twenty pounds) ſhould be paid for every perſon that was a freeman, and half the ſum for a ſlave.

The ſiege of Rhodes has been repreſented as the maſter-piece of Demetrius, and the greateſt inſtance of the fertility of his genius in reſources and inventions. He began the attack from the ſea, in order to make himſelf maſter of the port, and the towers which defended the entrance.

In order to accompliſh this deſign, he cauſed two tortoiſes to be erected on two flat prahms or barks joined together, to facilitate his approach to the places he

he intended to batter. One of theſe was ſtronger and more ſolid than the other, in order to cover the men from theſe enormous maſſes which the beſieged diſcharged from the towers and walls, with the catapultas planted upon them; the other was of a lighter ſtructure, and deſigned to ſhelter the ſoldiers from flights of darts and arrows. Two towers of four ſtories were erected at the ſame time, which exceeded in height the towers that defended the entrance into the port, and which were intended to be uſed in battering the latter with vollies of ſtones and darts. Each of theſe towers were placed upon two ſhips ſtrongly bound together.

Demetrius, beſide theſe tortoiſes and towers, cauſed a kind of floating barricado to be erected on a long beam of timber, four feet thick, through which ſtakes armed at the end with large points of iron were driven. Theſe ſtakes were diſpoſed horizontally, with their ſpikes projecting forward, in order to prevent the veſſels of the port from ſhattering the work with their beaks.

He likewiſe ſelected out of his fleet the largeſt veſſels, on the ſide of which he erected a rampart of planks with little windows, eaſy to be opened. He there placed the beſt Cretan archers and ſlingers in all his army, and furniſhed them with an infinite number of bows, ſmall baliſtas, or croſs-bows, and catapultas, with other engines for ſhooting; in order to gall the workmen of the city employed in raiſing and repairing the walls of the port.

The Rhodians, ſeeing the beſiegers turn all their efforts againſt that quarter, were no leſs induſtrious to defend it; in order to accompliſh that deſign, they raiſed two machines upon an adjoining eminence, and formed three others, which they placed on large ſhips of burthen, at the mouth of the little haven. A body of archers and ſlingers was likewiſe poſted on each of theſe ſituations, with a prodigious quantity of ſtones, darts, and arrows of all kinds. The ſame orders

were

were alſo given, with reſpect to the ſhips of burthen in the great port.

When Demetrius advanced with his ſhips and all their armament, to begin the attack on the ports, ſuch a violent tempeſt aroſe, as rendered it impoſſible for him to accompliſh any of his operations that day; but the ſea growing calm about night, he took the advantage of the darkneſs, and advanced, without being perceived by the enemy, to the grand port, where he made himſelf maſter of a neighbouring eminence, about five hundred paces from the wall, where he poſted four hundred ſoldiers, who fortified themſelves immediately with good paliſades.

The next morning, Demetrius cauſed his batteries to advance with the ſound of trumpets, and the ſhouts of his whole army; and they at firſt produced all the effect he propoſed from them. A great number of the beſieged were ſlain in this attack, and ſeveral breaches were opened in the mole which covered the port: But they were not very advantageous to the beſiegers, who were always repulſed by the Rhodians; and the loſs being almoſt equal on both ſides, Demetrius was obliged to retire from the port with his ſhips and machines, to be out of the reach of the enemy's arrows.

The beſieged, who had been inſtructed at their own expence in what manner the night was capable of being improved, cauſed ſeveral fire-ſhips to ſail out of the port, during the darkneſs, in order to burn the tortoiſes and wooden towers which the enemy had erected; but as they had the misfortune to be incapable of forcing the floating barricado, they were obliged to return into the port. The Rhodians loſt ſome of their fire-ſhips in this expedition, but the mariners ſaved themſelves by ſwimming.

The next day, the prince ordered a general attack to be made againſt the port, and the walls of the place, with the ſound of trumpets, and the ſhouts of his whole army, thinking by thoſe means to ſpread terror among the beſieged: But they were ſo far from being

being intimidated, that they ſuſtained the attack with incredible vigour, and diſcovered the ſame intrepidity for the ſpace of eight days that it continued; and actions of aſtoniſhing bravery were performed on both ſides during that long period.

Demetrius, taking advantage of the eminence which his troops had ſeiſed, gave orders for erecting upon it a battery of ſeveral engines, which diſcharged great ſtones of an hundred and fifty pounds in weight, againſt the walls and towers, the latter of which tottered with the repeated ſhocks, and ſeveral breaches were ſoon made in the walls. The beſiegers then made a furious advance to ſeiſe the moles which defended the entrance into the port; but as this poſt was of the laſt importance to the Rhodians, they ſpared no pains to repulſe the beſiegers, who had already made a conſiderable progreſs. This they at laſt effected, by a ſhower of ſtones and arrows, which they diſcharged upon their enemies with ſo much rapidity, and for ſuch a length of time, that they were obliged to retire in confuſion, after loſing a great number of their men.

The ardour of the beſiegers was not diminiſhed by this repulſe, and they rather appeared more animated than ever againſt the Rhodians. They began the ſcalade by land and ſea at the ſame time, and employed the beſiegers ſo effectually, that they ſcarce knew whither to run for the defence of the place. The attack was carried on with the utmoſt fury on all ſides, and the beſiegers defended themſelves with the greateſt intrepidity. Great numbers were thrown from the ladders to the earth, and miſerably bruiſed; ſeveral, even of the principal officers, got to the top of the wall, where they were covered with wounds, and taken priſoners by the enemy; ſo that Demetrius, notwithſtanding all his valour, thought it neceſſary to retreat, in order to repair his engines, which were almoſt entirely deſtroyed by ſo many attacks, as well as the veſſels that carried them.

After

After the prince had retreated from Rhodes, immediate care was taken to bury the dead; the beaks alſo of the ſhips, with the other ſpoils that had been taken from the enemy, were carried to the temple, and the workmen were indefatigable in repairing the breaches of the walls.

Demetrius having employed ſeven days in re-fitting his ſhips, and repairing his engines, ſet ſail again, with a fleet as formidable as the former, and ſteered, with a fair wind, directly for the port, which employed his attention moſt, as he conceived it impracticable to reduce the place till he had firſt made himſelf maſter of that. Upon his arrival, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of lighted torches, flaming ſtraw, and arrows to be diſcharged, in order to ſet fire to the veſſels that were riding there, while his engines battered the mole without intermiſſion. The beſieged, who expected attacks of this nature, exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour and activity, that they ſoon extinguiſhed the flames, which had ſeiſed the veſſels of the port.

At the ſame time they cauſed three of their largeſt ſhips to ſail out of the port, under the command of Exaceſtes, one of their braveſt officers, with orders to attack the enemy, and uſe all poſſible means to join the veſſels that carried the tortoiſes and wooden towers, and to charge them in ſuch a manner with the beaks of theirs, as might either ſink them, or render them entirely uſeleſs. Theſe orders were executed with a ſurpriſing expedition and addreſs; and the three gallies, after they had ſhattered and broke through the floating barricado already mentioned, drove their beaks with ſo much violence into the ſides of the enemy's barks, on which the machines were erected, that the water was immediately ſeen to flow into them through ſeveral openings. Two of them were already ſunk, but the third was towed along by the gallies, and joined the main fleet; and as dangerous as it was to attack them in that ſituation, the Rhodians, through a blind and precipitate ardour, had the courage to attempt it. But as the inequality

was

was too great to admit them to come off with ſucceſs, Exaceſtes, with the officer who commanded under him, and ſome others, after having fought with all the bravery imaginable, were taken with the galley in which they were; the other two regained the port, after ſuſtaining many dangers, and moſt of the men alſo arrived there by ſwimming.

As unfortunate as this laſt attack had proved to Demetrius, he was determined to undertake another himſelf; and, in order to ſucceed in that deſign, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, of thrice the height and breadth of thoſe he had lately loſt. When this was completed, he cauſed it to be placed near the port which he was reſolved to force; but at the inſtant they were preparing to work it, a dreadful tempeſt aroſe at ſea, and ſunk it to the bottom, with the veſſels on which it had been raiſed.

The beſieged, who were attentive to improve all favourable conjunctures, employed the time afforded them by the continuance of the tempeſt, in regaining the eminence near the port, which the enemy had carried in the firſt aſſault, and were they afterwards fortified themſelves. The Rhodians attacked it, and were repulſed ſeveral times; but the forces of Demetrius, who defended it, perceiving freſh troops continually pouring upon them, and that it was in vain for them to expect any relief, were obliged, at laſt, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners, to the number of four hundred men.

This ſeries of fortunate events was ſucceeded by the arrival of five hundred men from Cnoſſus, a city of Crete, to the aſſiſtance of the Rhodians, and alſo of five hundred more whom Ptolemy ſent from Egypt, moſt of them being Rhodians, who had liſted themſelves among the troops of that prince.

Demetrius being extremely mortified to ſee all his batteries at the port rendered ineffectual, reſolved to employ them by land, in order to carry the place by aſſault, or reduce it to the neceſſity of capitulating. He therefore prepared materials of every kind, and formed

formed them into a machine called *helepolis*, and which was larger than any that had ever been invented before. The baſis on which it ſtood was ſquare, and each of its ſides had an extent of ſeventy-five feet. The machine itſelf was an aſſemblage of large ſquare beams, rivetted together with iron, and the whole maſs reſted upon eight wheels that were made proportionable to the ſuperſtructure. The jaunts of theſe wheels were three feet thick, and ſtrengthened with large iron plates.

In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the helepolis, care had been taken to place caſters * under it, whoſe volubility rendered the machine moveable any way.

From each of the four angles a large column of wood was carried up to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet, and mutually inclining to each other. The machine was compoſed of nine ſtories, whoſe dimenſions gradually leſſened in the aſcent. The firſt ſtory was ſupported by forty-three beams, and the laſt by no more than nine.

Three ſides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fires that were launched from the city.

In the front of each ſtory were little windows, whoſe form and dimenſions correſponded with the nature of the arrows that were to be ſhot from the machine. Over each window was a kind of curtain made with leather, ſtuffed with wool: This was let down by a machine for that purpoſe, and the intention of it was to break the force of whatever ſhould be diſcharged by the enemy againſt it.

Each

* *Monſ. Rollin informs us in a note, that he was obliged to retain the Greek term* (Antiſtrepta) *for want of a proper French word to rended it by; but as the Engliſh language is not ſo defective in that particular, the tranſlator has expreſſed the Greek by the word caſter, which as well as the original word, ſignifies a wheel placed under a piece of work, in ſuch a manner as to render it convertible on all ſides, like thoſe little wheels affixed under the feet of beds, by which they move with eaſe to any part of a room.*

Each ſtory had two large ſtair-caſes, one for the aſcent of the men, and the other for their deſcent.

This machine was moved forwards by three thouſand of the ſtrongeſt and moſt vigorous men in the whole army, but the art with which it was built greatly facilitated the motion.

Demetrius alſo gave directions for building a great number of other machines, of different magnitudes, and for various uſes; he alſo employed his ſeamen in levelling the ground over which the machines were to move, which was an hundred fathoms. The number of artiſans and others, employed on theſe works, amounted to near thirty thouſand men, by which means they were finiſhed with incredible expedition.

The Rhodians were not indolent during theſe formidable preparations, but employed their time in raiſing a counter-wall, on the tract of ground where Demetrius intended to batter the walls of the city with the helepolis; and, in order to accompliſh this work, they demoliſhed the wall which ſurrounded the theatre, as alſo ſeveral neighbouring houſes, and even ſome temples, having ſolemnly promiſed the gods to build more magnificent ſtructures for the celebration of their worſhip, after the ſiege ſhould be raiſed.

When they knew that the enemy had quitted the ſea, they ſent out nine of their beſt ſhips of war, divided into three ſquadrons, the command of which they gave to three of their braveſt ſea-officers, who returned with a very rich booty, ſome gallies, and ſeveral ſmaller veſſels, which they had taken, as alſo a great number of priſoners. They had likewiſe ſeiſed a galley richly laden, and in which were large quantities of tapeſtry, with other furniture, and a variety of rich robes, intended by Phila as a preſent to her huſband Demetrius, and accompanied with letters which ſhe herſelf had written to him. The Rhodians ſent the whole, and even the letters, to Ptolemy, which exceedingly exaſperated Demetrius. In this proceeding, ſays Plutarch, they did not imitate the polite conduct of the Athenians, who having once

ſeiſed

ſeiſed ſome of the couriers of Philip, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but thoſe of Olympias, which they ſent to Philip ſealed as they were. There are ſome rules of decency and honour which ought to be inviolably obſerved, even with enemies.

While the ſhips of the republick were employed in taking the prizes already mentioned, a great commotion happened at Rhodes, with reſpect to the ſtatues of Antigonus and Demetrius, which had been erected in honour to them, and till then were held in the utmoſt veneration. Some of the principal citizens were ſollicitous, in a publick aſſembly, for an order to deſtroy the ſtatues of thoſe princes who then harraſſed them with ſuch a cruel war; but the people, who were more diſcreet and moderate on this occaſion than their chiefs, would not ſuffer that propoſal to be executed. So wiſe and equitable a conduct, excluſively of all events, did the Rhodians no ſmall honour; but ſhould their city have been taken, it could not have failed to inſpire the conqueror with impreſſions in their favour.

Demetrius having tried ſeveral mines without ſucceſs, from their being all diſcovered, and rendered ineffectual by the vigilant conduct and activity of the beſieged, gave orders, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general aſſault: In order to which the helepolis was moved to a ſituation from whence the city might be battered with the beſt effect. Each ſtory of this formidable engine was furniſhed with catapultas and baliſtas proportioned in their ſize to the dimenſions of the place. It was likewiſe ſupported and fortified on two of its ſides, by four ſmall machines called tortoiſes, each of which had a covered gallery, to ſecure thoſe who ſhould either enter the helepolis, or iſſue out of it, to execute different orders. On each ſide was a battering-ram of a prodigious ſize, conſiſting of a piece of timber thirty fathoms in length, armed with iron terminating in a point, and as ſtrong as the beak of a galley. Theſe engines were mounted

on

on wheels, and were made to batter the walls during the attack with incredible force, by near a thouſand men.

When every thing was ready, Demetrius ordered the trumpets to ſound, and the general aſſault to be given on all ſides, both by ſea and land. In the heat of the attack, and when the walls were already ſhaken by the battering rams, ambaſſadors arrived from the Cnidians, and earneſtly ſollicited Demetrius to ſuſpend the aſſault, giving him hopes, at the ſame time, that they ſhould prevail upon the beſieged to ſubmit to an honourable capitulation. A ſuſpenſion of arms was accordingly granted; but the Rhodians refuſing to capitulate on the conditions propoſed to them, the attack was renewed with ſo much fury, and all the machines co-operated ſo effectually, that a large tower built with ſquare ſtones, and the wall that flanked it, were battered down. The beſieged fought like lions in the breach, and repulſed their enemies.

In this conjuncture the veſſels which Ptolemy had freighted with three hundred thouſand meaſures of corn, and different kinds of pulſe for the Rhodians, arrived very ſeaſonably in the port, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the enemies ſhips which cruiſed in the neighbourhood to intercept them. A few days after this relief, two other ſmall fleets ſailed into the port; one was ſent by Caſſander, with one hundred thouſand buſhels of barley; the other came from Lyſimachus, with four hundred thouſand buſhels of corn, and as much barley. This ſeaſonable and abundant ſupply, which was received when the city began to be in want of proviſions, inſpired the beſieged with new courage, and they reſolved not to ſurrender till the laſt extremity.

While they were animated in this manner, they attempted to fire the enemies machines, and with this view, ordered a body of ſoldiers to march out of the city, that following midnight, with torches, and all kinds of kindled wood. Theſe troops advanced to the batteries, and ſet them on fire, and at

the ſame time innumerable arrows were ſhot from the wall, to ſupport the detachment againſt thoſe who ſhould endeavour to extinguiſh the flames. The beſiegers loſt great numbers of their men on this occaſion, becauſe they were incapable, amidſt the obſcurity of the night, either to ſee, or avoid the vollies of arrows diſcharged upon them. Several plates of iron happening to fall from the helepolis, during the conflagration, the Rhodians advanced with impetuoſity, in order to ſet it on fire: But as the troops within that moving tower quenched it with water as faſt as the flames were kindled, they could not effect their deſign. However, Demetrius was apprehenſive that all his machines would be conſumed; to prevent which, he cauſed them to be removed with all poſſible expedition.

Demetrius, being curious to know what number of machines the beſieged had employed in caſting arrows, cauſed all thoſe, which had been ſhot from the place in the attack that night, to be gathered up; and when theſe were counted, and a proper computation made, he became ſenſible that the inhabitants muſt have more than eight hundred engines of different dimenſions, for diſcharging fires, and about fifteen hundred for arrows. The prince was ſtruck with conſternation at this number, as he did not imagine the city could have made ſuch formidable preparations. He cauſed his dead to be interred, gave directions for curing thoſe who were wounded, and was as expeditious as poſſible in repairing the machines which had been diſmounted and rendered uſeleſs.

The beſieged, in order to improve the relaxation they enjoyed by the removal of the machines, were induſtrious to fortify themſelves againſt the new aſſault, for which the enemies were then preparing. To this purpoſe they began with opening a large and deep ditch behind the breach, to obſtruct the paſſage of the enemy into the city; after which they raiſed a ſubſtantial wall, in the form of a creſcent, along the ditch;

ditch; and which would coſt the enemies a new attack.

As their attention was devoted, at the ſame time, to every other emergency, they detached a ſquadron of the nimbleſt ſhips in their port, which took a great number of veſſels laden with proviſion and ammunition for Demetrius, and brought them into the port. Theſe were ſoon followed by a numerous fleet of ſmall veſſels freighted with corn and other neceſſaries ſent them by Ptolemy, with fifteen hundred men commanded by Antigonus of Macedonia.

Demetrius, having re-inſtated his machines, cauſed them all to advance near the city, when a ſecond embaſſy arrived at the camp, from the Athenians, and ſome other ſtates of Greece, on the ſame ſubject as the former, but with as little ſucceſs. The king, whoſe imagination was fruitful of expedients for ſucceeding in his projects, detached fifteen hundred of his troops, under the command of Alcimus and Mancius, with orders to enter the breach at midnight, and force the intrenchments behind it. They were then to poſſeſs themſelves of the parts adjacent to the theatre, where they would be in a condition to maintain their ground, if they could but once make themſelves maſters of it. In order to facilitate the execution of ſo important and dangerous an expedition, and amuſe the enemies with falſe attacks, he at the ſame time cauſed the ſignal to be ſounded by all the trumpets, and the city to be attacked on all ſides, both by ſea and land, that the beſieged finding ſufficent employment in all parts, the fifteen hundred men might have an opportunity of forcing the intrenchments which covered the breach, and afterwards of ſeiſing all the advantageous poſts about the theatre. This feint had all the ſucceſs the prince expected from it. The troops having ſhouted from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general aſſault, the detachment commanded by Alcimus entered the breach, and made ſuch a vigorus attack upon thoſe who defended the ditch, and the creſcent which covered

it, that after they had killed a great number of their enemies, and put the reſt into confuſion, they ſeiſed the poſts adjacent to the theatre, where they maintained themſelves.

The alarm was very great in the city, and all the chiefs who commanded there diſpatched orders to their officers and ſoldiers not to quit their poſts, nor make the leaſt movement whatever. After which they placed themſelves at the head of a choſen body of their own troops, and of thoſe who were newly arrived from Egypt, and with them poured upon the detachment which had advanced as far as the theatre: But the obſcurity of the night rendered it impracticable to diſlodge them from the poſts they had ſeiſed, and the day no ſooner appeared, than an univerſal cry of the beſiegers was heard from all quarters, by which they endeavoured to animate thoſe who had entered the place, and inſpire them with a reſolution to maintain their ground, where they might ſoon expect ſuccours. This terrible cry drew floods of tears and diſmal groans from the populace, women and children, who continued in the city, and then concluded themſelves inevitably loſt. The battle, however, continued with great vigour at the theatre, and the Macedonians defended their poſts with an intrepidity that aſtoniſhed their enemies, till at laſt the Rhodians prevailing by their numbers, and perpetual ſupplies of freſh troops, the detachment, after having ſeen Alcimus and Mancius ſlain on the ſpot were obliged to ſubmit to ſuperior force, and abandon a poſt it was no longer poſſible to maintain. Great numbers of them fell on the ſpot, and the reſt were taken priſoners.

The ardour of Demetrius was rather augmented than abated by this check, and he was making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a new aſſault, when he received letters from his father Antigonus, by which he was directed to take all poſſible meaſures for the concluſion of a peace with the Rhodians. He then wanted ſome plauſible pretext for diſcontinuing the

ſiege,

ſiege, and chance ſupplied him with it. At that very inſtant deputies from Ætolia arrived at his camp, to ſollicit him anew to grant a peace to the Rhodians, to which they found him not ſo averſe as before.

(*b*) If what Vegetius relates of the helepolis be true, and indeed Vitruvius ſeems to confirm it, with a ſmall variation of circumſtances, it might poſſibly be another motive that contributed not a little to diſpoſe Demetrius to a peace. That prince was preparing to advance his helepolis againſt the city, when a Rhodian engineer contrived an expedient to render it entirely uſeleſs; he opened a mine under the walls of the city, and continued it to the way over which the tower was to paſs the enſuing day in order to approach the walls. The beſiegers not ſuſpecting any ſtratagem of that nature, moved on the tower to the place undermined; which being incapable of ſupporting ſo enormous a load, ſunk in under the machine, which buried itſelf ſo deep in the earth, that it was impoſſible to draw it out again. This was one inconvenience to which theſe formidable engines were obnoxious; and the two authors whom I have cited declare, that this accident determined Demetrius to raiſe the ſiege, and it is, at leaſt, very probable, that it contributed not a little to his taking that reſolution.

The Rhodians, on their part, were as deſirous of an accommodation as himſelf, provided it could be effected upon reaſonable terms. Ptolemy, in promiſing them freſh ſuccours, much more conſiderable than the former, had earneſtly exhorted them not to loſe ſo favourable an occaſion, if it ſhould offer itſelf. Beſides which, they were ſenſible of the extreme neceſſity they were under of putting an end to the ſiege, which could not but prove fatal to them at laſt. This conſideration induced them to liſten with pleaſure to the propoſals made them, and the treaty was concluded ſoon after upon the following terms. The republick of Rhodes, and all its citizens, ſhould retain the enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and liberty,

(*b*) Veget. de re milit. c. iv.

without being ſubjected to any power whatſoever. The alliance they had always had with Antigonus, was to be confirmed and renewed, with an obligation to take up arms for him in all future wars, provided it was not againſt Ptolemy. The city was alſo to deliver an hundred hoſtages, to be choſen by Demetrius, for the effectual performance of the articles ſtipulated between them. When theſe hoſtages were given, the army decamped from before Rhodes, after having beſieged it a year.

(*c*) Demetrius, who was then reconciled with the Rhodians, was deſirous, before his departure, to give them a proof of that diſpoſition; and accordingly preſented them with all the machines of war he had employed in that ſiege. Theſe they afterwards ſold for three hundred talents (about three hundred thouſand crowns) which they employed, with an additional ſum of their own in making the famous Coloſſus, which was reputed one of the ſeven wonders of the world. It was a ſtatue of the ſun, of ſo ſtupendous a ſize, that ſhips in full ſail paſſed between its legs; the height of it was ſeventy cubits, or one hundred and five feet, and few men could claſp its thumb with their arms. It was the work of Chares of Lindus, and employed him for the ſpace of twelve years. Sixty-ſix years after its erection it was thrown down by an earthquake; of which we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

The Rhodians, to teſtify their gratitude to Ptolemy for the aſſiſtance he had given them in ſo dangerous a conjuncture, conſecrated a grove to that prince, after they had conſulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, to give the action an air of ſolemnity; and to honour him the more, erected a magnificent work within it. They built a ſumptuous portico, and continued it along each ſide of the ſquare which encompaſſed it, and contained a ſpace of four hundred fathoms. This portico was called the Ptolemæon; and, out of a flattery, as cuſtomary in thoſe days as impious

(*c*) Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 7.

impious in itſelf, divine honours were rendered to him in that place: And, in order to perpetuate their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of Soter, which ſignifies a ſaviour, and is uſed by the hiſtorians to diſtinguiſh him from the other Ptolemies, who were his ſucceſſors on the throne of Egypt.

I was unwilling to interrupt the ſeries of events that occurred at this ſiege, and therefore reſerved for this place one that greatly redounds to the honour of Demetrius. It relates to his taſte for the arts, and the eſteem he entertained for thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by peculiar merit in them; a circumſtance not a little for the glory of a prince.

Rhodes was at that time the reſidence of a celebrated painter, named Protogenes, who was a native of Caunus, a city of Caria, which was then ſubject to the Rhodians. The apartment where he painted was in the ſuburbs, without the city, when Demetrius firſt beſieged it; but neither the preſence of the enemies who then ſurrounded him, nor the noiſe of arms that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation, or diſcontinue his work. The king was ſurpriſed at his conduct; and as he one day aſked him his reaſons for ſuch a proceeding, *It is*, replied he, *becauſe I am ſenſible you have declared war againſt the Rhodians, and not againſt the ſciences.* Nor was he deceived in that opinion, for Demetrius actually ſhowed himſelf their protector. He planted a guard round his houſe, that the artiſt might enjoy tranquillity, or, at leaſt, be ſecure from danger amidſt the tumult and ravages of war. He frequently went to ſee him work, and never ſufficiently admired the application of that maſter to his art, and his ſurpriſing excellency in it.

The maſter-piece of this painter was the *Jalyſus*, an hiſtorical picture of a perſon of that name, whom the Rhodians acknowledged as their founder, though only a * fabulous hero. Protogenes had employed ſe-

* *He was the ſon of Orchimus, Rhoda, from whom the city and iſland derived their name. whoſe parents were the Sun and*

ven years in finiſhing this piece; and when Apelles firſt ſaw it, he was tranſported with ſo much admiration, that his ſpeech failed him for ſome time; and when he at laſt began to recover from his aſtoniſhment, he cried out, *Prodigious work indeed! Admirable performance! It has not, however, the graces I give my works, and which have raiſed their reputation to the ſkies.* If we may credit Pliny, Protogenes, during the whole time he applied himſelf to this work, condemned himſelf to a very rigid and abſtemious life *, that the delicacy of his taſte and imagination might not be affected by his diet. This picture was carried to Rome, and conſecrated in the temple of Peace, where it remained to the time of Pliny; but it was at laſt deſtroyed by fire.

The ſame Pliny pretends, that Rhodes was ſaved by this picture; becauſe as it hung in the only quarter by which it was poſſible for Demetrius to take the city, he rather choſe to abandon his conqueſt †, than expoſe ſo precious a monument of art to the danger of being conſumed in the flames. This, indeed, would have been carrying his taſte and value for painting into a ſupriſing extreme; but we have already ſeen the true reaſons which obliged Demetrius to raiſe the ſiege.

One of the figures in this picture was a dog ‡, that was admired by all good judges, and had coſt the painter great application, without his being able to expreſs his idea to his own ſatisfaction, though he was ſufficiently

* *He ſubſiſted himſelf on boiled lupines, a kind of pulſe which ſatisfied his hunger and thirſt at the ſame time.*

† Parcentem picturæ fugit occaſio victoriæ.

‡ Eſt in ea canis mirè factus, ut quem pariter caſus & ars pinxerint. Non judicabat ſe exprimere in eo ſpumam anhelantis poſſe, cùm in reliqua omni parte (quod difficillimum erat) ſibi ipſi ſatisfeciſſet. Di plicebat autem ars ipſa, nec minui poterat, & videbatur nimia, ac longiùs à veritate diſcedere, ſpumaque illa pingi non ex ore naſci, anxio animi cruciatu cùm in pictura verum eſſe, non veriſimile, vellet. Abſterſerat ſæpius mutaveratque pennicillum, nullo modo ſibi approbans. Poſtremò iratus arti quòd intelligeretur, ſpongiam eam impegit inviſo loco tabulæ, & illa repoſuit ablatos colores, qualiter cura optabat: fecitque in pictura fortuna naturam. *Plin. lib.* xxxv. *cap.* 10.

ſufficiently pleaſed with all the reſt of the work. He endeavoured to repreſent the dog panting, and with his mouth foaming as after a long chaſe; and employed all the ſkill he was capable of exerting on that occaſion, without being able to content himſelf. Art, in his opinion, was more viſible than it ought to have been; a mere reſemblance would not ſuffice, and almoſt nothing but reality itſelf would ſatisfy him. He was deſirous that the foam ſhould not ſeem painted, but actually flowing out of the mouth of the dog. He frequently retouched it, and ſuffered a degree of torture from his anxiety to expreſs thoſe ſimple traces of nature, of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. All his attempts were however ineffectual, till at laſt, in a violent emotion of rage and deſpair, he darted at the picture the very ſponge with which he uſed to wipe out his colours, and chance accompliſhed that which art had not been able to effect.

This painter is cenſured for being too difficult to be pleaſed, and for retouching his pictures too frequently. It is certain, that though Apelles * almoſt regarded him as his maſter, and allowed him a number of excellent qualities, yet he condemned in him the defect of not being able to quit the pencil and finiſh his works; a defect highly pernicious in eloquence as well as painting. *We ought*, ſays Cicero †, *to know how far we ſhould go; and Apelles juſtly cenſured ſome painters for not knowing when to have done.*

* Et aliam gloriam uſurpavit Apelles, cùm Protogenis opus immenſi laboris ac curæ ſupra modum anxiæ miraretur. Dixit enim omnia ſibi cum illo paria eſſe, aut illi meliora, ſed uno ſe præſtare, quòd manum ille de tabula neſciret tollere memorabili præcepto, nocere ſæpe nimiam diligentiam. *Plin. ibid.*

† In omnibus rebus videndum eſt quatenus———In quo Apelles pictores quoque eos peccare dicebat, qui non ſentirent quid eſſet ſatis. *Orat.* n. 73.

SECT.

SECT. IX. *The expedition of* SELEUCUS *into India.* DEMETRIUS *compels* CASSANDER *to raiſe the ſiege of Athens. The exceſſive honours paid him in that city. A league between* PTOLEMY, SELEUCUS, CASSANDER, *and* LYSIMACHUS, *againſt* ANTIGONUS *and* DEMETRIUS. *The battle of Ipſus, a city of Phrygia, wherein* ANTIGONUS *is ſlain, and* DEMETRIUS *put to flight.*

THE farther we advance into the hiſtory of Alexander's ſucceſſors, the more eaſily may we diſcover the ſpirit by which they were conſtantly actuated hitherto, and by which they will ſtill appear to be influenced. They at firſt concealed their real diſpoſitions, by nominating children, or perſons of weak capacities, to the regal dignity, in order to diſguiſe their own ambitious views. But as ſoon as all the family of Alexander was deſtroyed, they threw off the maſk, and diſcovered themſelves in their proper colours, and ſuch as, in reality, they had always been. They were all equally ſollicitous to ſupport themſelves in their ſeveral governments; to become entirely independent; to aſſume an abſolute ſovereignty, and enlarge the limits of their provinces and kingdoms at the expence of thoſe other governours, who were weaker or leſs ſucceſsful than themſelves. To this effect they employed the force of their arms, and entered into alliances, which they were always ready to violate, when they could derive more advantages from others, and they renewed them with the ſame facility from the ſame motives. They conſidered the vaſt conqueſts of Alexander as an inheritance deſtitute of a maſter, and which prudence obliged them to ſecure for themſelves, in as large portions as poſſible, without any apprehenſions of being reproached as uſurpers, for the acquiſition of countries gained by the victories of the Macedonians, but not the property of any particular perſon. This was the great motive of all the enterpriſes in which they engaged.

Seleucus,

Seleucus, as we formerly obſerved, was maſter of all the countries between Euphrates and Indus, and was deſirous of acquiring thoſe that lay beyond the latter of thoſe rivers. In order, therefore, to improve the favourable conjuncture of his union in point of intereſt with Ptolemy, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus, and at a time when the forces of Antigonus were divided, and Demetrius was employed in the ſiege of Rhodes, and in aweing the republicks of Greece; in a word, while Antigonus himſelf was only intent upon becoming maſter of Syria and Phœnicia, and attacking Ptolemy even in Egypt itſelf: Seleucus therefore thought it incumbent on him to improve this diverſion, which weakened the only enemy he had to fear; for carrying his arms againſt the people of India, who were included in his lot by the general partition, and whom he hoped it would be very practicable for him to ſubdue by a ſudden irruption, altogether unexpected by king Sandrocotta. This perſon was an Indian of very mean extraction, who, under the ſpecious pretext of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raiſed an army, and augmented it ſo well by degrees, that he found means to drive the Macedonians out of all the provinces of India which Alexander had conquered, and to eſtabliſh himſelf in them, while the ſucceſſors of that monarch were engaged in mutual wars with each other. Seleucus paſſed the Indus in order to regain thoſe provinces; but when he found that Sandrocotta had rendered himſelf abſolute maſter of all India, and had likewiſe an army of ſix hundred thouſand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it prudent to attack ſo potent a prince; but entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to renounce all his pretenſions to that country, provided Sandrocotta would furniſh him with five hundred elephants; upon which terms a peace was concluded. This was the final reſult of Alexander's Indian conqueſts! This the fruit of ſo much blood ſhed to gratify the frantick ambition of one prince! Seleucus ſhortly after led his

A. M. 3701. Ant. J. C. 303.

his troops into the weſt againſt Antigonus, as I ſhall ſoon obſerve. The abſolute neceſſity he was under of engaging in this war, was one of his ſtrongeſt inducements for concluding ſo ſudden a peace with the Indian prince.

(*a*) The Athenians, at the ſame time, called in Demetrius to aſſiſt them againſt Caſſander, who beſieged their city. He accordingly ſet ſail with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a great body of foot; and not only drove Caſſander out of Attica, but purſued him as far as Thermopylæ, where he defeated him, and made himſelf maſter of Heraclea, which ſurrendered voluntarily. He alſo admitted into his ſervice ſix thouſand Macedonians, who came over to his ſide.

When he returned to Athens, the inhabitants of that city, though they had always laviſhed upon him all the honours they were able to invent, had recourſe to new flatteries that outdid the former. They lodged him in the back part of the temple of Minerva, called Partheon; but even this place, which had ſo much ſanctity aſcribed to it by the people, and was the manſion of a virgin goddeſs, he did not ſcruple to profane by the moſt infamous and crying debaucheries. His courteſans were there treated with more honour than the goddeſs herſelf, and were the only divinities he adored. (*b*) He even cauſed altars to be erected to them by the Athenians, whom he called abject wretches, for their mean compliance, and creatures born only for ſlavery; ſo much was even this prince ſhocked at ſuch deſpicable adulation, as Tacitus obſerved with reſpect to Tiberius *.

Democles, ſurnamed *the Fair*, and of a very tender age, threw himſelf, in order to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a veſſel of boiling water prepared for a bath, and there loſt his life, chooſing rather to die than

(*a*) Diod. l. xx. p. 825—828. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899.

(*b*) Athen. l. vi. p. 253.

* Memoriæ proditur, Tiberium, quoties curia egrederetur, illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projecta ſervientium patientiæ tædebat. *Tacit. Annal.* l. iii. c. 65.

Græcis verbis in hunc modum eloqui ſolitum: *O homines ad ſervitutem paratos!* Scilicet etiam

than violate his modeſty. The Athenians, to appeaſe the reſentment of Demetrius, who was extremely offended at a decree they had publiſhed with relation to him, iſſued a new one, importing, *That it was ordered and adjudged by the people of Athens, that whatever Demetrius might think fit to command, ſhould be conſidered as ſacred in regard to the gods, and juſt with regard to men.* Is it poſſible to believe, that flattery and ſervitude could be carried to ſuch an exceſs of baſeneſs, extravagance, and irreligion!

Demetrius, after theſe proceedings, retired into Peloponneſus, and took from Ptolemy, who had rendered himſelf powerful in that country, the cities of Sicyone, Corinth, and ſeveral others, where he had garriſons. And as he happened to be at Argos, at the grand feſtival in honour of Juno, he was deſirous of celebrating it, by propoſing prizes, and preſiding in perſon among the Greeks. In order to ſolemniſe it more effectually, he eſpouſed, on that day, Deidamia, the daughter of Æacides, king of the Moloſſians, and ſiſter of Pyrrhus.

(*c*) The ſtates of Greece being aſſembled in the Iſthmus, and curioſity having drawn a vaſt number of people from all parts, Demetrius was proclaimed general of all the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been before him; to whom he thought himſelf abundantly ſuperior, ſo much was he intoxicated with the ſucceſs of his arms, and the flattery laviſhed upon him.

When he was upon his departure from Peloponneſus for Athens, he wrote to the inhabitants of that city, that he intended, upon his arrival among them, to be initiated in the great and leſſer myſteries at the ſame time. This had never been permitted before; for it was neceſſary to obſerve certain intervals; it being lawful to celebrate the leſſer myſteries only in the month of March *, and the greater in that of October. In order therefore to obviate this inconvenience,

(*c*) Plut. in Demetr. p. 900.

* *There are various opinions with relation to the months in which theſe myſteries were celebrated.*

venience, and ſatisfy ſo religious a prince, it was ordered, that the then preſent month of May ſhould be deemed the month of March, and afterwards that of October; and Demetrius, by this rare invention, was duely initiated, without infringing the cuſtoms and ceremonials preſcribed by the law.

But of all the abuſes committed at Athens, that which moſt afflicted and mortified the inhabitants, was an order iſſued by Demetrius, for immediately furniſhing the ſum of two hundred and fifty talents; and when this money had been collected without the leaſt delay or abatement, the prince, the moment he ſaw it amaſſed together, ordered it to be given to Lamia, and the other courteſans in her company, for waſhes and paint. The Athenians were more offended at the indignity than the loſs, and reſented the application of that ſum to a greater degree than their contribution to it.

Lamia, as if this terrible expence had not been ſufficient, being deſirous to regale Demetrius at a feaſt, extorted money from ſeveral of the richeſt Athenians by her own private authority. The entertainment coſt immenſe ſums, and gave birth to a very ingenious pleaſantry of a comic poet, who ſaid, that Lamia was a true helepolis; we have already ſhown, that the helepolis was a machine invented by Demetrius for attacking towns.

(*d*) Caſſander finding himſelf vigorouſly preſſed by Demetrius, and not being able to obtain a peace without ſubmitting entirely to the diſcretion of Antigonus, agreed with Lyſimachus to ſend ambaſſadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, to repreſent to them the ſituation to which they were reduced. The conduct of Antigonus made it evident, that he had no leſs in view than to diſpoſſeſs all the other ſucceſſors of Alexander, and uſurp the whole empire to himſelf; and that it was time to form a ſtrict alliance with each other to humble this exorbitant power. They were likewiſe

(*d*) Diod. l. xx. p. 830—836. Plut. in Demet. p. 899. Juſtin. l. xv. c. 4.

likewiſe offended, and Lyſimachus in particular, at the contemptible manner in which Demetrius permitted people to treat the other kings in their converſation at his table, appropriating the regal title to himſelf and his father; whereas Ptolemy, according to his flatterers, was no more than the captain of a ſhip, Seleucus a commander of elephants, and Lyſimachus a treaſurer. A confederacy was therefore formed by theſe four kings, after which they haſtened into Aſſyria, to make preparations for this new war.

The firſt operations of it were commenced at the Helleſpont; Caſſander and Lyſimachus having judged it expedient, that the former ſhould continue in Europe, to defend it againſt Demetrius; and that the latter ſhould invade the provinces of Antigonus, in Aſia, with as many troops as could be drawn out of their two kingdoms, without leaving them too deſtitute of forces. Lyſimachus executed his part conformably to the agreement; paſſed the Helleſpont with a fine army, and, either by treaty or force, reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and moſt of the territories between the Propontis and the river Mæander.

Antigonus was then at Antigonia, which he had lately built in Upper Syria, and where he was employed in celebrating the ſolemn games he had there eſtabliſhed. This news, with that of ſeveral other revolts, tranſmitted to him at the ſame time, cauſed him immediately to quit his games. He accordingly diſmiſſed the aſſembly upon the ſpot, and made preparations for advancing againſt the enemy. When all his troops were drawn together, he marched with the utmoſt expedition over mount Taurus, and entered Cilicia, where he took out of the publick treaſury of Synada, a city of that province, as much money as he wanted, and then augmented his troops to the number he thought neceſſary. After which he advanced directly towards the enemy, and retook ſeveral places in his march. Lyſimachus thought proper to be upon the defenſive, till the arrival of the

ſuccours

ſuccours upon their march to join him from Seleucus and Ptolemy. The remaining part of the year, therefore, elapſed without any action, and each party retired into winter-quarters.

A. M. 3703 Ant. J. C. 301. Seleucus, at the beginning of the next ſeaſon, formed his army at Babylon, and marched into Cappadocia, to act againſt Antigonus. This latter ſent immediately for Demetrius, who left Greece with great expedition, marched to Epheſus, and retook that city, with ſeveral others that had declared for Lyſimachus upon his arrival in Aſia.

Ptolemy improved the opportunity in Syria, of the abſence of Antigonus, and recovered all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœloſyria, except the cities of Tyre and Sidon, where Antigonus had left good garriſons. He, indeed, formed the ſiege of Sidon; but whilſt his troops were employed in battering the walls, he received intelligence that Antigonus had defeated Seleucus and Lyſimachus, and was advancing to relieve the place. Upon this information he made a truce for five months with the Sidonians, raiſed the ſiege, and returned to Egypt.

Here ends what remains of the hiſtory of Diodorus Siculus, in a period of the greateſt importance, and on the very point of a battle, by which the fate of Alexander's ſucceſſors is to be decided.

(*e*) The confederate army, commanded by Seleucus and Lyſimachus, and the troops of Antigonus and Demetrius, arrived at Phrygia almoſt at the ſame time, but did not long confront each other without coming to blows. Antigonus had above ſixty thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſeventy-five elephants. The enemies forces conſiſted of ſixty-four thouſand foot, ten thouſand five hundred horſe, four hundred elephants, with a hundred and twenty chariots armed with ſcythes. The battle was fought near Ipſus, a city of Phrygia.

As ſoon as the ſignal was given, Demetrius, at the head of his beſt cavalry, fell upon Antiochus, the ſon of

(*e*) Plut. in Demetr. p. 902.

of Seleucus, and behaved with ſo much bravery, that he broke the enemy's ranks, and put them to flight; But a raſh and inconſiderate thirſt of glory, which generals can never ſuſpect too much, and has been fatal to many, prompted Demetrius to purſue the fugitives with two much ardour, and without any conſideration for the reſt of the army; by which means he loſt the victory he might eaſily have ſecured, had he improved his firſt advantage aright. For when he returned from the purſuit, he found it impracticable for him to rejoin his infantry, the enemy's elephants having filled up all the intermediate ſpace. When Seleucus ſaw the infantry of Antigonus ſeparated from their cavalry, he only made ſeveral feint attacks upon them, ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on another, in order to intimidate and afford them ſufficient time to quit the army of Antigonus, and come over to his own; and this was at laſt the expedient on which they reſolved. The greateſt part of the infantry detached themſelves from the reſt, and ſurrendered in a voluntary manner to Seleucus, and the other were all put to flight. At the ſame inſtant a large body of the army of Seleucus drew off by his order, and made a furious attack upon Antigonus, who ſuſtained their efforts for ſome time, but being at laſt overwhelmed with darts, and having received many wounds, he fell dead on the earth, having defended himſelf valiantly to his laſt gaſp. Demetrius ſeeing his father dead, rallied all the troops he was able to draw together; and retired to Epheſus, with five thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; which were all that remained of more than ſixty thouſand men, whom his father and himſelf commanded at the beginning of the engagement. (*b*) The great Pyrrhus, as young as he then was, was inſeparable from Demetrius, overthrew all that oppoſed him, and gave an eſſay, in this firſt action, of what might be expected one day from his valour and bravery.

(*b*) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 384.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. *The four victorious princes divide the empire of* ALEXANDER *the Great into as many kingdoms.* SELEUCUS *builds ſeveral cities. Athens ſhuts her gates againſt* DEMETRIUS. *He reconciles himſelf with* SELEUCUS, *and afterwards with* PTOLEMY. *The death of* CASSANDER. *The firſt actions of* PYRRHUS. *Athens taken by* DEMETRIUS. *He loſes all he poſſeſſed almoſt at the ſame time.*

(a) AFTER the battle of Ipſus, the four confederate princes divided the dominions of Antigonus among themſelves, and added them to thoſe they already poſſeſſed. The empire of Alexander was thus divided into four kingdoms, of which Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœlofyria, and Paleſtine: Caſſander had Macedonia and Greece: Lyſimachus Thrace, Bithynia, and ſome other provinces beyond the Helleſpont, with the Boſphorus: And Seleucus all the reſt of Aſia, to the other ſide of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus. The dominions of this laſt prince are uſually called the kingdom of Syria, becauſe Seleucus, who afterwards built Antioch in that province, made it the chief ſeat of his reſidence, in which he was followed by his ſucceſſors, who from his name were called Seleucidæ. This kingdom, however, not only included Syria, but thoſe vaſt and fertile provinces of Upper Aſia, which conſtituted the Perſian empire. The reign of twenty years, which I have aſſigned to Seleucus Nicator, commences at this period, becauſe he was not acknowledged as king till after the battle of Ipſus; and if we add to theſe the twelve years, during which he exerciſed the regal authority without the title, they will make out the reign of thirty-one years aſſigned him by Uſher.

Theſe

(a) Plut. in Demetr. p. 902. Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Polyb. l. xv. p. 572.

These four kings * are the four horns of the he-goat in the prophecy of Daniel, who succeeded in the place of the first horn that was broken. The first horn was Alexander, king of Greece, who destroyed the empire of the Medes and Persians, designed by the ram with two horns; and the other four horns, are those four kings who rose up after him, and divided his empire among them, but they were not of his posterity.

They are likewise shadowed out by the four heads of the leopard, which are introduced in another part of the same prophecy †.

These prophecies of Daniel were exactly accomplished by this last partition of Alexander's empire; other divisions had, indeed, been made before this, but they were only of provinces, which were consigned to governors, under the brother and son of Alexander, and none but the last was the regal partition. Those prophecies, therefore, are to be understood of this alone, for they evidently represent these four successors of Alexander, in the quality of four kings, *four stood up for it.* But not one of Alexander's successors obtained the regal dignity, till about three years before the last division of the

* *And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the West on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken: And from it came up four notable horns, towards the four winds of heaven.* Dan. chap. viii. ver. 5, 6, 7, 8. God afterwards explains to his prophet what he had seen: *The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia, and the rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.* Ibid. ver. 20, 21, 22.

† *After this I beheld, and lo, another like a leopard, which had, upon the back of it four wings of a fowl, the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it.* Dan. vii. 6.

pire. And even this dignity was at firſt precarious, as being aſſumed by each of the ſeveral parties, merely by his own authority, and not acknowledged by any of the reſt. Whereas, after the battle of Ipſus, the treaty made between the four confederates, when they had defeated their adverſary, and diveſted him of his dominions, aſſigned each of them their dominions under the appellation of ſo many kingdoms, and authoriſed and acknowledged them as kings and ſovereigns, independent of any ſuperior power. Theſe four kings are, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus.

We can never ſufficiently admire, in this and the other places, wherein the completion of the prophecies of Daniel will be obſerved, the ſtrong light with which the prophet penetrates the thick gloom of futurity, at a time when there was not the leaſt appearance of all he foretels. With how much certainty and exactneſs, even amidſt the variety of theſe revolutions and a chaos of ſingular events, does he determine each particular circumſtance, and fix the number of the ſeveral ſucceſſors! How expreſsly has he pointed out the nation, that was to be the Grecian; deſcribed the countries they were to poſſeſs; meaſured the duration of their empires, and the extent of their power, inferior to that of Alexander; in a word, with what lively colours has he drawn the characters of thoſe princes, and ſpecified their alliances, treaties, treachery, marriages, and ſucceſs! Can any one poſſibly aſcribe to chance, or human foreſight, ſo many circumſtantial predictions, which, at the time of their being denounced, were ſo remote from probability; and may we not evidently diſcover in them the character and traces of the Divinity, to whom all ages are preſent in one view, and who alone determines at his will the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world? But it is now time for us to reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

(*k*) Onias, the firſt of that name, and high-prieſt of

(*k*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.

of the Jews, died about this time, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Simon, who, for the ſanctity of his life, and the equity of all his actions, was ſurnamed *the Juſt*. He enjoyed the pontificate for the ſpace of nine years.

(*l*) Seleucus, after the defeat of Antigonus, made himſelf maſter of Upper Syria, where he built Antioch on the Orontes, and gave it that name, either from his father, or his ſon, for they were both called Antiochus. This city, where the Syrian kings afterwards reſided, was the capital of the Eaſt for a long time, and ſtill preſerved that privilege under the Roman emperors. Antigonus had lately built a city at a ſmall diſtance from this, and called it Antigonia; but Seleucus had entirely demoliſhed it, and employed the materials in the conſtruction of his own city, to which he afterwards tranſplanted the inhabitants of the former. A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300.

(*m*) Among ſeveral other cities built by Seleucus in this country, there were three more remarkable than the reſt: The firſt was called Seleucia, from his own name; the ſecond, Apamea, from his conſort of that name, who was the daughter of Artabazus the Perſian; the third was Laodicea, ſo denominated from his mother. Apamea and Seleucia were ſituated on the ſame river on which Antioch was built, and Laodicea was in the ſouthern part of the ſame quarter. He allowed the Jews the ſame privileges and immunities on each of theſe new cities, as were enjoyed by the Greeks and Macedonians, and eſpecially at Antioch in Syria, where that people ſettled in ſuch numbers, that they poſſeſſed as conſiderable a part of that city as their other countrymen enjoyed at Alexandria.

Demetrius had withdrawn himſelf to Epheſus, after the battle of Ipſus, and, from thence, embarked for Greece, his whole reſource being limited to the affection of the Athenians, with whom he had left his fleet, money, and wife Deidamia. But he was ſtrangely

(*l*) Strab. l. xvi. p. 749, 750. Appian in Syr. p. 124. Juſtin. l. xv. c. 4. (*m*) Strab. l. xvi. p. 750.

ſurpriſed and offended, when he was met in his way, by ambaſſadors from the Athenians, who came to acquaint him that he could not be admitted into their city, becauſe the people had, by a decree, prohibited the reception of any of the kings: They alſo informed him, that his conſort Deidamia had been conducted to Magara, with all the honours and attendance due to her dignity. Demetrius was then ſenſible of the value of honours and homages extorted by fear, and which did not proceed from the will. The poſture of his affairs not permitting him to revenge the perfidy of that people, he contented himſelf with intimating his complaints to them in a moderate manner, and demanded his gallies, among which was that prodigious galley of ſixteen benches of oars. As ſoon as he had received them, he ſailed towards the Cherſoneſus; and having committed ſome devaſtations in the territories of Lyſimachus, he enriched his army with the ſpoils, and by that expedient prevented the deſertion of his troops, who now began to recover their vigour, and render themſelves formidable anew.

Lyſimachus, king of Thrace, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf in his dominions, entered into a particular treaty with Ptolemy, and ſtrengthened the alliance between them, by eſpouſing one of his daughters named Arſinoe; ſhortly after which, his ſon Agathocles married another.

A. M. 3705. Ant. J. C. 299. (*n*) This double alliance between Lyſimachus and Ptolemy gave umbrage to Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with Demetrius, and eſpouſed Stratonice, the daughter of that prince, by Phila the ſiſter of Caſſander. The beauty of that princeſs had induced Seleucus to demand her in marriage; and as the affairs of Demetrius were at that time in a very bad condition, ſo honourable an alliance with ſo powerful a prince was exceedingly agreeable to him. In conſequence of which he immediately conducted his daughter with all his fleet into Syria from Greece, where he was ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſome places. During his

(*n*) Plut. in Demetr. p. 903.

his paſſage he made a deſcent on Cilicia, which then belonged to Pliſtarchus the brother of Caſſander, to whom it had been aſſigned by the four kings, who divided the dominions of Alexander the Great after the death of Antigonus. Pliſtarchus went to complain of this proceeding to Seleucus, and to reproach him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy without the conſent of the other kings, which he conſidered as an infraction of the treaty. Demetrius receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of Synada, where the treaſures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents *, were depoſited. Theſe he carried off with all expedition to his fleet, and then ſet ſail for Syria, where he found Seleucus, and gave him the princeſs Stratonice in marriage. Demetrius, after ſome days paſſed in rejoicings for the nuptials and the entertainments given on each ſide, returned to Cilicia, and made himſelf maſter of the whole province. He then ſent his wife Phila to Caſſander, in order to excuſe this proceeding. Theſe kings imitated the princes of the Eaſt, with whom it was cuſtomary to have ſeveral wives at the ſame time.

During theſe tranſactions of Demetrius, Deidamia, another of his wives, who had taken a journey to meet him in Greece, and had paſſed ſome time with him in that country, was ſeiſed with an indiſpoſition that ended her days. Demetrius having reconciled himſelf with Ptolemy, by the mediation of Seleucus, eſpouſed Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy; by which means his affairs began to aſſume a better aſpect; for he had all the iſland of Cyprus, and the two rich and powerful cities of Tyre and Sidon, beſide his new conqueſts in Cilicia. A. M. 3706. Ant. J. C 298.

It was very imprudent in Seleucus to permit ſo dangerous an enemy to eſtabliſh himſelf at ſo ſmall a diſtance from him, and to uſurp from one of his allies a province ſo near his own dominions as Cilicia. All this ſhows that theſe princes had no eſtabliſhed rules

* *Twelve hundred thouſand crowns.*

and principles of conduct, and were even ignorant of the true intereſts of their ambition. For as to faith of treaty, equity, and gratitude, they had long ſince renounced them all, and only reigned for the unhappineſs of their people, as the author of the firſt book of Maccabees has obſerved *.

The eyes of Seleucus were however open at laſt, and in order to prevent his having a neighbour of ſuch abilities on each ſide of his dominions, he required Demetrius to ſurrender Cilicia to him for a very conſiderable ſum of money; but that prince not being diſpoſed to comply with ſuch a propoſal, Seleucus inſiſted upon his reſtoring him the cities of Tyre, and Sidon that depended on Syria, of which he was king. Demetrius, enraged at this demand, replied very abruptly, that though he ſhould loſe ſeveral other battles as fatal to him as that of Ipſus, he ſhould never reſolve to purchaſe the friendſhip of Seleucus at ſo high a price. At the ſame time he ſailed to thoſe two cities, where he re-inforced their garriſons, and furniſhed them with all things neceſſary for a vigorous defence; by which means the intention of Seleucus to take them from him was rendered ineffectual at that time. This proceeding of Seleucus was very conformable to the rules of political intereſt, but had ſuch an odious aſpect, with reference to the maxims of honour, that it ſhocked all mankind, and was univerſally condemned: For as his dominions were of ſuch a vaſt extent as to include all the countries between India and the Mediterranean, how inſatiable was that rigour and avidity which would not permit him to leave his father-in-law the peaceable enjoyment of the ſhattered remains of his fortune!

A. M. 3707. Ant. J. C. 297. Caſſander died about this time of a dropſy, after having governed Macedonia for the ſpace of nine years, from the death of his father, and ſix or ſeven from the laſt partition. He left three ſons by Theſſalonica, one of the ſiſters of Alexander the Great. Philip,

* Chap. i. ver. 9, 10.

Philip, who ſucceeded him, and died ſoon after, left his crown to be conteſted by his two brothers.

(o) Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, had eſpouſed Antigone, a relation of Ptolemy, in Egypt. This young prince was the ſon of Æacides, whom the Moloſſians, in a revolt, had expelled from the throne; and it was with great difficulty, that Pyrrhus himſelf, then an infant at the breaſt, was preſerved from the fury of the revolters, who purſued him with intent to deſtroy him. After various adventures, he was conducted to the court of king Glaucias in Illyria, where he was taken into the protection of that prince. Caſſander, the mortal enemy of Æacides, ſollicited the king to deliver the young prince into his hands, and offered him two hundred talents on that occaſion: Glaucias, however, was ſtruck with horrour at ſuch a propoſal, and when the infant had attained the twelfth year of his age, he conducted him in perſon to Epirus with a powerful army, and re-inſtated him in his dominions; by which means the Moloſſians were compelled to ſubmit to force. Juſtin tells us, that their hatred being ſoftened into compaſſion, they themſelves recalled him, and aſſigned him guardians to govern the kingdom till he ſhould be of age himſelf; but there ſeems to be no great probability in his account.

When he had attained his ſeventeenth year, he began to think himſelf ſufficiently eſtabliſhed on the throne; and ſet out from his capital city for Illyria, in order to be preſent at the nuptials of one of the ſons of Glaucias, with whom he had been brought up. The Moloſſians, taking advantage of his abſence, revolted a ſecond time, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, ſeiſed all his treaſures, and conferred the crown on Neoptolemus his great uncle. Pyrrhus being thus diveſted of his dominions, and finding himſelf deſtitute of all ſuccours, retired to his brother-in-law Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, who had eſpouſed his ſiſter Deidamia.

This

(o) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 383—385.

This young prince diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the braveſt in the battle that was fought on the plains of Ipſus, and would not forſake Demetrius even after he was defeated. He alſo preſerved for him thoſe Grecian cities which that prince had confided to him; and when a treaty of peace was concluded between Ptolemy and Demetrius, by the mediation of Seleucus, Pyrrhus went into Egypt as an hoſtage for his brother-in-law.

During his continuance at the court of Ptolemy, he gave ſufficient proofs of his ſtrength, addreſs, and extraordinary patience, in hunting-exerciſes, and all other labours. Obſerving, that of all the wives of Ptolemy, Berenice had the greateſt aſcendant over him, and that ſhe ſurpaſſed the others in prudence, as well as beauty, he attached himſelf to her in particular; for as he was already an able politician, he neglected no opportunity of making his court to thoſe on whom his fortune depended, and was ſtudious to ingratiate himſelf with ſuch perſons as were capable of being uſeful to him. His noble and engaging demeanour procured him ſuch a ſhare in Ptolemy's eſteem, that he gave him Antigone, the daughter of Berenice his favourite conſort, in preference of ſeveral young princes who demanded her in marriage. This lady was the daughter of Berenice, by Philip her firſt huſband, who was a Macedonian lord, little known with reſpect to any other particular. When Pyrrhus had eſpouſed Antigone, the queen had ſo much influence over her conſort, as to induce him to grant his ſon-in-law a fleet, with a ſupply of money, which enabled him to repoſſeſs himſelf of his dominions. Here began the fortune of an exile prince, who was afterwards eſteemed the greateſt general of his age; and it muſt be acknowledged, that every inſtance of his early conduct denoted extraordinary merit, and raiſed great expectations of his future glory.

A. M. 3708. Ant. J. C. 296. (p) Athens, as we have already obſerved, revolted from Demetrius, and ſhut her gates againſt him. But

(p) Plut. in Demetr. p. 904, 905.

But when that prince thought he had ſufficiently provided for the ſecurity of his territories in Aſia, he marched againſt that rebellious and ungrateful city, with a reſolution to puniſh her as ſhe deſerved. The firſt year was employed in the reduction of the Meſſenians, and the conqueſt of ſome other cities which had quitted his party; but he returned the next ſeaſon to Athens, which he cloſely blocked up, and reduced to the laſt extremity, by cutting off all communication of proviſions. A fleet of an hundred and fifty ſail, ſent by king Ptolemy, to ſuccour the Athenians, and which appeared on the coaſts of Ægina, afforded them but a tranſient joy; for when this naval force ſaw a ſtrong fleet arrive from Peloponneſus to the aſſiſtance of Demetrius, beſide a great number of other veſſels from Cyprus, and that the whole amounted to three hundred, they weighed anchor, and fled. A. M. 3709. Ant. J. C. 295.

Although the Athenians had iſſued a decree, by which they made it capital for any perſon even to mention a peace with Demetrius, the extreme neceſſity to which they were reduced, obliged them to open their gates to him. When he entered the city, he commanded the inhabitants to aſſemble in the theatre, which he ſurrounded with armed troops, and poſted his guards on each ſide of the ſtage where the dramatick pieces were performed; and then deſcending from the upper part of the theatre, in the manner uſual with the actors, he ſhowed himſelf to that multitude, who ſeemed rather dead than living, and waited for the event in inexpreſſible terrour, expecting it would prove the ſentence for their deſtruction: But he diſſipated their apprehenſions by the firſt expreſſions he uttered; for he did not raiſe his voice like a man affected with the emotions of rage, nor deliver himſelf in any paſſionate or inſulting language, but ſoftened the tone of his voice, and only addreſſed himſelf to them in gentle complaints and amicable expoſtulations. He pardoned their offence, and reſtored them to his favour; preſenting them, at the ſame time, with

with an hundred thouſand meaſures of corn, and re-inſtating ſuch magiſtrates as were moſt agreeable to them. The joy of this people may be eaſily conceived from the terrours with which they were before affected; and how glorious muſt ſuch a prince be, who could always ſupport ſo glorious, ſo admirable a character!

When he had regulated the ſtate of affairs in Athens, he determined to reduce the Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, their king, advanced as far as Mantinæa to meet him; but Demetrius defeated him in a great battle, and obliged him to have recourſe to flight: After which he advanced into Laconia, and fought another battle in the very ſight of Sparta. He was again victorious; five hundred of the enemies were made priſoners, and two hundred killed upon the ſpot, ſo that he was already conſidered as maſter of the city, which had never been taken before.

In that important moment he received two pieces of intelligence, which affected him in a quite different manner. The firſt was, that Lyſimachus had lately diveſted him of all his territories in Aſia; and the other, that Ptolemy had made a deſcent on Cyprus, and conquered all the iſland, except Salamina, where the mother of Demetrius, with his wife and children, had retired; and that the king of Egypt carried on the ſiege of that city with great vigour. Demetrius left all to fly to their aſſiſtance, but was ſoon informed that the place had ſurrendered. Ptolemy had the generoſity to give the mother, wife and children of his enemy, their liberty without any ranſom; and to diſmiſs them with all their attendants, and effects. He even made them magnificent preſents at their departure, which he accompanied with all imaginable marks of honour.

The loſs of Cyprus was ſoon ſucceeded by that of Tyre and Sidon; and Seleucus diſpoſſeſſed him of Cilicia on another ſide. Thus, in a very ſhort time, he ſaw himſelf diveſted of all his dominions, without any reſources or hopes for the future.

SECT. II. *Diſpute between the two ſons of* CASSANDER *for the crown of Macedonia.* DEMETRIUS *being invited to the aſſiſtance of* ALEXANDER, *finds means to deſtroy him, and is proclaimed king of the Macedonians. He makes great preparations for the conqueſt of Aſia. A powerful confederacy is formed againſt him.* PYRRHUS *and* LYSIMACHUS *deprive him of Macedonia, and divide it between themſelves.* PYRRHUS *is ſoon obliged to quit thoſe territories. Sad end of* DEMETRIUS, *who dies in priſon.*

NO prince was ever obnoxious to greater viciſſitudes of fortune, or ever experienced more ſudden changes, than Demetrius. He expoſed himſelf to theſe events by his imprudence, amuſing himſelf with inconſiderable conqueſts, while he abandoned his provinces to the firſt invader. His greateſt ſucceſſes were immediately followed by his being diſpoſſeſſed of all his dominions, and almoſt reduced to deſpair, when ſuddenly an unexpected reſource offered itſelf from a quarter he had not the leaſt room to expect it.

(*a*) In the quarrel between the two ſons of Caſſander for the crown, Theſſalonica, their mother, favoured Alexander, who was the youngeſt; which ſo enraged Antipater, the eldeſt ſon, that he killed her with his own hands, though ſhe conjured him by the breaſts which had nouriſhed him, to ſpare her life. Alexander, in order to avenge this unnatural barbarity, ſollicited the aſſiſtance of Pyrrhus and Demetrius. Pyrrhus arrived the firſt, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities in Macedonia, part of which he retained as a compenſation for the aid he had given Alexander; and he returned to his own dominions, after he had reconciled the two brothers. Demetrius made his approach at the ſame inſtant, upon which Alexander advanced to meet him; and teſtified, at the interview between them, all imaginable gratitude and friendſhip; but repreſented to him, at the ſame time, that the ſtate of his affairs was changed, and that he no longer had A. M. 3710. Ant. J. C. 294.

(*a*) Plut. in Demetr. p. 905. in Pyrrh. p. 386. Juſtin. l. xvi. c. 1.

had any need of his aſſiſtance. Demetrius was diſpleaſed with this compliment, whilſt Alexander, who dreaded the greatneſs of his power, was apprehenſive of ſubjecting himſelf to a maſter, ſhould he admit him into his dominions. They, however, converſed together with an external air of friendſhip, and entertained each other with reciprocal feaſts, till at laſt Demetrius, upon ſome intelligence, either true or contrived, that Alexander intended to deſtroy him, prevented the execution of that deſign, and killed him. This murther armed the Macedonians againſt him at firſt, but when he had acquainted them with all the particulars that occaſioned his conduct, the averſion they entertained for Antipater, the infamous murtherer of his own mother, induced them to declare for Demetrius, and they accordingly proclaimed him king of Macedonia. Demetrius poſſeſſed this crown for the ſpace of ſeven years, and Antipater fled into Thrace, where he did not long ſurvive the loſs of his kingdom.

One of the branches of the royal family of Philip, king of Macedonia, became entirely extinct by the death of Theſſalonica, and her two ſons; as the other branch from Alexander the Great had before by the death of the young Alexander and Hercules, his two ſons. Thus theſe two princes, who by their unjuſt wars had ſpread deſolation through ſo many provinces, and deſtroyed ſuch a number of royal families, experienced, by a juſt decree of Providence, the ſame calamities in their own families, as they had occaſioned to others. Philip and Alexander, with their wives, and all their deſcendents, periſhed by violent deaths.

A. M. 3711. Ant. J. C. 293. (*b*) Much about this time Seleucus built the city of Seleucia on the banks of the Tygris, and at the diſtance of forty miles from Babylon. It became very populous in a ſhort time, and Pliny tells us it was inhabited by ſix hundred thouſand perſons. The dikes of the Euphrates being broken down, ſpread ſuch

(*b*) Strab. l. xvi. p. 738. & 743. Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

ſuch an inundation over the country, and the branch of that river, which paſſed through Babylon, was ſunk ſo low by this evacuation, as to be rendered unnavigable, by which means that city became ſo incommodious, that as ſoon as Seleucia was built, all its inhabitants withdrew thither. This circumſtance prepared the way for the accompliſhment of that celebrated prophecy of Iſaiah, who at a time, when this city was in the moſt flouriſhing condition, had foretold, that it ſhould one day become entirely deſert and uninhabited. (*c*) I have obſerved elſewhere by what manner and degrees this prediction was fully accompliſhed.

(*d*) Simon, ſurnamed the Juſt, and high-prieſt of the Jews, died at the cloſe of the ninth year of his pontificate, and left a young ſon, named Onias. As he was of too tender an age to take upon himſelf the exerciſe of that dignity, it was conſigned to Eleazar the brother of Simon, who diſcharged the function of it for the ſpace of fifteen years. A. M. 3712. Ant. J. C. 292.

(*e*) I here paſs over ſome events of ſmall importance, and proceed to Demetrius, who believing himſelf ſufficiently ſettled in Greece and Macedonia, began to make great preparations, for regaining the empire of his father in Aſia. With this view he raiſed an army of above an hundred thouſand men, and fitted out a fleet of five hundred ſail; in a word, ſo great an armament had never been ſeen, ſince the time of Alexander the Great. Demetrius animated the workmen by his preſence and inſtructions, viſited them in perſon, directed them how to act, and even aſſiſted them in their labours. The number of his gallies, and their extraordinary dimenſions, created an univerſal aſtoniſhment; for ſhips of ſix, and even five benches of oars, had never been ſeen till then; and Ptolemy Philopater did not build one of forty benches till A. M. 3716. Ant. J. C. 288.

(*c*) Vol. II. *At the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.* (*d*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2. (*e*) Plut. in Demetr. p. 909. & in Pyrrh. p. 386. Juſtin. l. xvi. c. 2.

till many years after this period *; but then it was only for pomp and oſtentation, whereas thoſe which Demetrius built were extremely uſeful in battle, and more admirable for their lightneſs and agility than their grandeur and magnificence.

A. M. 3717. Ant. J. C. 287. Ptolemy, Lyſimachus, and Seleucus, receiving intelligence of theſe formidable preparations of Demetrius, immediately caught the alarm; and in order to fruſtrate their effect, renewed their alliance, in which they likewiſe engaged Pyrrhus, king of Epirus; in conſequence of which, when Lyſimachus began to invade Macedonia on one ſide, Pyrrhus was carrying on the ſame operations on the other. Demetrius, who was then making preparations in Greece for his intended expedition into Aſia, advanced with all ſpeed to defend his own dominions; but before he was able to arrive there, Pyrrhus had taken Beræa, one of the moſt conſiderable cities in Macedonia, where he found the wives, children, and effects of a great number of ſoldiers belonging to Demetrius. This news cauſed ſo great a diſorder in the army of that prince, that a conſiderable part of his troops abſolutely refuſed to follow him, and declared, with an air of mutiny and ſedition, that they would return to defend their families and effects. In a word, things were carried to ſuch an extremity, that Demetrius, perceiving he no longer had any influence over them, fled to Greece in the diſguiſe of a common ſoldier, and his troops went over to Pyrrhus, whom they proclaimed king of Macedonia.

The different characters of theſe two princes greatly contributed to this ſudden revolution. Demetrius, who conſidered vain pomp, and ſuperb magnificence, as true grandeur, rendered himſelf contemptible to the Macedonians, in the very circumſtance by which he

* *This galley was two hundred and eighty cubits (about four hundred and twenty feet) in length, and twenty-eight cubits (ſeventy-two feet) from the keel to the top of the poop. It carried four hundred ſailors, beſide four thouſand rowers, and near three thouſand ſoldiers, who were diſpoſed in the ſpaces between the rowers, and on the lower deck.* Plut. in the life of Demetrius.

he thought to obtain their eſteem. He ambitiouſly loaded his head with a double diadem, like a theatrical monarch, and wore purple robes enriched with a profuſion of gold. The ornaments of his feet were altogether extraordinary; and he had long employed artiſts to make him a mantle, on which the ſyſtem of the world, with all the ſtars viſible in the firmament, were to be embroidered in gold. The change of his fortune prevented the finiſhing of this work, and no future king would preſume to wear it.

But that which rendered him ſtill more odious, was his being ſo difficult of approach. He was either ſo impious and diſdainful, as not to allow thoſe who had any affairs to tranſact with him the liberty of ſpeech, or elſe he treated them with ſo much rudeneſs, as obliged them to quit his preſence with diſguſt. One day, when he came out of his palace, and walked through the ſtreets with a mien of more affability than it was uſual for him to aſſume, ſome perſons were encouraged to preſent a few petitions to him. He received them with a gracious air, and placed them in one of the folds of his robe; but as he was paſſing over a bridge on the river Axius*, he threw all thoſe petitions into the ſtream. A prince muſt certainly know very little of mankind, not to be ſenſible that ſuch a contemptuous behaviour is ſufficient to provoke his ſubjects to revolt from his authority. On this occaſion, an action of the great Philip was recollected, and which has been related among the events of his reign. That prince had ſeveral times refuſed audience to a poor woman, under pretext that he wanted leiſure to hear her. *Be no longer king then*, replied ſhe with ſome emotion; and Philip, from thenceforth, made it a maxim with himſelf to grant his ſubjects long and frequent audiences. For, as Plutarch obſerves on that occaſion, THE MOST INDISPENSIBLE DUTY OF A KING, IS TO EXERT HIMSELF IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE†.

* *A river of Upper Macedonia.*

† Οἰδὲν γὰρ ἄτως τῳ βασιλεῖ προσήκον, ὡς τὸ τῆς δίκης ἔργον.

The Macedonians had formed a very different idea of Pyrrhus. They had heard it reported, and were ſenſible by their own experience, that affability was natural to him, and that he was always mild and acceſſible; they were convinced of his promptitude to recompence the ſervices rendered him, and that he was ſlow to anger and ſeverity. Some young officers, over their liquor, had vented ſeveral offenſive pleaſantries againſt him. The particulars of their converſation were related to Pyrrhus himſelf, who ordered them to be brought into his preſence, and then aſked them, if they had expreſſed themſelves in the manner he had heard? *Yes, my lord,* replied one of the company, *and we ſhould have added a great deal more, if we had had more wine.* Pyrrhus could not forbear laughing at this facetious and ſprightly turn, and diſmiſſed them from his preſence without further notice.

The Macedonians thought him much ſuperior to Demetrius, even in military merit. He had beat them on ſeveral occaſions, but their admiration of his bravery was greater than their reſentment for their defeat. It was a common expreſſion with them, that other princes imitated Alexander in nothing but their purple robes, the number of their guards, the affectation of inclining their heads like his, and their imperious manner of ſpeaking; but that Pyrrhus was the only one who repreſented that monarch in his great and laudable qualities. Pyrrhus himſelf was not altogether free from vanity, with reſpect to the reſemblance of his own features to thoſe of Alexander*, but a good matron of Lariſſa, in whoſe houſe he once lodged, had undeceived him in that particular, by an anſwer, perhaps, not at all agreeable to him. The Macedonians,

* *A ſet of flatterers had really perſuaded Pyrrhus, that he reſembled Alexander in the features of his face. With this belief he ſent for the pictures of Philip, Perdiccas, Alexander, Caſſander, and ſome other princes, and then deſired a woman of Lariſſa, with whom he then lodged, to tell him, which of thoſe princes he moſt reſembled. She refuſed to anſwer him for a conſiderable time, till at laſt he preſſed her very earneſtly to ſatisfy his curioſity; upon which ſhe replied, that ſhe thought him very like Batrachion, who was a noted cook in that city.* Lucian. adverſ. indoct. p. 552, 553.

Macedonians, however, thought they diſcovered in him the aſpect of that prince; with all the fire of his eyes, and the vivacity, promptitude, and impetuoſity with which he charged his enemies, and bore down all who preſumed to oppoſe him: But with reſpect to the art military, and ability in drawing up an army in battle, they thought none comparable to Pyrrhus.

It cannot, therefore, be thought ſurpriſing, that the Macedonians, who entertained ſuch prejudices in his favour, and ſo diſadvantageous to the other, ſhould eaſily quit the party of Demetrius, to eſpouſe that of Pyrrhus: And one may ſee by this inſtance, and a thouſand others, how neceſſary it is for princes to attach their people to their intereſts by the gentle ties of affection and gratitude; and by entertaining a real love for them, which is the only means of acquiring their love, that is the moſt ſolid glory, their moſt eſſential obligation, and at the ſame time their greateſt ſecurity.

(g) As Lyſimachus happened to arrive immediately after Pyrrhus had been declared king of Macedonia, he pretended that he had contributed as much as that prince to the flight of Demetrius, and that he conſequently ought to have a ſhare in that kingdom. Pyrrhus, who, in this conjuncture, was not entirely certain of the fidelity of the Macedonians, readily acquieſced in the pretenſions of Lyſimachus, and the cities and provinces were accordingly ſhared between them: But this agreement was ſo far from uniting them with each other, that it rather led them into a conſtant train of animoſities and diviſions: For, as Plutarch obſerves, when neither ſeas nor mountains, nor uninhabitable deſarts, could ſuffice as barriers to the avarice and ambition of theſe princes; and when their deſires were not to be bounded by thoſe limits which ſeparate Europe from Aſia, how could they poſſibly continue in a ſtate of tranquillity, and refrain from the injuſtice of invading domains ſo near, and

(g) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 389, 390.

which might prove ſo commodious to them? Th- was a moderation not to be expected; and a perpe tual war between them became inevitable from the malignant ſeeds of envy and uſurpation that had taken root in their minds. The names of peace and war were conſidered by them as two ſpecies of coin; to which they themſelves had given currency, merely for their own intereſt, and without the leaſt regard to juſtice. Again, continues the ſame author, do they act more laudably, when they engage in an open war, than when they uſe the ſacred names of juſtice, friendſhip, and peace, for what, in reality, is no more than a truce, or tranſient ſuſpenſion of their unjuſt views?

The whole hiſtory of Alexander's ſucceſſors juſtifies theſe reflections of Plutarch. Never were more treaties and alliances made, and never were they violated with leſs diſguiſe, and more impunity. May heaven grant that thoſe complaints be never applicable to any princes or times but thoſe we are treating of at preſent!

Pyrrhus, finding the Macedonians more tractable and ſubmiſſive, when he led them to war, than they were when he permitted them to enjoy a ſtate of repoſe; and being himſelf not much addicted to tranquillity, nor capable of ſatisfaction in the calm of a long peace, was daily forming new enterpriſes, without much regard to ſparing either his ſubjects or allies. Lyſimachus took advantage of the army's diſguſt of Pyrrhus, and enflamed them ſtill more by his emiſſaries, who artfully inſinuated that they had acted moſt ſhamefully in chooſing a ſtranger for their maſter, whom intereſt, and not affection, had attached to Macedonia. Theſe reproaches drew in the greateſt part of the ſoldiers; upon which Pyrrhus, who feared the conſequences of this alienation, retired with his Epirots, and the troops of his allies, and loſt Macedonia in the ſame manner he had gained it.

He greatly complained of the inconſtancy of this people, and their diſaffection to his perſon; but, as Plutarch

Plutarch again obſerves, kings have no reaſon to blame other perſons, for ſometimes changing their party according to their intereſt, as in acting ſo, they only imitate their own example, and practiſe the leſſons of infidelity and treaſon, which they have learned from their whole conduct, which upon all occaſions demonſtrates an utter diſregard for juſtice, veracity, and faith, in the obſervance of engagements.

(*h*) With reſpect to the affairs of Demetrius, that prince, when he found himſelf deſerted by his troops, retired to the city of Caſſandria *, where his conſort Phila reſided: This lady was ſo afflicted at the calamitous ſtate in which ſhe beheld her huſband, and was ſo terrified at the misfortunes to which ſhe herſelf was expoſed by the declenſion of his affairs, that ſhe had recourſe to a draught of poiſon, by which ſhe ended a life that was become more inſupportable to her than death itſelf.

Demetrius, thinking to gather up ſome remains of his ſhattered fortune, returned to Greece, where ſeveral cities ſtill continued devoted to him; and when he had diſpoſed his affairs in the beſt order he was able, he left the government of thoſe places to his ſon Antigonus; and aſſembling all the troops he could raiſe in that country, which amounted to about eleven thouſand men, he embarked for Aſia, with a reſolution to try whether deſpair would not bring forth good fortune. Eurydice, the ſiſter of his late wife Phila, received him at Miletus, where ſhe lived with the princeſs Ptolemaida, her daughter by Ptolemy, whoſe marriage with Demetrius had been agreed upon by the mediation of Seleucus. Eurydice accordingly preſented the princeſs to him, and this alliance gave birth to Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene.

(*i*) Demetrius, ſoon after the celebration of his nuptials, entered Caria and Lydia, where he took ſeveral places from Lyſimachus, and conſiderably augmented

(*h*) Plut. in Demetr. p. 910, 911. (*i*) Ibid. 912—915.

* *A city on the frontiers of Thrace, and in Upper Macedonia.*

his forces; by which means he at laſt made himſelf maſter of Sardis: But, as ſoon as Agathocles, the ſon of Lyſimachus, appeared at the head of an army, he abandoned all his conqueſts, and marched into the Eaſt. His deſign in taking this route was to ſurpriſe Armenia and Media; but Agathocles, who followed him cloſe, cut off his proviſions and forage ſo effectually, that a ſickneſs ſpread through his army, and weakened it extremely; and when he at laſt made an attempt to march over mount Taurus, with the ſmall remains of his troops, he found all the paſſes guarded by the enemies, which obliged him to march for Tarſus in Cilicia.

From thence he repreſented to Seleucus, to whom that city belonged, the melancholy ſituation of his affairs, and intreated him, in a very moving manner, to afford him the neceſſary ſubſiſtence for himſelf and the remainder of his troops. Seleucus was touched with compaſſion at firſt, and diſpatched orders to his lieutenants, to furniſh him with all he ſhould want. But when remonſtrances were afterwards made to him upon the valour and abilities of Demetrius, his genius for reſource and ſtratagem, and intrepidity in the execution of his deſigns, whenever the leaſt opportunity for acting preſented itſelf; he thought it impoſſible to re-inſtate a prince of that character, without incurring many diſadvantages himſelf. For which reaſon, inſtead of continuing to ſupport him, he reſolved upon his deſtruction, and immediately placed himſelf at the head of a numerous army, with an intention to attack him. Demetrius, who had received intelligence of theſe meaſures, poſted his troops in thoſe parts of mount Taurus, where he imagined it would be very difficult to force them, and ſent to Seleucus a ſecond time, to implore his permiſſion to paſs into the Eaſt, in order to eſtabliſh himſelf in ſome country belonging to the Barbarians, where he might end his days in tranquillity: But if he ſhould not be inclinable to grant him that favour, he intreated his conſent to take up his winter-quarters in his dominions; and begged that

prince

prince not to expoſe him to famine, and the rigours of the ſeaſon, as that would be delivering him up defenceleſs to the diſcretion of his enemies.

Seleucus was ſo prejudiced againſt the deſign he had formed againſt the Eaſt, that this propoſal only tended to increaſe his diffidence; and he conſented to nothing more, than his taking winter-quarters in Cataonia, a province adjacent to Cappadocia, during the two ſevereſt months of that ſeaſon; after which he was immediately to evacuate that country. Seleucus, during this negotiation, had placed ſtrong guards at all the paſſes from Cilicia into Syria, which obliged Demetrius to have recourſe to arms, in order to diſengage himſelf. He accordingly made ſuch a vigorous attack on the troops who guarded the paſſes in the mountains, that he diſlodged them from thence, and opened himſelf a paſſage into Syria, which he immediately entered.

His own courage, and the hopes of his ſoldiers, reviving from this ſucceſs, he took all poſſible meaſures for making a laſt effort for the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs; but he had the misfortune to be ſuddenly ſeiſed with a ſevere diſtemper, which diſconcerted all his meaſures. During the forty days that he continued ſick, moſt of his ſoldiers deſerted; and when he at laſt recovered his health, ſo as to be capable of action, he found himſelf reduced to the deſperate neceſſity of attempting to ſurpriſe Seleucus in his camp by night, with the handful of men who ſtill continued in his ſervice. A deſerter gave Seleucus intelligence of this deſign, time enough to prevent its effect; and the deſertion of Demetrius's troops increaſed upon this diſappointment. He then endeavoured, as his laſt reſource, to regain the mountains, and join his fleet; but he found the paſſes ſo well guarded, that he was obliged to conceal himſelf in the woods; from whence he was ſoon diſlodged by hunger, and compelled to ſurrender himſelf to Seleucus, who cauſed him to be conducted under a ſtrong guard to the Cherſoneſus of Syria near Laodi-

cea, where he was detained priſoner. He, however, was allowed the liberty of a park for hunting, and all the conveniencies of life in abundance.

When Antigonus received intelligence of his father's captivity he was affected with the utmoſt ſorrow; and wrote to all the kings, and even to Seleucus himſelf, to obtain his releaſe, offering, at the ſame time, his own perſon as an hoſtage for him, and conſenting to part with all his remaining dominions, as the price of his liberty. Several cities, and a great number of princes, joined their ſollicitations in favour of the captive prince; but Lyſimachus offered a large ſum of money to Seleucus, provided he would cauſe his priſoner to be put to death. The king of Syria was ſtruck with horrour at ſo barbarous and inhuman a propoſal; and, in order to grant a favour ſollicited from ſo many different quarters, he ſeemed only to wait the arrival of his ſon Antigonus and Stratonice, that Demetrius might owe the obligation of his liberty to them.

In the mean time that unhappy prince ſupported his misfortunes with patience and magnanimity; and became at laſt ſo habituated to them, that they no longer ſeemed to affect him. He exerciſed himſelf in racing, walking, and hunting; and might have been infinitely more happy, had he made a true eſtimate of his condition, than whilſt hurried over lands and ſeas by the phrenzy of ambition. For what other fruit do theſe pretended heroes, who are called conquerors, derive from all their labours and wars, and from all the dangers to which they expoſe themſelves, but the fatality of tormenting themſelves, by rendering others miſerable; and conſtantly turning their backs on tranquillity and happineſs, which, if they may be believed, are the ſole ends of all their motions? Demetrius was gradually ſeiſed with melancholy; and no longer amuſed himſelf with his former exerciſes: He grew corpulent, and entirely abandoned himſelf to drinking and gaming at dice, to which he devoted whole days, undoubtedly with deſign to baniſh the melancholy thoughts

thoughts of his condition. When he had continued in his captivity for the ſpace of three years, he was ſeiſed with a ſevere diſtemper, occaſioned by his inactivity, and intemperance in eating and drinking, and died at the age of fifty-four years. His ſon Antigonus, to whom the urn, which incloſed the aſhes of that prince, was tranſmitted, celebrated his funeral with great magnificence. We ſhall ſee, in the ſequel of the preſent hiſtory, that this Antigonus, who was ſurnamed Gonatas, continued peaceable poſſeſſor of the kingdom of Macedonia; and the race of this prince enjoyed the crown for ſeveral generations, in a direct line from father to ſon, till the reign of Perſeus, the laſt of that family, who was diveſted of Macedonia by the Romans.

SECT. III. PTOLEMY SOTER *reſigns his kingdom to his ſon* PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. *The tower of Pharos built. The image of Serapis conveyed to Alexandria. The celebrated library founded in that city, with an academy of learned men.* DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS *preſides over both.*

(a) PTOLEMY Soter, the ſon of Lagus, after a reign of twenty years in Egypt, with the ſtyle of king, and of near thirty-nine from the death of Alexander, was deſirous of tranſmitting the throne to Ptolemy Philadelphus *, one of his ſons by Berenice. He had likewiſe ſeveral children by his other wives, and among thoſe, Ptolemy, ſurnamed *Ceraunus*, or *The Thunderer*; who being the ſon of Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the eldeſt of the male iſſue, conſidered the crown as his right, after the death of his father. But Berenice, who came into Egypt, merely to accompany Eurydice, at the time of her eſpouſals with Ptolemy, ſo exceedingly charmed that prince with her beauty, that he married her; and ſo great A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 285.

(a) Juſtin. l. xvi.

* *The word ſignifies*, a lover of his brethren; *but Ptolemy received this ſurname, agreeably to a figure of ſpeech called* antiphraſis, *becauſe he charged two of his brothers with forming deſigns againſt his life, and then cauſed them to be deſtroyed.* Pauſan. l. i. p. 12.

great was her aſcendant over him, that ſhe cauſed him to prefer her ſon to all his iſſue by the other queens. In order, therefore, to prevent all diſputes and wars that might enſue after his death, which he was ſenſible could not be very remote, as he was then fourſcore years of age; he reſolved to have him crowned in his own life-time, intending, at the ſame time, to reſign all his dominions to him; declaring, that to create a king was more glorious than to be ſo one's ſelf. The coronation of Philadelphus was celebrated with the moſt ſplendid feſtival that had ever been ſeen; but I reſerve the deſcription of it to the end of this action.

Ptolemy Ceraunus quitted the court, and retired to Lyſimachus, whoſe ſon Agathocles had eſpouſed Lyſandra, the ſiſter of Ceraunus, both by father and mother; and, after the death of Agathocles, he removed to the court of Seleucus, who received him with a goodneſs entirely uncommon, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackeſt ingratitude, as will appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

(*b*) In the firſt year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which was alſo the firſt year of the 124th Olympiad, the famous watch-tower in the iſle of Pharos was completed. It was uſually called the tower of Pharos, and has been reputed one of the ſeven wonders of antiquity. It was a large ſquare ſtructure, built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was conſtantly kept burning, in order to guide ſhips in their courſe. It coſt eight hundred talents, which, eſtimated by the Athenian money, are equal to two hundred thouſand pounds, but amount to almoſt double that ſum, if computed by the coin of Alexandria. The architect of the edifice was Soſtratus of Cnidus, who, to perpetuate the whole honour of it to himſelf, had recourſe to the artifice I have mentioned before *. Pharos was originally a real iſland, at the diſtance of ſeven furlongs from the continent; but was afterwards joined to it by a cauſeway like that of Tyre.

Much

(*b*) Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12. Strab. l. xvii. p. 791. Suid. in Φάρος.

* *Vol. I. in the hiſtory of Egypt.*

(*c*) Much about this time, the image of the god Serapis was brought from Pontus to Alexandria. Ptolemy had been induced by a dream to demand it, by an embaſſy, of the king of Sinope, a city of Pontus, where it was kept. It was, however, refuſed him for the ſpace of two years, till at laſt the inhabitants of Sinope ſuffered ſuch extremities from a famine, that they conſented to reſign this idol to Ptolemy for a ſupply of corn, which he tranſmitted to them; and the ſtatue was then conveyed to Alexandria, and placed in one of the ſuburbs, called Rhacotis, where it was adored by the name of Serapis, and a famous temple, called the Serapion, was afterwards erected for it in that place. This ſtructure, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (*d*) ſurpaſſed, in beauty and magnificence, all the temples in the world, except the Capitol at Rome. This temple had alſo a library, which became famous in all ſucceeding ages, for the number and value of the books it contained.

(*e*) Ptolemy Soter had been careful to improve himſelf in polite literature, as was evident by his compiling the life of Alexander, which was greatly eſteemed by the ancients, but is now entirely loſt. In order to cultivate the ſciences, which he much admired, he founded an academy at Alexandria, called the Muſæum, where a ſociety of learned men devoted themſelves to philoſophick ſtudies, and the improvement of all other ſciences, almoſt in the ſame manner as thoſe of London and Paris. To this effect, he began by giving them a library, which was prodigiouſly increaſed by his ſucceſſors. (*f*) His ſon Philadelphus left a hundred thouſand volumes in it at the time of his death, and the ſucceeding princes of that race enlarged it ſtill more, till at laſt it conſiſted of ſeven hundred thouſand volumes.

(*g*) This library was formed by the following method.

(*c*) Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 83, & 84. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 361. Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 31. (*d*) Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16. (*e*) Arrian. in præf. Plut. in Alex. p. 691. Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 8. Strab. l. xvii. p. 793. Plut. in Moral. p. 1095 (*f*) Euſeb. in Chron. (*g*) Galen.

thod. All the Greek and other books that were brought into Egypt were ſeiſed, and ſent to the Muſæum, where they were tranſcribed by perſons employed for that purpoſe. The copies were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals were depoſited in the library. Ptolemy Evergetes, for inſtance, borrowed the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æſchylus, of the Athenians, and only returned them the copies, which he cauſed to be tranſcribed in as beautiful a manner as poſſible; and he likewiſe preſented them with fifteen talents (equal to fifteen thouſand crowns) for the originals which he kept.

As the Muſæum was at firſt in that quarter of the city which was called Bruchion, and near the royal palace, the library was founded in the ſame place, and it ſoon drew vaſt numbers thither; but when it was ſo much augmented, as to to contain four hundred thouſand volumes, they began to depoſit the additional books in the Serapion. This laſt library was a ſupplement to the former, for which reaſon it received the appellation of its Daughter, and in proceſs of time had in it three hundred thouſand volumes.

(*b*) In Cæſar's war with the inhabitants of Alexandria, a fire, occaſioned by thoſe hoſtilities, conſumed the library of Bruchion, with its four hundred thouſand volumes. Seneca ſeems to me to have been much diſpleaſed *, when ſpeaking of the conflagration, he beſtowes his cenſures, both on the library itſelf, and the eulogium made on it by Livy, who ſtyles it an illuſtrious monument of the opulence of the Egyptian kings, and of their wiſe attention for the improvement of the ſciences. Seneca, inſtead of allowing it to be ſuch, would only have it conſidered as a work

(*b*) Plut. in Cæſar. p 732. in Anton. p. 943. Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16. Dion Caſſ. l. xlii. p. 202.

* Quadringenta millia librorum Alexandriæ arſerunt, pulcherrimum regiæ opulentiæ monumentum. Alius laudaverit, ſicut Livius, qui elegantiæ regum curæque egregium id opus ait fuiſſe. Non fuit elegantia illud, aut cura, ſed ſtudioſa luxuria: imò, ne ſtudioſa quidem, quoniam non in ſtudium, ſed in ſpectaculum comparaverant—— Paretur itaque librorum quantum ſit nihil in apparatum. *Senec. de tranquill. anim.* c. ix.

work reſulting from the pride and vanity of thoſe monarchs, who had amaſſed ſuch a number of books, not for their own uſe, but merely for pomp and oſtentation. This reflection, however, ſeems to diſcover very little ſagacity; for is it not evident beyond contradiction, that none but kings are capable of founding theſe magnificent libraries, which become a neceſſary treaſure to the learned, and do infinite honour to thoſe ſtates in which they are eſtabliſhed?

The library of Serapion did not ſuſtain any damage, and it was undoubtedly there, that Cleopatra depoſited thoſe two hundred thouſand volumes of that of Pergamus, which were preſented to her by Anthony. This addition, with other enlargements that were made from time to time, rendered the new library of Alexandria more numerous and conſiderable than the firſt; and though it was ranſacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the Roman empire, it always retrieved its loſſes, and recovered its number of volumes. In this condition it ſubſiſted for many ages, affording its treaſures to the learned and curious, till the ſeventh century, when it ſuffered the ſame fate with its parent, and was burnt by the Saracens, when they took that city in the year of our Lord 642. The manner by which this misfortune happened is too ſingular to be paſſed over in ſilence.

(*i*) John, ſurnamed the Grammarian, and a famous follower of Ariſtole, happened to be at Alexandria, when it was taken: And as he was much eſteemed by Amri-Ebnol-As, the general of the Saracen troops, he intreated that commander to beſtow upon him the Alexandrian library. Amri replied, that it was not in his power to grant ſuch a requeſt; but that he would write to the Khalif, or emperor of the Saracens, for his orders on that head, without which he could not preſume to diſpoſe of the library. He accordingly writ to Omar, the then Khalif, whoſe anſwer was, That if thoſe books contained the ſame doctrine

(*i*) Abul-Pharagius, in hiſt. Dynaſt. IX.

doctrine with the Koran, they could not be of any uſe; becauſe the Koran was ſufficient in itſelf, and comprehended all neceſſary truths; but if they contained any particulars contrary to that book they ought to be deſtroyed. In conſequence of this anſwer, they were all condemned to the flames, without any further examination; and, to that effect, were diſtributed into the publick bagnioes, where, for the ſpace of ſix months, they were uſed for fuel inſtead of wood. We may from hence form a juſt idea of the prodigious number of books contained in that library; and thus was this ineſtimable treaſure of learning deſtroyed.

The Muſæum of Bruchion was not burnt with its library. (*k*) Strabo acquaints us, in his deſcription of it, that it was a very large ſtructure near the palace, and fronting the port; and that it was ſurrounded with a portico, in which the philoſophers walked. He adds, that the members of this ſociety were governed by a preſident, whoſe ſtation was ſo honourable and important, that, in the time of the Ptolemies, he was always choſen by the king himſelf, and afterwards by the Roman emperor: and that they had a hall where the whole ſociety eat together at the expence of the publick, by whom they were ſupported in a very plentiful manner.

Alexandria was undoubtedly indebted to this Muſæum, for the advantage ſhe long enjoyed of being the greateſt ſchool in all that part of the world, and of having trained up a vaſt number of excellent men in literature. It is from thence, in particular, that the church has received ſome of its moſt illuſtrious doctors; as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatoilus, Athanaſius, and many others; for all theſe ſtudied in that ſeminary.

Demetrius Phalereus was probably the firſt preſident of this ſeat of learning; but it is certain that he had the ſuperintendency of the library. Plutarch informs us, that his firſt propoſal to Ptolemy was the eſtabliſhment of a library of ſuch authors as treated of civil

(*k*) Strab l. xvii. p. 793.

civil polity and government, aſſuring him, that they would always ſupply him with ſuch counſels as none of his friends would preſume to offer him. This was almoſt the only expedient for introducing truth to princes, and ſhowing them, under borrowed names, their duties, as well as their defects. When the king had reliſhed this excellent advice, and meaſures were taken to procure all ſuch books as were requiſite in this firſt view, it may eaſily be imagined that Demetrius carried the affair to a much greater length, and prevailed upon the king to collect all ſorts of other books for the library we have mentioned. Who could better aſſiſt that prince in the accompliſhment of ſo noble and magnificent a plan, than Demetrius Phalereus, who was himſelf a learned man of the firſt rank, as well as a very able politician?

(*l*) We have formerly ſeen what inducements brought Demetrius to the court of this prince. He was received with open arms by Ptolemy Soter, who heaped a profuſion of honours upon him, and made him his confident. He conſulted him, preferably to all his other counſellors, in the moſt important affairs, and particularly thoſe which related to the ſucceſſion to the crown. This prince, two years before his death, had formed a reſolution to abdicate his crown in favour of one of his children. Demetrius endeavoured to diſſuade him from that deſign, by repreſenting to him, that he muſt no longer expect to enjoy any authority, if he diveſted himſelf of his dignity in ſuch a manner, and that it would be dangerous to create him a maſter. But when he found him abſolutely determined on this abdication, he adviſed him to regulate his choice by the order preſcribed by nature, and which was generally followed by all nations: In conſequence of which it would be incumbent on him to prefer his eldeſt ſon by Eurydice his firſt wife. But the credit of Berenice prevailed over this equitable and prudent advice, which in a ſhort time proved fatal to its author.

Toward

(*l*) Plut in Demetr. p. 892. Diog. Laert, in Demetr. Phal.

A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283. Toward the close of this year died Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, in the eighty-fourth year of his age and two years after his resignation of the empire to his son. He was the most able and worthy man of all his race, and left behind him such examples of prudence, justice, and clemency, as very few of his successors were industrious to imitate. During the space of near forty years, in which he governed Egypt, after the death of Alexander, he raised it to such an height of grandeur and power, as rendered it superior to the other kingdoms. He retained upon the throne the same fondness of simplicity of manners, and the same aversion for ostentatious pomp, as he discovered when he first ascended it. He was accessible to his subjects, even to a degree of familiarity. He frequently eat with them at their own houses; and, when he gave any entertainment himself, he thought it no disgrace to borrow their richest plate, because he had but very little of his own, and no more than was necessary for his common use. (*m*) And when some persons represented to him, that the regal dignity seemed to require an air of greater opulence, his answer was, *That the true grandeur of a king consisted in enriching others, not himself.*

Sect. VI. *The magnificent solemnity, at the inauguration of* Ptolemy Philadelphus *king of Egypt.*

PTOLEMY Philadelphus, after his father had abdicated the crown in his favour, entertained the people, when he ascended the throne, with the most splendid festival mentioned by antiquity. Athenæus has left us a long description of it, transcribed from Callixenes the Rhodian, who compiled a history of Alexandria, and Montfaucon relates it in his antiquities. I shall insert the particulars of it in this place, because they will give us a very proper idea of the riches and opulence of Egypt. I may add too, that as ancient authors speak very often of sacred pomp, processions, and solemn festivals, in honour of their gods,

(*m*) Plut. in Apoph. p. 881.

gods, I thought it incumbent on me to give ſome idea of them for once, by deſcribing one of the moſt celebrated ſolemnities that was ever known. Plutarch, who is perpetually mentioning triumphs among the Romans, has the approbation of his readers, for his particular deſcription of that of Paulus Æmilius, which was one of the moſt magnificent. But if the account I ſhall now give ſhould appear unſeaſonable, or too prolix, it may be paſſed over, without interrupting the ſeries of this hiſtory; for I declare before-hand, that the relation will be ſomething tedious.

(*a*) This pompous ſolemnity continued a whole day, and was conducted through the Circus of Alexandria. It was divided into ſeveral parts, and formed a variety of ſeparate proceſſions. Beſide thoſe of the king's father and mother, the gods had, each of them, a diſtinct cavalcade, adorned with the ornaments relating to their hiſtory.

Athenæus has only related the particulars of that of Bacchus, by which a judgement may be formed of the magnificence of the reſt.

The proceſſion began with a troop of Sileni, ſome habited in purple, others in robes of a deep red; their employment was to keep off the crowd, and make way.

Next the Sileni came a band of ſatyrs, compoſed of twenty in two ranks, each carrying a gilded lamp.

Theſe were ſucceeded by the victories, with golden wings, carrying vaſes nine feet high, ſteaming with kindled perfumes, partly gilt, and partly adorned with the leaves of ivy. Their habits were embroidered with the figures of animals, and every part of them glittered with gold.

After theſe came a double altar, nine feet in height, and covered with a luxuriant foliage of ivy, intermixed with ornaments of gold. It was alſo beautified with a golden crown, compoſed of vine leaves, and adorned on all ſides with certain white fillets.

(*a*) Athen. l. v. p. 197—203.

An hundred and twenty youths advanced next, clothed in purple veſts; each of them ſupporting a golden vaſe of incenſe, myrrh, and ſaffron.

They were followed by forty ſatyrs, wearing crowns of gold which repreſented the leaves of ivy; and in the right-hand of each was another crown of the ſame metal, adorned with vine leaves. Their habits were diverſified with a variety of colours.

In the rear of theſe marched two Sileni, arrayed in purple mantles, and white drawers; one of them wore a kind of hat, and carried a golden caduceus in his hand; the other had a trumpet. Between theſe two was a man, ſix feet in height, maſked and habited like a tragedian. He alſo carried a golden cornucopia, and was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of The Year.

This perſon preceded a very amiable woman, as tall as himſelf, dreſſed in a magnificent manner, and glittering all over with gold. She held, in one hand, a crown compoſed of the leaves of the peach-tree, and in the other a branch of palm. She was called Penteteris *.

The next in the proceſſion were the Genii of the four ſeaſons, wearing ornaments by which they were diſtinguiſhed, and ſupporting two golden vaſes of odours, adorned with ivy leaves. In the midſt of them was a ſquare altar of gold.

A band of ſatyrs then appeared, wearing golden crowns, faſhioned like the leaves of ivy, and arrayed in red habits. Some bore veſſels filled with wine, others carried drinking-cups.

Immediately after theſe were ſeen Philiſcus, the poet and prieſt of Bacchus, attended by comedians, muſicians, dancers, and other perſons of that claſs.

Two tripods were carried next, as prizes for the victors at the Athletick combats and exerciſes. One of theſe tripods, being thirteen feet and a half in height, was

* *This word ſignifies the ſpace of five years, becauſe, at the expiration of every fourth year, the feaſt of Bacchus was celebrated at the beginning of the next, which was the fifth.*

was intended for the youths; the other, which was eighteen feet high, was deſigned for the men.

An extraordinary large chariot followed theſe. It had four wheels*, was twenty-one feet in length, and twelve in breadth, and was drawn by one hundred and eighty men. In this chariot was a figure repreſenting Bacchus, fifteen feet in height, and in the attitude of performing libations with a large cup of gold. He was arrayed in a robe of brocaded purple, which flowed down to his feet. Over this was a tranſparent veſt of a ſaffron-colour, and above that a large purple mantle embroidered with gold. Before him was a great veſſel of gold, formed in the Laconick manner, and containing fifteen meaſures, called *metretes*†. This was accompanied with a golden tripod, on which were placed a golden vaſe of odours, with two cups of the ſame metal full of cinnamon and ſaffron. Bacchus was ſeated in a ſhade of ivy and vine leaves, intermixed with the foliage of fruit-trees; and from theſe hung ſeveral crowns, fillets, and thyrſi, with timbrels, ribbands, and a variety of ſatirick, comick, and tragick maſks. In the ſame chariot were the prieſts and prieſteſſes of that deity, with the other miniſters, and interpreters of myſteries, dancers of all claſſes, and women bearing vans ‡.

Theſe were followed by the Bacchantes, who marched with their hair diſhevelled, and wore crowns compoſed, ſome of ſerpents, other of branches of the yew, the vine, or the ivy. Some of theſe women carried knives in their hands, others graſped ſerpents.

After theſe advanced another chariot, twelve feet in breadth, and drawn by ſixty men. In this was the ſtatue of Nyſſa, or Nyſa, ſitting §, twelve feet high

* *All chariots in general, of which mention will be made in the ſequel of this relation, had alſo four wheels.*

† *This word is frequently uſed in the preſent deſcription; it is the name of a Greek meaſure, which correſponds moſt with the Roman amphora, but was ſomewhat larger It contained nine gallons.*

‡ Myſtica Vannus Iacchi, *Virg.*

§ *She is thought to have been the nurſe of Bacchus.*

high, and clothed with a yellow veſt embroidered with gold, over which was another Laconick habit. The ſtatue roſe by the aid of ſome machines that were not touched by any perſon, and after it had poured milk out of a golden cup, it reſumed its former ſeat. Its left-hand held a thyrſus adorned with ribbands, and wore a golden crown, on the top of which were repreſented various leaves of ivy, with cluſters of grapes, compoſed of gems. It was covered with a deep ſhade, formed by a blended foliage, and a gilded lamp hung at each corner of the chariot.

After this came another chariot, thirty-ſix feet in length, and twenty-four in breadth, and drawn by three hundred men. On this was placed a wine-preſs, alſo thirty-ſix feet long, and twenty-two and a half broad; this was full of the produce of the vintage. Sixty ſatyrs trod the grapes, to the ſound of the flute, and ſung ſuch airs as correſponded with the action in which they were employed. Silenus was the chief of the band, and ſtreams of wine flowed from the chariot, throughout the whole progreſs.

Another chariot, of the ſame magnitude, was drawn by ſix hundred men. This carried a fat of a prodigious ſize, made of leopard ſkins ſewed together. The veſſel contained three thouſand meaſures, and ſhed a conſtant effuſion of wine, during the proceſſion.

This chariot was followed by an hundred and twenty crowned ſatyrs and Sileni, carrying pots, flaggons, and large cups, all of gold.

This troop was immediately ſucceeded by a ſilver fat, containing ſix hundred metretes, and placed on a chariot drawn by the ſame number of men. The veſſel was adorned with chaſed work, and the rim, together with the two handles and the baſe, were embelliſhed with the figures of animals. The middle part of it was encompaſſed with a golden crown adorned with jewels.

Next appeared two ſilver bowls, eighteen feet in diameter, and nine in height. The upper part of their

their circumference was adorned with ſtuds, and the bottom with ſeveral animals, three of which were a foot and a half high, and many more of a leſſer ſize.

Theſe were followed by ten great fats, and ſixteen other veſſels, the largeſt of which contained thirty metretes, and the leaſt five: There were likewiſe ten cauldrons, twenty-four vaſes with two handles, and diſpoſed on five ſalvers; two ſilver wine-preſſes, on which were placed twenty-four goblets; a table of maſſy ſilver, eighteen feet in length, and thirty more of ſix; four tripods, one of which was of maſſy ſilver, and had a circumference of twenty-four feet; the other three, that were ſmaller, were adorned with precious ſtones in the middle.

Then came twenty Delphick tripods, all of ſilver, and ſomething leſs than the preceding. They were likewiſe accompanied with twenty-ſix beakers, ſixteen flaggons, and an hundred and ſixty other veſſels, the largeſt of which contained ſix metretes, and the ſmalleſt two. All theſe veſſels were of ſilver.

After theſe came the golden veſſels; four of which, called Laconicks, were crowned with vine leaves: There were likewiſe two Corinthian vaſes, whoſe rims and middle circumference were embelliſhed with the figures of animals; theſe contained eight metretes: A wine-preſs, on which ten goblets were placed: Two other vaſes, each of which contained five metretes: and two more that held a couple of meaſures: Twenty-two veſſels for preſerving liquors cool, the largeſt of which contained thirty metretes, and the leaſt one: Four golden tripods of an extraordinary ſize: A kind of a golden baſket, intended as a repoſitory for veſſels of the ſame metal; this was enriched with jewels, and was five feet in length; it was likewiſe divided into ſix partitions, one above another, and adorned with various figures of animals, above three feet in height; two goblets, and two glaſs bowls with golden ornaments: Two ſalvers of gold, four cubits in diameter, and three others of leſs dimen-

ſions: Ten beakers; An altar four feet and a half high; and twenty-five diſhes.

After this rich equipage, marched ſixteen hundred youths habited in white veſts, and crowned, ſome of them with ivy, others with branches of the pine. Two hundred and fifty of this band carried golden vaſes, and four hundred of them vaſes of ſilver. Three hundred more carried ſilver veſſels, made to keep liquors cool.

After theſe appeared another troop bearing large drinking veſſels, ſome of which were of gold, fifty of ſilver, and three hundred diverſified with various colours.

There were likewiſe ſeveral tables, ſix feet in length, and ſupporting a variety of remarkable objects. On one was repreſented the bed of Semele, on which were diſpoſed ſeveral veſts, ſome of golden brocade, others adorned with precious ſtones.

We muſt not omit a chariot thirty-three feet in length, and twenty-one in breadth, drawn by five hundred men. In this was the repreſentation of a deep cavern, ſhroudedwith ivy and vine leaves: Several pigeons, ring-doves and turtles iſſued out of the aperture, and flew about. Little bands were faſtened to their feet, that they might be caught by the people around them. Two fountains likewiſe, one of milk, and the other of wine, flowed out of the cavern. All the nymphs who ſtood round it wore crowns of gold. Mercury was alſo ſeen, with a golden caduceus in his hand, and clothed in a ſplendid manner.

The expedition of Bacchus into the Indies was exhibited in another chariot, where the god was repreſented by a ſtatue, eight feet in height, and mounted upon an elephant. He was arrayed in purple, and wore a golden crown, intermixed with twining ivy and vine-leaves. A long thyrſus of gold was in his hand, and his ſandals were of the ſame metal. On the neck of the elephant was ſeated a ſatyr above ſeven feet high, with a crown of gold on his head, formed in imitation of pine branches, and blowing a kind

of

of trumpet made of a goat's horn. The trappings of the elephant were of gold, and his neck was adorned with a crown of that metal ſhaped like the foliage of ivy.

This chariot was followed by five hundred young virgins, adorned with purple veſts and golden zones. An hundred and twenty of them, who commanded the reſt, wore crowns of gold that ſeemed to be compoſed of the branches of pine.

Next to theſe came an hundred and twenty ſatyrs, armed at all points, ſome in ſilver, and others in copper arms.

To theſe ſucceeded five troops of Sileni, and crowned ſatyrs, mounted on aſſes, ſome of whom were entirely harneſſed with gold, the reſt with ſilver.

After this troop appeared a long train of chariots, twenty-four of which were drawn by elephants; ſixty by he-goats; twelve by lions; ſix by *oryges*, a ſpecies of goats; fifteen by buffaloes; four by wild aſſes; eight by oſtriches; and ſeven by ſtags. In theſe chariots were little youths habited like charioteers, and wearing hats with broad brims. They were accompanied by others of a leſs ſtature, clothed in mantles embroidered with gold. The boys who performed the office of charioteers, were crowned with branches of pine; and the leſſer youths with ivy.

On each ſide of theſe were three chariots drawn by camels, and followed by others drawn by mules. In theſe chariots were ſeveral tents, reſembling thoſe of the Barbarians, with Indian women, and thoſe of other nations, habited like ſlaves. Some of theſe camels carried three hundred pounds weight of incenſe; others two hundred of ſaffron, cinnamon, iris, and other odoriferous ſpices.

At a little diſtance from theſe, marched a band of Ethiopians, armed with pikes. One body of theſe carried ſix hundred elephants teeth; another, two thouſand branches of ebony; a third, cups of gold and ſilver, with a large quantity of gold-duſt.

After theſe came two hunters carrying gilded darts, and marching at the head of two thouſand four hundred dogs of the Indian, Hyrcanian, and Moloſſian breed, beſide a variety of other ſpecies.

They were ſucceeded by one hundred and fifty men ſupporting trees, to which were faſtened ſeveral ſpecies of birds and deer. Cages were alſo carried, in which were parrots, peacocks, turkey hens, pheaſants, and a great number of Ethiopian birds. After theſe appeared a hundred and thirty ſheep of that country; three hundred of the Arabian breed; twenty of the iſland of Eubœa; twenty-ſix white Indian oxen, eight of the Ethiopian ſpecies; alſo a large white bear; fourteen leopards; ſixteen panthers; four lynxes; three ſmall bears; a camelopard *, and an Ethiopian rhinoceros.

Bacchus advanced next, ſeated in a chariot, and wearing a golden crown embelliſhed with ivy-leaves. He was repreſented as taking ſanctuary at the altar of Rhea, from the perſecution of Juno. Priapus was placed near him, with a crown of gold formed like the leaves of ivy. The ſtatue of Juno was crowned with a golden diadem; and thoſe of Alexander and Ptolemy wore crowns of fine gold, repreſenting ivy-leaves. The image of Virtue was placed near that of Ptolemy, and on her head was a crown of gold made in imitation of olive-branches. Another ſtatue, repreſenting the city of Corinth, was alſo near Ptolemy with a golden diadem on its head. At a little diſtance from each of theſe was a great vaſe filled with golden cups, and a large bowl of the ſame metal, which contained five metretes.

This chariot was followed by ſeveral women richly arrayed, and bearing the names of the Ionian, and other Greek cities in Aſia; with the iſlands which had formerly been conquered by the Perſians. All this train wore crowns of gold.

In another chariot was a golden thyrſus, a hundred and

* *This animal, whether real or fabulous, is mentioned by Horace.*
Diverſum confuſa genus panthera camelo.

and thirty-five feet in length, and a ſilver lance eighty feet long.

In this part of the proceſſion were a variety of wild beaſts and horſes, and twenty-four lions of a prodigious ſize; and alſo a great number of chariots, in which were not only the ſtatues of kings, but thoſe of ſeveral deities.

After theſe came a chorus of ſix hundred men, among whom were three hundred who played on gilded harps, and wore golden crowns. At a ſmall diſtance from this band marched two thouſand bulls, all of the ſame colour, and adorned with golden frontlets, in the middle of which roſe a crown of the ſame metal. They were alſo adorned with a collar, and an ægis * hung on the breaſt of each. All theſe habiliments were of gold.

The proceſſion of Jupiter, and a great number of other deities, advanced next, and, after all the reſt, that of Alexander, whoſe ſtatue of maſſy gold was placed in a chariot drawn by elephants; on one ſide of this ſtatue ſtood victory, and on the other Minerva.

The proceſſion was graced with ſeveral thrones of gold and ivory, on one of which was a large diadem of gold, and on another a horn of the ſame metal. A third ſupported a crown; and a fourth a horn of ſolid gold. On the throne of Ptolemy Soter, the father of the reigning prince, was a golden crown, which weighed ten thouſand pieces of gold †, each containing four drachmas.

In this proceſſion were likewiſe three hundred golden vaſes, in which perfumes were to be burnt; fifty gilded altars, encompaſſed with golden crowns. Four torches of gold, fifteen feet in height, were faſtened to one of theſe altars. There were likewiſe twelve gilded hearths, one of which was eighteen feet in circumference,

* *A kind of buckler which covered the breaſt.*

† *The Attick* Stater, *uſually called* χρυσὸς, *was equal to ten livres of French money; the value therefore of this ſingle crown amounted to a hundred thouſand French livres, which are about five thouſand pounds ſterling.*

ference, and ſixty in height; and another was only twelve feet and a half high. Nine Delphick tripods of gold appeared next, having ſix feet in their altitude; and there were ſix others, nine feet in height. The largeſt of all was forty-five feet high; ſeveral animals in gold were placed upon it, and its upper part was encompaſſed with a golden crown, formed of a foliage of vine-leaves.

After theſe were ſeen ſeveral gilded palms, twelve feet in length, together with a caduceus, gilt alſo, ſixty-ſix feet long; a gilded thunder-bolt, in length ſixty feet; a gilded temple, ſixty feet in circumference; a double horn twelve feet long; a vaſt number of gilded animals, ſeveral of which were eighteen feet in height. To theſe were added ſeveral deer of a ſtupendous ſize, and a ſet of eagles thirty feet high.

Three thouſand and two hundred crowns of gold were likewiſe carried in this proceſſion; together with a conſecrated crown, containing a hundred and twenty feet, undoubtedly, in its circumference; it was likewiſe adorned with a profuſion of gems, and ſurrounded the entrance into the temple of Berenice. Several large crowns of gold were alſo ſupported by young virgins richly habited. One of theſe crowns was three feet in height, with a circumference of twenty-four.

Theſe ornaments of the proceſſion were accompanied with a golden cuiraſs, eighteen feet in height; and another of ſilver, twenty-ſeven feet high. On this latter was the repreſentation of two thunder-bolts of gold, eighteen feet in length; with an oaken crown embelliſhed with jewels; twenty golden bucklers; ſixty-four complete ſuits of golden armour; two boots of the ſame metal, four feet and a half in length; twelve baſons; a great number of flaggons; ten large vaſes of perfumes for the baths; twelve beakers; fifty diſhes, and a large number of tables: All theſe were of gold. There were likewiſe five tables covered with golden goblets; and a horn of

ſolid

ſolid gold, forty-four feet in length. All theſe golden veſſels and other ornaments, were in a ſeparate proceſſion from that of Bacchus, which has been already deſcribed.

There were likewiſe four hundred chariots laden with veſſels, aud other works of ſilver; twenty others filled with golden veſſels, and eight hundred more appropriated to the carriage of aromatick ſpices.

The troops that guarded this proceſſion were compoſed of fifty-ſeven thouſand and ſix hundred foot, and twenty-three thouſand horſe, all dreſſed and armed in a magnificent manner.

During the games and publick combats, which continued for ſome days after this pompous ſolemnity, Ptolemy Soter preſented the victors with twenty crowns of gold, and they received twenty-three from his conſort Berenice. It appeared, by the regiſters of the palace, that theſe laſt crowns were valued at two thouſand two hundred and thirty talents, and fifty minæ, about three hundred and thirty-four thouſand four hundred pounds ſterling: From whence ſome judgement may be formed of the immenſe ſums to which all the gold and ſilver employed in this ſplendid ceremonial amounted.

Such was the magnificence (ſhall I call it religious, or rather theatrical and of the comick ſtrain?) exhibited by Ptolemy Philadelphus at his coronation. If Fabricius, the famous Roman, whom I have formerly mentioned, and who had rendered himſelf ſo remarkable for his contempt of gold and ſilver, had been a ſpectator of this proceſſion, I am perſuaded that the ſight of it in all its parts, would have proved inſupportable to him; and am inclined to think he would have thought and ſpoken like the emperor Veſpaſian, upon an occaſion which had ſome reſemblance to this. He and his ſon Titus made a triumphant entry into Rome, after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; but finding himſelf fatigued with the exceſſive length of that pompous proceſſion, he could not conceal his diſpleaſure, and declared, that he was juſtly puniſhed

by that tedious ceremony, for his weakneſs in deſiring a triumph at his advanced age *.

In this feſtival of Ptolemy Philadelphus, no part of it was conducted with any elegance, or had the leaſt air of taſte and genius. An amazing prodigality of gold and ſilver was diſplayed, which makes me recollect a paſſage in Salluſt, the beauty and force of which I have the mortification not to be able to render in our language. Cataline intended to repreſent the immoderate luxury of the Romans his contemporaries, who laviſhed immenſe ſums in the purchaſe of pictures, ſtatues, wrought plate, and ſuperb buildings. "They draw out (ſays he) and torment their gold "and ſilver by all imaginable methods," (I muſt intreat the reader's excuſe for this literal tranſlation) "and yet this exceſs of prodigality is incapable of "exhauſting and overcoming their riches." *Omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant* †; *tamen ſumma lubidine divitias ſuas vincere nequeunt.* In ſuch profuſions as theſe, did the whole merit of Philadelphus conſiſt on this occaſion.

What could there be truely great or admirable in this vain oſtentation of riches, and a waſte of ſuch immenſe treaſure in a bottomleſs abyſs, after they had coſt the people ſo many fatiguing labours, and perhaps had been amaſſed by a long ſeries of violent exactions? The ſpoils of whole provinces and cities were ſacrificed to the curioſity of a ſingle day, and diſplayed to publick view, only to raiſe the frivolous admiration of a ſtupid populace, without conducing to the leaſt real advantage or utility. Nothing ever argued a more

* Adeo nihil ornamentorum extrinſecus cupidè appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate & tædio pompæ, non reticuerit meritò ſe plecti, qui triumphum—— tam ineptè ſenex concupiſſet. *Sueton. in Veſpaſ.* c. xii.

† *Theſe metaphorical terms,* trahunt, vexant, vincere nequeunt, *may poſſibly be derived from the combats of the Athletæ, wherein, after one of them has thrown his adverſary, and imagines himſelf victorious, he drags him along the Arena, in ſight of the ſpectators, twiſts, ſhakes, and torments him, without being able to extort a confeſſion from him of his defeat. In this conteſt, therefore, wherein the Roman author repreſents luxury and riches to be engaged, all the profuſions of the former were incapable of exhauſting and overcoming her riches.*

more profound ignorance of the true uſe of riches and ſolid glory, and of whatever elſe has any juſt pretenſions to the eſteem of mankind.

But what can we ſay, when we behold a ſacred proceſſion, and a ſolemnity of religion converted into a publick ſchool of intemperance and licentiouſneſs, ſuch as are only proper to excite the moſt ſhameful paſſions in the ſpectators, and induce an utter depravity of manners; by preſenting to their view all the utenſils of exceſs and debauch, with the moſt powerful allurements to indulge them, and that under pretext of paying adoration to the gods! What divinities muſt thoſe be, that would exact, or ſo much as ſuffer ſo ſcandalous a pomp in their worſhip!

SECT. V. *The commencement of the reign of* PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. *The death of* DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS. SELEUCUS *reſigns his queen, and part of his empire, to his ſon* ANTIOCHUS. *The war between* SELEUCUS *and* LYSIMACHUS; *the latter of whom is ſlain in a battle.* SELEUCUS *is aſſaſſinated by* PTOLEMY CERAUNUS, *on whom he had conferred a multitude of obligations. The two ſons of* ARSINOE *are murthered by their Uncle* CERAUNUS, *who alſo baniſhes that princeſs.* CERAUNUS *is ſoon puniſhed for thoſe crimes by the irruption of the Gauls, by whom he is ſlain in a battle. The attempt of that people againſt the temple of* DELPHOS. ANTIGONUS *eſtabliſhes himſelf in Macedonia.*

(a) PTOLEMY Philadelphus, after the death of his father, became ſole maſter of all his dominions, which were compoſed of Egypt, and many provinces dependent on it, that is to ſay, Phœnicia, Cœloſyria, Arabia, Libya, Ethiopia, the iſland of Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the iſles called the Cyclades. A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283.

During the life of Ptolemy Soter, Philadelphus had concealed his reſentment againſt Demetrius Phalereus, for the advice he gave that prince, when he was deliberating

(a) Theocrit. Idyll. xvii.

liberating on the choice of a ſucceſſor. But when the ſovereign power entirely devolved upon him, he cauſed that philoſopher to be ſeiſed, and ſent with a ſtrong guard to a remote fortreſs, where he ordered him to be confined, till he ſhould determine in what manner to treat him. (*b*) But at laſt the bite of an aſpick put a period to the life of that great man, who merited a better fate.

The teſtimonies in his favour of Cicero, Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and many others, leave no room to doubt of the probity and wiſdom of his government; we therefore ſhall only conſider what has been obſerved with reſpect to his eloquence.

The characters of his writings, as Cicero obſerves in ſeveral places*, were ſweetneſs, elegance, beauty, numbers, and ornament, ſo that it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh in them the diſciple of Theophraſtus. He excelled in that ſpecies of eloquence, which is called the temperate and florid. His ſtyle, in other reſpects gentle and calm, was adorned and ennobled with bold and ſhining metaphors, that exalted and enlivened his diſcourſe, otherwiſe not dignified to any great degree with rich ſentiments, and thoſe beauties that conſtitute the great and ſublime. He was rather to be conſidered as a wreſtler, formed in the ſhade and tranquillity, for publick games and ſpectacles, than as a ſoldier inured to arms by exerciſe, and quitting his tent to attack an enemy. His diſcourſe had, indeed, the faculty of affecting his hearers with ſomething grateful and

(*b*) Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Cic. in orat. pro Rabir. Poſt. n. 23.

* Demetrius Phalereus in hoc numero haberi poteſt: diſputator ſubtilis, orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophraſti diſcipulum poſſis agnoſcere. *Offic.* l. i. n. 3.

Demetrius Phalereus, eruditiſſimus ille quidem, ſed non tam armis inſtitutus, quàm palæſtra. Itaque delectabat magis Athenienſes, quàm inflammabat. Proceſſerat enim in ſolem & pulverem, non ut è militari taberna-culo, ſed ut è Theophraſti, doctiſſimi hominis, umbraculis—— Suavis videri maluit, quàm gravis; ſed ſuavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret: & tantùm ut memoriam concinnitatis ſuæ, non (quem admodum de Pericle ſcripſit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum à quibus eſſet auditus. *De clar. Orat.* n. 37, & 38.

and tender, but it wanted energy to inſpire the force and ardour that inflame the mind, and only left in it at moſt an agreeable remembrance of ſome tranſient ſweetneſs and graces, not unlike that we retain after hearing the moſt harmonious concerts.

It muſt be confeſſed, this ſpecies of eloquence has its merit, when limited to juſt bounds; but as it is very difficult and unuſual to preſerve the due mediocrity in this particular, and to ſuppreſs the ſallies of a rich and lively imagination, not always guided by the judgement; this kind of eloquence is apt, therefore, to degenerate, and become, even from its own beauties, a pernicious delicacy, which at length vitiates and depraves the taſte. This was the effect, according to Cicero and Quintilian, who were good judges in this point, of the florid and ſtudied graces peculiar to the ſtyle of Demetrius. Athens, till his time *, had been accuſtomed to a noble and majeſtick eloquence, whoſe character was a natural beauty without paint and glitter. Demetrius was the firſt that revolted againſt this manly and ſolid eloquence, to which he ſubſtituted a ſoft and languiſhing ſpecies, that abated the vigour of the mind, and at length rendered falſe taſte predominant.

Two of Alexander's captains ſurvived Ptolemy, Lyſimachus and Seleucus, who, till then, had always been united by intereſt and friendſhip, and were engaged to each other by treaties and confederations: And as they were now advancing to the period of their days (for each of them had exceeded fourſcore years of age) one would have thought they ſhould have been deſirous of ending their lives in the union which had ſo long ſubſiſted between them; inſtead of which, their mutual deſtruction by war, became the whole object of their thoughts, on the following occaſion.

Lyſimachus,

* Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam; &, ut opinio mea fert, ſuccus ille & ſanguis incorruptus uſque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis ineſſet, non fucatus, nitor—Hic (Phalereus) primus inflexit orationem, & eam mollem teneramque reddidit. *De clar. Orat.* n. 36—38.

Lyſimachus, after the marriage of his ſon Agathocles with Lyſandra, one of the daughters of Ptolemy, eſpouſed another himſelf, whoſe name was Arſinoe, and had ſeveral children by her. (c) The different intereſts of theſe two ſiſters led them into all ſorts of intrigues, to form a powerful party in their favour, upon the death of Lyſimachus. What are ambitious wives and mothers not capable of attempting! Their oppoſition to each other was not the mere effect of perſonal intereſt, but was chiefly fomented by the differences of their mothers. Lyſandra was the daughter of Eurydice, and Arſinoe of Berenice. The arrival of Ptolemy Ceraunus, the brother of Philadelphus, at this court, made Arſinoe apprehenſive that his intereſt would ſtrengthen too much the party of Lyſandra, who was his ſiſter by the ſame mother; and that they would accompliſh the deſtruction of herſelf, and her own children, at the death of Lyſimachus. This calamity ſhe was determined to prevent, by ſacrificing Agathocles to her ſuſpicions; and ſhe ſucceeded in her deſign, by repreſenting him to her huſband, as one who had formed a conſpiracy againſt his life and crown, by which ſhe ſo much incenſed him againſt his own ſon, that he cauſed him to be impriſoned and put to death. Lyſandra and her children, with her brother Ceraunus, and Alexander, another ſon of Lyſimachus, took ſanctuary in the court of Seleucus, and prevailed upon him to declare war againſt Lyſimachus. Several of the principal officers of this prince, and even thoſe who had been moſt devoted to his intereſt, were ſtruck with ſo much horrour at the murther of his ſon, that they entirely abandoned him, and retired to the court of Seleucus, where they ſtrengthened the remonſtrances of Lyſandra by their own complaints. Seleucus was eaſily induced to undertake this war, for which he was already ſufficiently diſpoſed by views of intereſt.

(d) Before he engaged in this enterpriſe, he reſigned

(c) Juſtin. l. xvii. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. Pauſan. in Attic. p. 18.
(d) Plut. in Demetr. p. 906, 907. Appian. in Syr. p. 126—128.

ed his queen Stratonice to his ſon Antiochus, for a reaſon I ſhall ſoon relate, and conſigned to him, at the ſame time, a conſiderable part of his empire, reſerving to himſelf no other territories but the provinces between the Euphrates and the ſea.

Antiochus was ſeiſed with a lingering diſtemper, of which the phyſicians were incapable of diſcovering the cauſe; for which reaſon his condition was thought entirely deſperate. It is eaſy to conceive the inquietude of a father who beheld himſelf on the point of loſing his ſon in the flower of his age; whom he had intended for his ſucceſſor in his vaſt dominions, and in whom all the happineſs of his life conſiſted. Eraſiſtratus, the moſt attentive and ſkilful of all the phyſicians, having carefully conſidered every ſymptom with which the indiſpoſition of the young prince was attended, believed at laſt that he had diſcovered its true cauſe, and that it proceeded from a paſſion he had entertained for ſome lady; in which conjecture he was not deceived. It, however, was more difficult to diſcover the object of a paſſion, the more violent from the ſecrecy in which it remained. The phyſician, therefore, to aſſure himſelf fully of what he ſurmiſed, paſſed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and when he ſaw any lady enter, he carefully obſerved the countenance of the prince, and never diſcovered the leaſt emotion in him, except when Stratonice came into the chamber, either alone, or with her conſort; at which times the young prince was, as Plutarch obſerves, always affected with the ſymptoms deſcribed by Sappho, as ſo many indications of a violent paſſion. Such, for inſtance, as a ſuppreſſion of voice; burning bluſhes; ſuffuſion of ſight; cold ſweat; a ſenſible inequality and diſorder of pulſe; with a variety of the like ſymptoms. When the phyſician was afterwards alone with his patient, he managed his enquiries with ſo much dexterity, as at laſt drew the ſecret from him. Antiochus confeſſed his paſſion for queen Stratonice his mother-in-law, and declared that he had in vain employed all his efforts to vanquiſh it: He

added, that he had a thouſand times had recourſe to every conſideration that could be repreſented to his thoughts, in ſuch a conjuncture; particularly the reſpect due from him to a father and ſovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved; the ſhameful circumſtance of indulging a paſſion altogether unjuſtifiable, and contrary to all the rules of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a deſign he ought never to be deſirous of gratifying; but that his reaſon, in its preſent ſtate of diſtraction, entirely engroſſed by one object, would hearken to nothing. And he concluded with declaring, that to puniſh himſelf, for deſires involuntary in one ſenſe, but criminal in every other, he had reſolved to languiſh to death, by diſcontinuing all care of his health, and abſtaining from every kind of food.

The phyſician gained a very conſiderable point, by penetrating into the ſource of his patient's diſorder; but the application of the proper remedy was much more difficult to be accompliſhed; and how could a propoſal of this nature be made to a parent and king! When Seleucus made the next enquiry after his ſon's health, Eraſiſtratus replied, that his diſtemper was incurable, becauſe it aroſe from a ſecret paſſion which could never be gratified, as the lady he loved was not to be obtained. The father, ſurpriſed and afflicted at this anſwer, deſired to know why the lady was not to be obtained? "Becauſe ſhe is my wife," replied the phyſician, "and I am not diſpoſed to yield "her up to the embraces of another." "And will you "not part with her then," replied the king, "to pre-"ſerve the life of a ſon I ſo tenderly love! Is this the "friendſhip you profeſs for me!" "Let me intreat you, "my lord," ſaid Eraſiſtratus, "to imagine yourſelf "for one moment in my place, would you reſign your "Stratonice to his arms? If you, therefore, who are "a father, would not conſent to ſuch a ſacrifice for the "welfare of a ſon ſo dear to you, how can you expect "another ſhould do it?" "I would reſign Stratonice, "and my empire to him, with all my ſoul," interrupted the

the king. "Your majeſty then," replied the phyſician, "has the remedy in your own hands; for he loves "Stratonice." The father did not heſitate a moment after this declaration, and eaſily obtained the conſent of his conſort: After which his ſon and that princeſs were crowned king and queen of Upper Aſia. (*d*) Julian the apoſtate relates, in a fragment of his writings ſtill extant, that Antiochus could not eſpouſe Stratonice till after the death of his father.

Whatever traces of reſerve, moderation, and even modeſty, appear in the conduct of this young prince, his example ſhows us the misfortune of giving the leaſt entrance into the heart of an unlawful paſſion, capable of diſcompoſing all the happineſs and tranquillity of life.

(*e*) Seleucus being now eaſed of his inquietude, thought of nothing but marching againſt Lyſimachus. He therefore put himſelf at the head of a fine army, and advanced into Aſia Minor. All the country ſubmitted to him, as far as Sardis, which he beſieged and took; by which means he became maſter of all the treaſures of Lyſimachus.

This laſt, having paſſed the Helleſpont, in order to check the progreſs of Seleucus, gave him battle in Phrygia *, but was defeated and ſlain; in conſequence of which Seleucus rendered himſelf maſter of all his dominions. His greateſt pleaſure † on this occaſion reſulted from his being the only ſurvivor of all the captains of Alexander, and, by the event of this battle, victorious over conquerors themſelves, for that was the expreſſion he thought fit to uſe, and this advantage

A. M. 3723. Ant. J. C. 281.

(*d*) In Miſop. (*e*) Juſtin. l. xvii. c. 1. 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 178. Memnon. Excerpta apud Phot. c. ix. Pauſan. in Attic. p. 18. Oroſ. 3—23. Polyæn. 4, 9.

* *Porphyry is the only author who has pointed out the real place where this battle was fought, and which Euſebius, by an evident miſtake, calls* Κορωπιδιον, *inſtead of* Κυρεστιδιον, *the field of Cyrus; mentioned by Strabo*, l. xiii. p. 629.

† Lætus ea victoria Seleucus, & quod majus ea victoria putabat, ſolum ſe de cohorte Alexandri remanſiſſe, victoremque victorum extitiſſe, non humanum eſſe opus, ſed divinum munus, gloriabatur: ignarum prorſus, non multo poſt fragilitatis humanæ ſe ipſum exemplum futurum. *Juſtin*, l. xvii. c. 2.

vantage was conſidered by him as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour. This laſt victory was undoubtedly the beſt juſtification of the title of Nicator, or the conqueror, which he had already aſſumed, and which is uſually given him by the hiſtorians, in order to diſtinguiſh him from the other princes who reigned after him in Syria of the name of Seleucus.

His triumph, on this occaſion, was of no long continuance, for when he went, ſeven months after his victory, to take poſſeſſion of Macedonia, where he propoſed to paſs the remainder of his days in the boſom of his native country, he was baſely aſſaſſinated by Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred innumerable honours and obligations: For he had received him into his court, when he fled from his own country, and had treated him ſuitably to his rank. He had alſo carried that prince with him in that expedition; intending, when it ſhould be completed, to employ the ſame forces for his eſtabliſhment on the throne of his father in Egypt. But as this wretch was inſenſible of all the favours he had received, he had the villainy to conſpire againſt his benefactor; whom he aſſaſſinated, as we have already mentioned.

He had reigned twenty years, from the battle of Ipſus, when the title of king was ſecured to him; and thirty-one, if the commencement of his reign be fixed twelve years after the death of Alexander, when he became maſter of Aſia; from which time the æra of the Seleucidæ commences.

(f) A late diſſertation of Monſieur de la Nauze gives him a reign of more than fifty years, by adding to it the nineteen years of his ſon Antiochus Soter. The author pretends, that Seleucus Nicator did not entirely diveſt himſelf of the government; but began with making a partition of his dominions; and that he afterwards re-united them, even in the life-time of his ſon. He has produced probable reaſons in favour of his

(f) Tom. VII. des Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcrip. & Belles Lettres.

his opinion; but as I never engage in conteſts of this nature, I ſhall confine myſelf to the chronology of Uſher, which has been my uſual guide, and which aſſigns, with Father Petau and Monſieur Vaillant, thirty-one years to the reign of Seleucus Nicator.

This prince had extraordinary qualities; and, without mentioning his military accompliſhments, it may be juſtly ſaid, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the other kings, by his great love of juſtice, a benevolence, clemency, and a peculiar regard to religion, that endeared him to the people. He had likewiſe a taſte for polite literature, and made it a circumſtance of pleaſure and glory to himſelf, to ſend back to the Athenians the library of which Xerxes had diſpoſſeſſed them, and which he found in Perſia. He alſo accompanied that preſent with the ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, whom the Athenians honoured as their deliverers.

The friends of Lyſimachus, with thoſe who had ſerved under that prince, at firſt conſidered Ceraunus as the avenger of his death; and acknowledged him for their king, but his conduct ſoon cauſed them to change their ſentiments.

(g) He did not expect to poſſeſs the dominions of Lyſimachus in peace, while his ſiſter Arſinoe and the children ſhe had by Lyſimachus were living; for which reaſon he determined to rid himſelf at once of them and the apprehenſions they gave him. The greateſt crimes coſt the ambitious no remorſe. Ceraunus feigned a paſſion for his ſiſter, and ſeemed deſirous of eſpouſing her; and as theſe inceſtuous marriages were frequent and allowable in Egypt, Arſinoe, who was well acquainted with the natural diſpoſition of her brother, protracted, as much as poſſible, the concluſion of that affair, the conſequences of which ſhe feared would be fatal to herſelf and children. But the more ſhe delayed, and concealed her repugnance by plauſible pretexts, the more warmly he preſſed her to gratify his paſſion; and in order to remove all ſuſ-

(g) Juſtin. l. xxiv. c. 2—4.

picion, he repaired to that temple, which the Macedonians held in the greateſt veneration, and there, in the preſence of one of her intimate friends, whom ſhe had ſent to him, he called the tutelar gods of the country to witneſs, embracing their ſtatues at the ſame time, and proteſting, with the moſt dreadful oaths and imprecations, that his views, with reſpect to the marriage he ſollicited, were perfectly pure and innocent.

Arſinoe placed but little confidence in theſe promiſes, though they were uttered before the altars, and had been ratified with the aweful ſeal of religion; but ſhe was apprehenſive, at the ſame time, that perſiſting in an obſtinate refuſal, would be fatal to her children, for whoſe welfare ſhe was more ſollicitous than her own. She, therefore, conſented at laſt, and the nuptials were celebrated with the greateſt magnificence, and with all the indications of the moſt unaffected joy and tenderneſs. Ceraunus placed the diadem on the head of his ſiſter, and declared her queen, in the preſence of the whole army. Arſinoe felt a real joy, when ſhe beheld herſelf ſo gloriouſly re-eſtabliſhed, in the privileges of which ſhe had been diveſted by the death of Lyſimachus, her firſt huſband; and ſhe invited her new ſpouſe to reſide with her in her own city of Caſſandria, to which ſhe firſt repaired herſelf, in order to make the neceſſary preparations for his arrival. The temples, on that occaſion, with all the publick places and private houſes, were magnificently adorned, and nothing was to be ſeen but altars and victims ready for ſacrifice. The two ſons of Arſinoe, Lyſimachus, who was then ſixteen years of age, and Philip, who was thirteen, both princes of admirable beauty, and majeſtick mien, advanced to meet the king, with crowns on their heads, it being a day of ſo much ſolemnity and joy Ceraunus threw his arms round their necks, and embraced them with as much tenderneſs as could well be expreſſed by the fondeſt of fathers.

The

The comick part ended here, and was preſently ſucceeded by a bloody tragedy. As ſoon as he entered the city, he ſeiſed the citadel, and ordered the two brothers to be murthered. Thoſe unfortunate princes fled for refuge to the queen, who claſped them in her arms, and vainly endeavoured, by covering them with her body, to ſave them from the daggers of their murtherers, who killed them in the boſom of their mother. Inſtead of being allowed the ſad conſolation of rendering them the laſt offices, ſhe was firſt dragged out of the city, with her robes all rent, and her hair diſhevelled, and then baniſhed into Samothrace, with only two female ſervants to attend her, mournfully conſidering her ſurviving the princes her ſons, as the completion of all her calamities.

Providence would not ſuffer ſuch crimes to go unpuniſhed, but called forth a diſtant people to be the miniſters of its vengeance. A. M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 277.

The Gauls, finding their own country too populous ſent out a prodigious number of people to ſeek a new ſettlement in ſome other land. This ſwarm of foreigners came from the extremity of the ocean, and after they had proceeded along the Danube, arrived at the outlet of the Save, and then divided themſelves into three bodies. The firſt, commanded by Brennus and Acichorius, entered Pannonia, now known by the name of Hungary; the ſecond marched into Thrace, under Cerethrius; and Belgius led the third into Illyrium and Macedonia.

All the nations near whoſe territories this people approached, were ſtruck with ſo much terrour, that inſtead of waiting till they were ſubdued, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to the Gauls and thought themſelves exceeding happy in purchaſing their liberty with money, Ptolemy Ceraunus *, king of Macedonia, was

(*b*) Juſtin. l. xxiv, & xxv. Pauſan. l. x. p. 643—645. Memn. Exc. apud Photium. Eclogæ Diod. l. xxii. Callim hymn. in Delum, & ſchol. ad eundum. Suidas in Κελτοί.

* Solus rex Macedoniæ Ptolemæus adventum Gallorum intrepidus audivit, hiſque cum paucis & incompoſitis, quaſi bella non difficiliùs quam ſcelera patrarentur, parricidiorum furiis agitatus, occurrit. *Juſtin.*

the only prince who unaffected at the tidings of this formidable eruption; and running headlong of himſelf on the puniſhment the divine vengeance was preparing to inflict upon him for the murthers he had perpetrated, he advanced to meet the Gauls with a ſmall body of undiſciplined troops, as if it had been as eaſy for him to fight battles, as it was to commit crimes. He had even the imprudence to refuſe a ſupply of twenty thouſand men, which the Dardanians, a neighbouring people to Macedonia, offered him; and anſwered with an inſulting air, that Macedonia would be much to be pitied, if, after it had conquered all the Eaſt, it could need the aid of the Dardanians to defend its frontiers; to which he added with a haughty tone of triumph, that he would face the enemy with the children of thoſe who had ſubdued the univerſe under the enſigns of Alexander.

He expreſſed himſelf in the ſame imperious ſtrain to the Gauls, who firſt offered him peace by a deputation, in caſe he would purchaſe it: But, conceiving this offer the reſult of fear, he replied, that he would never enter into any treaty of peace with them unleſs they would deliver up ſome of the principal perſons of their nation to him as hoſtages; and that they muſt likewiſe ſend him their arms, before he would place any confidence in their promiſes. This anſwer was received with contempt by the Gauls: And we may from hence obſerve, the methods uſually employed by the Deity, in chaſtiſing the pride and injuſtice of princes; he firſt deprives them of reaſon and counſel, and then abandons them to their vain imaginations.

A few days after this event, a battle was fought, wherein the Macedonians were entirely defeated, and cut to pieces; Ptolemy, covered with wounds, was taken priſoner by the Gauls, who after they had cut off his head, fixed it on a lance, and ſhowed it to the army in deriſion. A very inconſiderable number of Macedonians ſaved themſelves by flight, but all the reſt were either ſlain or made priſoners. The Gauls

diſperſed

diſperſed themſelves, after this victory, in order to pillage the adjacent country; upon which Soſthenes, one of the principal perſons among the Macedonians, improving the diſorder in which they then were, deſtroyed a great number of their men, and obliged the reſt to quit the country.

Brennus then advanced into Macedonia with his troop: But this leader is not to be confounded with that other Brennus who took the city of Rome, about a century before. Upon this intelligence he had received of the firſt ſucceſs of Belgius, and the great booty he had acquired, he envied him the ſpoils of ſo rich a country, and immediately formed a reſolution to have a part. And when he received the news of that general's defeat, that only ſerved as a new motive to haſten his march; his impatience to avenge his countrymen uniting with his deſire to enrich himſelf. Authors have not informed us what became of Belgius and his troop, but, in all probability, he was killed in the ſecond engagement, after which the remains of his army were incorporated into that of Brennus, But however that were, Brennus and Acichorius quitted Pannonia, with an army of an hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe, and entered Illyrium, in order to paſs into Macedonia and Greece.

During a ſedition which happened in their march, a body of twenty thouſand men drew off from the main army, and marched, under Leonor and Lutarius, into Thrace, where they joined thoſe whom Cerethrius had already marched into that country; after which they made themſelves maſters of Byzantium, and the weſtern coaſts of the Propontis, and then laid the adjacent country under contribution.

This deſertion did not prevent Brennus and Acichorius from continuing their march; and they drew, either from Illyrium, or their countrymen the Gauls, ſuch numerous re-inforcements, as increaſed their army to a hundred and fifty-two thouſand foot, and ſixty-one thouſand two hundred horſe. The hopes of booty, A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278.

booty, and ſome advantageous ſettlement, cauſed a vaſt number of ſoldiers to join them in this expedition, and with this army they marched directly to Macedonia, where they overpowered Soſthenes with their multitudes, and ravaged all the country. It will ſoon appear by the ſequel, that Antigonus reigned in Macedonia, after the death of Soſthenes.

The Gauls, after their conqueſts in that country, advanced to the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, with an intention to enter Greece; but were ſtopped for ſome time by the troops which had been poſted there, to defend that important paſs: Till at laſt they diſcovered the way which the army of Xerxes had formerly taken in their paſſage over theſe mountains; and the Greeks, to avoid being ſurrounded by the troops detached againſt them by the Gauls for that purpoſe, were obliged to retire and leave them a free paſſage.

Brennus advanced with the main body of the army towards Delphos, in order to pillage the immenſe riches of the temple of Apollo, and ordered Acichorius to follow him with the troops under his command; declaring to him, at the ſame time, with an air of raillery, that *the gods ought in reaſon to impart ſome of their riches to men, who had more occaſion for them than themſelves, and employed them in a better manner.* (*i*) Authors have here taken an opportunity to relate very aſtoniſhing events: For they tell us, that when Brennus approached the temple of Delphos, the ſkies were blackened with a dreadful tempeſt, and that great numbers of his men were deſtroyed by hail and thunder. To which they add, that this ſtorm was attended with an earthquake, that rent the mountains, and threw down the rocks, which cruſhed the Gauls by hundreds at a time; and that the remaining troops were ſeiſed with ſuch a panick * the enſuing night, as cauſed them to miſtake their own men for the enemies, in conſequence of which they deſtroyed themſelves

(*i*) Juſtin. l. xxiv. c. 6—8. Pauſan. l. x. p. 652—634.

* *The ancients thought theſe kinds of terrours were infuſed into the mind by the god Pan. Other reaſons are likewiſe aſſigned for that name.*

ſelves in ſuch a manner, that before the day grew light enough for them to diſtinguiſh each other, above half of the army periſhed in that manner.

The Greeks, whom the danger of a temple ſo revered among them had drawn from all parts to preſerve it from being plundered, were animated by an event in which heaven itſelf ſeemed to declare in their favour, and charged the Gauls with ſo much impetuoſity, that though Acichorius had joined Brennus, they were unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, and were ſlaughtered in vaſt numbers. Brennus was wounded in ſeveral parts of his body, but not mortally: When he ſaw that all was loſt, and that the deſign he had formed ended in the deſtruction of his army, he was ſeiſed with ſuch deſpair, as made him reſolve not to ſurvive his loſſes. He accordingly ſent for all the officers that could be aſſembled, amidſt the confuſion which reigned among them, and adviſed them to kill all the wounded men, and make the beſt retreat in their power. At the cloſe of thoſe expreſſions he drank as much wine as he could, plunged his dagger into his own boſom, and expired upon the ſpot.

Acichorius took the command in chief upon himſelf, and endeavoured to regain the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, in order to march out of Greece, and conduct the ſad remains of that army into their own country. But as he was obliged to paſs through a large extent of the enemy's territories, and to hazard a battle every time he wanted proviſions for his troops; and as theſe were always reduced to the neceſſity of lying on the ground, though it was then the winter ſeaſon; in a word, as they were conſtantly harraſſed from every quarter, by the inhabitants of the countries through which they marched, they were all deſtroyed, either by famine, cold, diſtempers, or the ſword; and of all that prodigious number of men who engaged in this expedition, not one eſcaped with life.

Some fabulous exaggerations may poſſibly be blended with the other circumſtances of this event; and chiefly

chiefly with relation to the ſudden tempeſt that aroſe, when the Gauls approached Delphos, and the miraculous fall of the rocks on the ſacrilegious troops. Perhaps the whole might be no more than a thick flight of arrows, ſhot by the enemies, who might likewiſe roll down upon the Gauls huge ſtones from the tops of the mountains. Such events are entirely natural and cuſtomary in attacks like this, which the prieſts, whoſe intereſt it was to magnify the power of their god, might repreſent with an air of prodigy, and as a miraculous interpoſition: It is certain that any account of this nature might be eaſily impoſed upon the credulity of the people, who are always fond of giving in to the marvellous, and ſeldom ſcrupulouſly examine the truth of ſuch things.

On the other hand, we have no ſufficient reaſon to diſbelieve any thing hiſtory relates of this event. The enterpriſe of Brennus was undoubtedly a ſacrilegious impiety; and injurious to religion, as well as to the Deity himſelf; for he ſpoke and acted in the manner already repreſented, not from any conviction that thoſe gods were the mere offspring of fable (for he did not think better on that article than the Greeks themſelves) but from an abſolute contempt of a divinity in general. The idea of a God is impreſſed on the hearts of all men, and they have through all ages, and in all countries, believed it to be their duty to render certain honours to him. The Pagans were deceived in their application of this principle, but all acknowledged the neceſſity of it. The Deity, therefore, in mere goodneſs to mankind, may have cauſed his vengeance to be diſplayed againſt thoſe, even among the heathens, who teſtified an open contempt of a Supreme Being, in order to preſerve the traces and principles of religion in their minds, by ſome extraordinary indications of his anger, till it pleaſed him to afford them clearer lights by the miniſtration of the Mediator, at the appointed time, reſerved for the inſtruction of mankind, in that pure worſhip which the only true God required from them. We likewiſe ſee

that,

that the Divine Being, in order to preſerve among men a due reſpect for his providence, and a belief of his peculiar attention to all their actions, has been careful, from time to time, to puniſh perjuries and other crying offences in a ſingular manner, and even among the Pagans themſelves. By which means the belief of that capital point, the firſt tie of man with God, was maintained amidſt all the darkneſs of Paganiſm, and the diſſolution of manners which then prevailed. But it is now time to return to the Gauls.

(*k*) Leonor and Lutarius, who had eſtabliſhed themſelves on the Propontis, advanced to the Helleſpont, and ſurpriſed Lyſimachia, after which they made themſelves maſters of all the Thracian Cherſoneſus; but a difference ariſing between the two chiefs, they ſeparated from each other. Lutarius continued his march along the Helleſpont, and Leonor returned to Byzantium with the greateſt part of the army.

The latter having afterwards paſſed the Boſphorus, and the other the Helleſpont, met again in Aſia, where a reconciliation being affected between them, they rejoined their forces, and entered into the ſervice of Nicomedes king of Bythinia. Who, after he had reduced his brother Zypetes by their aſſiſtance, and acquired the poſſeſſion of all his father's dominions, aſſigned to them, for their ſettlement, that part of Aſia Minor, which took from them the denomination of Gallo Græcia, or Galatia. The canonical epiſtle of St. Paul to the Galatians was written to the deſcendents of this people, and St. Jerom, above ſix hundred years after the time we now ſpeak of, declared, that they continued to ſpeak the ſame language he had heard at Treves.

The remainder of thoſe who continued in Thrace engaged afterwards in a war with Antigonus Gonatas, who reigned in Macedonia, and moſt of them were then deſtroyed. Thoſe few who eſcaped, either paſſed into Aſia, and rejoined their countrymen in Galatia

(*k*) Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 16.

latia; or diſperſed themſelves into other regions, where no further mention is made of them. In this manner ended that terrible inundation of Barbarians, after they had threatened Macedonia, and all Greece, with entire deſtruction.

A. M. 3728. Ant. J. C. 276. (*l*) After the death of Soſthenes, who defeated the Gauls, and reigned for ſome time in Macedonia, Antiochus, the ſon of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatas, the ſon of Demetrius Poliorcetes, formed pretenſions to that crown, which their fathers had enjoyed, one after the other. Antigonus, who, after the fatal expedition of his father into Aſia, had reigned ten years in Greece, finding the ſtate of his affairs more favourable than thoſe of his competitor, was the firſt who aſcended the throne, but each of them raiſed great armies, and contracted powerful alliances; the one to ſupport himſelf in his new conqueſt, and the other to diſpoſſeſs him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having eſpouſed the party of Antigonus in this conjuncture, Antiochus, when he was preparing to enter Macedonia, was unwilling to leave ſo powerful an enemy in his rear. Inſtead, therefore, of paſſing the Helleſpont, he ſuddenly poured his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war. The forces were at firſt ſo equal, that neither party would preſume to attack the other, and continued for ſome time in that ſtate of inaction; during which a treaty was concerted, and in conſequence Antigonus eſpouſed Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus, and Antigonus reſigned to him his pretenſions to the throne of Macedonia. In this manner he remained peaceable poſſeſſor, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity, who enjoyed it for ſeveral generations, to the time of Perſeus, the laſt of this race, who was defeated by Paulus Emilius, and diveſted of his dominions, which the Romans, in a few years after, formed into a province of the empire.

A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275. Antiochus, having thus diſengaged himſelf from this war, marched againſt the Gauls, who, after ſettling

(*l*) Memnon. apud Phot. c. xix.

tling in the land granted them by Nicomedes, were continually making incurſions on all ſides, by which they extremely incommoded their neighbours. Antigonus defeated them with great ſlaughter, and delivered the country from their oppreſſors. This action acquired him the title of Soter, which ſignifies a deliverer.

SECT. IV. PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS *cauſes the books of the holy ſcripture, preſerved by the Jews with the utmoſt care, to be tranſlated into the Greek language, as an ornament to his library. This is called the Verſion of the Septuagint.*

THE tumult of the wars which diverſity of intereſt had kindled among the ſucceſſors of Alexander, throughout the whole extent of their territories, did not prevent Ptolemy Philadelphus from devoting his utmoſt attention to the noble library he had founded in Alexandria, and wherein he depoſited the moſt valuable and curious books he was capable of collecting from all parts of the world. This prince being informed, that the Jews were maſters of a work which contained the laws of Moſes, and the hiſtory of that people, was deſirous of having it tranſlated out of the Hebrew language into the Greek, in order to enrich his library with that performance. To accompliſh this deſign, it became neceſſary for him to addreſs himſelf to the high-prieſt of the Jewiſh nation; but the affair happened to be attended with great difficulty. A very conſiderable number of Jews had been actually reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery in Egypt, by Ptolemy Soter, during the invaſions of Judæa in his time; and it was repreſented to the king, that there would be no probability of obtaining from that people either a copy, or a faithful tranſlation of their law, while he ſuffered ſuch a number of their countrymen to continue in their preſent ſervitude. Ptolemy, who always acted with the utmoſt generoſity, and was extremely ſollicitous to enlarge his library, did not heſitate a moment, but iſſued a decree for reſtoring A. M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 277.

ſtoring all the Jewiſh ſlaves in his dominions to their full liberty; with orders to his treaſurer to pay twenty drachmas * a head to their maſters, for their ranſom. The ſum expended on this occaſion amounted to four hundred talents †; which make it evident that an hundred and twenty thouſand Jews recovered their freedom by this bounteous proceeding. The king then gave orders for diſcharging the children born in ſlavery, with their mothers, and the ſum employed for this purpoſe amounted to above half the former.

Theſe advantageous preliminaries gave Ptolemy hopes that he ſhould eaſily obtain his requeſt from the high-prieſt, whoſe name was Eleazar. He had ſent ambaſſadors to that pontiff, with a very obliging letter on his part, accompanied with magnificent preſents. The ambaſſadors were received at Jeruſalem, with all imaginable honours, and the king's requeſt was granted with the greateſt joy. Upon which they returned to Alexandria with an authentick copy of the Moſaick law, written in letters of gold, and given them by the high-prieſt himſelf, with ſix elders of each tribe, that is to ſay, ſeventy-two in the whole; and they were authorized to tranſlate that copy into the Greek language.

The king was deſirous of ſeeing theſe deputies, and propoſed to each of them a different queſtion, in order to make a trial of their capacity. He was ſatisfied with their anſwers, in which great wiſdom appeared, and loaded them with preſents, and other marks of his friendſhip. The elders were then conducted to the iſle of Pharos, and lodged in a houſe prepared for their reception, where they were plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſary accommodations. They applied themſelves to their work without loſing time, and in ſeventy-two days completed the volume which is commonly called the Septuagint Verſion ‡. The whole was afterwards read, and approved in the preſence of the king, who admired, in a peculiar manner,

* *About ten ſhillings.*

† *About ſixty thouſand pounds.*

‡ *It is called the Septuagint, for the ſake of the round number 70, but the ſacred books were tranſlated by ſeventy-two perſons.*

manner, the wiſdom of the laws of Moſes, and diſmiſſed the ſeventy-two deputies with extremely magnificent preſents; part of which were for themſelves, others for the high-prieſt, and the remainder for the temple. Expences of this nature, though very conſiderable, never ruin a ſtate, and do a prince great honour.

The author from whom theſe facts are extracted is Ariſtæus, who repreſents himſelf as one of the officers of the guard to Ptolemy Philadelphus. He adds a number of other circumſtances, which I have omitted, becauſe they ſeem more improbable than thoſe I have inſerted. It is pretended, that the writers, whether Jews, as Ariſtobulus, Philo, and Joſephus; or Chriſtians, as Juſtin, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Hilary, Auſtin, and ſome others; who have employed their pens on the ſubject of the Septuagint verſion, have founded all their relations on the mere veracity of Ariſtæus, when the work that bears his name is thought to be a ſpurious piece. Some of theſe authors have added circumſtances which are generally diſbelieved, becauſe they have too much of the marvellous in them. (*a*) Philo declares, that though their tranſlations were made in ſeparate apartments, yet the leaſt difference in the ſenſe, or ſtyle in which they were couched, was ſo far from appearing, that, on the contrary, the expreſſions were every where the ſame, even to a ſingle word; from whence he concludes, that theſe perſons were not mere tranſlators, but men inſpired by the ſpirit of God, who conducted them on that occaſion, and dictated the whole to them, even to the minuteſt word. Juſtin, and, after him, the other fathers already mentioned, ſuppoſe that each of the ſeventy-two interpreters performed his verſion in a ſeparate cell, without the leaſt correſpondence with each other, and yet that all their tranſlations were perfectly conformable to each other in every particular.

I have frequently declared my reſolution not to enter into any hiſtorical diſquiſitions of this nature, which require much time and learning; and would

(*a*) Philo de vita Moſis, l. ii. p. 658.

therefore call off my attention too long from my principal object. The reader may conſult the learned Prideaux, who has treated this ſubject at large. All that can be depended upon, and which no one has thought fit to conteſt, is, that a tranſlation of the ſacred books from the Hebrew into the Greek, was made in Egypt, in the time of the Ptolemies; that we have this tranſlation ſtill extant, and that it is the ſame which was uſed in the time of our bleſſed Saviour, as moſt of the paſſages cited by the ſacred writers of the New Teſtament, from the original Greek of the Old, are to be found *verbatim* in this verſion. It ſtill ſubſiſts, and continues to be uſed in the Oriental churches; as it alſo was by thoſe in the primitive ages, among whom it paſſed for a canonical tranſlation.

This verſion, therefore, which renders the ſcripture of the Old Teſtament intelligible to a vaſt number of people, became one of the moſt conſiderable fruits of the Grecian conqueſts; and was evidently comprehended in the deſign God had in view, when he delivered up all the Eaſt to the Greeks, and ſupported them in thoſe regions, notwithſtanding their diviſions and jealouſies, their wars, and the frequent revolutions that happened among them. In this manner did God prepare the way for the preaching of the goſpel, which was then approaching, and facilitate the union of ſo many nations of different languages and manners into one ſociety, and the ſame worſhip and doctrines, by the inſtrumentality of the fineſt, moſt copious, and correct language that was ever ſpoken in the world, and which became common to all the countries that were conquered by Alexander.

SECT. VII. *The various expeditions of* PYRRHUS: *First, into Italy; where he fights two battles with the Romans. The character and conduct of* CINEAS. *Secondly, into Sicily; and then into Italy again. His third engagement with the Romans; wherein he is defeated. His expedition into Macedonia; of which he makes himself master for some time, after he had overthrown* ANTIGONUS. *His expedition into Peloponnesus. He forms the siege of Sparta, but without success. Is slain at that of Argos. The deputation from* PHILADELPHUS *to the Romans, and from the Romans to* PHILADELPHUS.

(a) PYRRHUS, when he returned into Epirus, after he had entirely abandoned Macedonia, might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, and enjoyed the sweets of peace, by governing his people agreeably to the rules of justice. But a disposition so active and impetuous as his own, in conjunction with a restless and ardent ambition, was incapable of being at rest itself, or suffering others to be so. This indisposition of mind was, in reality, a raging fever, which knew no intermission. In a word, he grew insupportable to himself, and was continually flying himself in pursuit of foreign objects, and in following, from country to country, a felicity no where to be found. He therefore seised, with joy, the first opportunity that offered for plunging himself into new affairs.

The inhabitants of Tarentum were then at war with the Romans, and their own country not furnishing them with generals of sufficient abilities to oppose such formidable enemies, they turned their eyes toward Epirus, and dispatched ambassadors thither, not only from themselves, but from all the Greeks in Italy, with magnificent presents for Pyrrhus. They had orders to tell him, that they wanted a leader of experience and reputation; that they had a competent A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280.

(a) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390—397. Pausan. l. 1. p. 21, 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 1, 2.

number of good troops, and by only aſſembling the forces of the Lucanians, Meſſapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, were in a condition to bring an army of twenty thouſand horſe, and thirty-five thouſand foot into the field. The joy with which Pyrrhus received a propoſal ſo agreeable to his diſpoſition, and ſo conformable to his character, may be eaſily imagined. The Epirots, by his example, conceived a warm deſire and violent paſſion for this war.

A Theſſalian, named Cineas, was then at the court of Pyrrhus. He was a man of great capacity, and having been the diſciple of Demoſthenes, was diſtinguiſhed from all the orators of that time, not only for coming the neareſt to the force and eloquence of that great maſter, but for having been moſt ſucceſsful in deriving, from ſo excellent a ſchool, the ſolid principles, and beſt maxims of true politicks. This perſon was much attached to Pyrrhus, who had employed him on embaſſies to ſeveral cities with whom he had negotiations to tranſact. Cineas, through the whole courſe of theſe employments, confirmed, by his conduct, the truth of this expreſſion of Euripides, that *the eloquence of an enemy is no leſs prevalent than his ſword.* And Pyrrhus accordingly declared, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence of Cineas, than he could poſſibly have conquered by the force of arms. For this reaſon he entertained the greateſt eſteem for his perſon, conferred many honours upon him, and employed him in the moſt important affairs. A man of this character is always an ineſtimable treaſure, and would conſtitute the happineſs of a prince and his people, were his counſels admitted to take place.

Cineas perceiving that Pyrrhus was preparing to paſs into Italy, and finding him one day diſengaged from affairs, and in a temper not to be offended with innocent liberties, entered into a free converſation with that prince. *Your Majeſty intends*, ſaid he, *to march againſt the Romans; ſhould the gods be ſo gracious as to render you victorious, what advantage would*

you

you derive from your conqueſt? Were the Romans once ſubdued by my arms, replied Pyrrhus, *all Italy would then be ours. Suppoſing ourſelves maſters of that country*, continued Cineas, *how ſhould we proceed next?* Pyrrhus, who did not yet perceive his drift, continued, *Sicily will then preſent itſelf to us, and you know the importance of that iſland. But will our expeditions*, added Cineas, *end with the conqueſt of Sicily? No, certainly*, replied Pyrrhus, with an air of emotion; *can we ſtop ſhort in ſo glorious a career? If the gods are pleaſed to crown us with ſucceſs, theſe would be only preludes to more glorious enterpriſes? Carthage, with all Africa, Macedonia, my ancient domain, every province in Greece, ſhall be part of our future conqueſts. And when we have conquered all we can, how ſhall we diſpoſe of ourſelves? Diſpoſe of ourſelves? We will live at our eaſe. We will paſs whole days in feaſts and agreeable converſation, and think of nothing but enjoying ourſelves. Ah! my Lord*, interrupted Cineas, *and what prevents us now from living at eaſe, making of feaſts, celebrating feſtivals, and enjoying all your Majeſty has mentioned? Why ſhould we go ſo far in ſearch of an happineſs already in our power, and pay ſo dear for what we may now enjoy without the leaſt trouble.*

This diſcourſe of Cineas affected, but not corrected Pyrrhus. He could make no reaſonable objection to what he had heard; but his natural ardour, more affecting, more durable, urged him on in purſuit of a phantom of glory, that was always preſenting a deluſive and ſhining outſide to his view, and would not permit him to enjoy the leaſt repoſe, either by night or day.

Monſieur Paſchal has conſidered this reflection of Cineas, in the 26th chapter of *his thoughts*; wherein he has explained, in an admirable manner, the origin of the tumultuous employments of mankind, and of all the world calls diverſion or paſtime. "The ſoul," ſays that great man, "diſcovers nothing in herſelf that can "furniſh her with contentment. Whatever ſhe beholds "there afflicts her when ſhe conſiders it ſedately.

" This obliges her to have recourſe to external enjoy-
" ments, that ſhe may loſe in them the remembrance
" of her real ſtate. In this oblivion conſiſts her joy;
" and, to render her miſerable, it ſuffices to oblige her
" to enter into, and converſe with herſelf."

He then proceeds to juſtify the truth of this reflection, by a variety of examples; after which he adds the following remarks. " When Cineas told Pyr-
" rhus, who propoſed to live at eaſe when he had con-
" quered a large part of the world, that it would be
" better for him to haſten his intended happineſs, by
" enjoying the repoſe in his power, without going in
" queſt of it through ſuch a number of fatigues; he
" gave him a counſel that admitted of many difficulties,
" and which ſeemed almoſt as irrational as the deſign of
" that ambitious youth. Each of them ſuppoſed, that
" man was capable of being ſatisfied with himſelf, and
" his preſent enjoyments, without filling up the void of
" his heart with imaginary hopes, which is certainly
" falſe. Pyrrhus could not be happy, either before, or
" after he had conquered the world; and perhaps the
" life of eaſe recommended to him by his miniſter would
" have proved leſs ſatisfactory to him, than the hurry
" of all the wars and expeditions he meditated."

It is certain, however, that neither the philoſopher, nor the conqueror, were in a condition to know the heart of man to the bottom. Pyrrhus, therefore, immediately diſpatched Cineas to the Tarentines, with a band of three thouſand foot; ſoon after which a large number of flat-bottomed veſſels, gallies, and all ſorts of tranſport-ſhips, arriving from Tarentum, he embarked on board that fleet twenty elephants, three thouſand horſe, twenty thouſand heavy-armed foot, two thouſand archers, and five hundred ſlingers.

All being ready, he ſet ſail; but as ſoon as he advanced into the open ſea, a violent tempeſt aroſe from the north, and drove him out of his courſe. The veſſel in which he was, yielded at firſt to the fury of the ſtorm; but the care of the pilot and mariners was employed ſo effectually, that he at laſt gained the coaſt

of

of Italy, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The other ſhips were incapable of holding the ſame courſe. At laſt a ſtrong gale ſprung up from the land, and the waves beat ſo violently againſt the head of the king's ſhip, that they expected it to founder immediately. Pyrrhus did not heſitate a moment in this extremity, but threw himſelf into the ſea, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who were emulous to ſave him at the hazard of their own lives; but the night, which happened to be extremely dark, and the impetuous burſting of the waves upon the coaſt, from whence they were repelled with a loud roar, made it very difficult for them to aſſiſt him; till at laſt the king, after he had ſtruggled with the winds and waves for a conſiderable part of the night, was caſt the next morning on the ſhore, the wind being then conſiderably abated. The long fatigue he had ſuſtained, weakened him to ſuch a degree, that nothing but his courage, always great and invincible, prevented him from ſinking under it.

In the mean time the Meſſapians, on whoſe coaſt the waves had caſt him, haſtened to him with the utmoſt ſpeed, to tender him all the aſſiſtance in their power. They alſo went to meet ſome of his ſhips that eſcaped the ſtorm; but the cavalry they found on board were very inconſiderable in number; the infantry, however, amounted to two thouſand men, and had two elephants with them. Pyrrhus, after he had drawn them up in a body, led them directly to Tarentum.

Cineas, as ſoon as he received intelligence of his approach, advanced to him with his troops. Pyrrhus, when he arrived at Tarentum, was extremely ſurpriſed to find the inhabitants ſolely employed in pleaſures, which it was their uſual cuſtom to indulge, without the leaſt prudence or interruption. And they now took it for granted, that whilſt Pyrrhus fought for them, they might quietly continue in their own houſes, ſolely employed in bathing, uſing exquiſite perfumes, feaſting, and recreations. Pyrrhus did not intend to lay them under any conſtraint, till he had

received intelligence that his ſhips were ſafe, and till the greateſt part of his army had joined him. He then treated them like one determined to be their maſter. He began with ſhutting up all the publick gardens, and places of exerciſe, where the inhabitants uſually entertained themſelves with news, and regulated military affairs as they walked together. He alſo ſuſpended their feaſts and publick ſhows, and was altogether as ſevere upon the aſſemblies of news-mongers. In a word, he compelled them to take arms, and behaved at all muſters and reviews with very inexorable ſeverity to thoſe who failed in their duty. In conſequence of which ſeveral, who had never been accuſtomed to ſo rigorous a diſcipline, withdrew from the city; thinking it an inſupportable ſervitude, to be debarred from the full enjoyment of their effeminate pleaſures.

Pyrrhus, about this time, received information that Levinus the conſul was advancing againſt him with a powerful army, and that he was then in Lucania, where he burnt and deſtroyed all the country around him. Though the allies of Pyrrhus had not ſent him any ſuccours at that time, yet as he thought it very diſhonourable to permit the enemy to approach nearer him, and commit their ravages in his view, he took the field with the few troops he had. But before he entered upon any hoſtilities, he diſpatched a herald to demand of the Romans, whether they would conſent, before the commencement of the war, to an amicable accommodation of the differences between them and the Greeks of Italy, by referring the whole affair to his judgement and deciſion? To which Levinus the conſul made this reply, *That the Romans neither took Pyrrhus for an arbiter, nor feared him as an enemy.*

Pyrrhus, upon receiving this anſwer, advanced with his troops, and encamped in a plain between the cities of Pandoſia and Heraclea; and when he heard that the Romans were very near him, and encamped on the other ſide of the river Siris, he mounted his horſe, and

and approached the bank, to take a view of their ſituation. When he ſaw the appearance of their troops, their advanced guards, the fine order obſerved univerſally, and the commodious ſituation of their camp, he was aſtoniſhed at what he ſaw; and addreſſing himſelf to one of his friends who was then near him—*Megacles*, ſaid he, *the diſpoſition of theſe Barbarians is by no means barbarous; we ſhall ſee whether the reſt will correſpond with this appearance* *. And already anxious for the ſucceſs of the future, he reſolved to wait the arrival of his allies; thinking it ſufficient, at that time, to poſt a body of troops on the bank of the river, to oppoſe the Romans, if they ſhould attempt to paſs; but this precaution was then too late, for the Roman infantry had already forded the ſtream, and the cavalry paſſed it where they found it practicable. The advanced troops of Pyrrhus, therefore, not finding themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong, and fearing to be ſurrounded by their enemies, were obliged to join the main army with great precipitation; ſo that Pyrrhus, who arrived there a few moments before, with the reſt of his troops, had not time to diſpute the paſſage with the enemy.

As ſoon as he ſaw a great number of Roman bucklers glittering on this ſide of the river, and their cavalry advancing toward him in fine order, he cloſed his rank, and began the attack. The luſtre and beauty of his arms, which were very magnificent, diſtinguiſhed him in a conſpicuous manner; and his actions made it evident, that the reputation he had acquired did not exceed his merit. For while he engaged in the battle, without ſparing his own perſon, and bore down all before him, he was attentive to the functions of a general; and amidſt the greateſt dangers was perfectly cool, diſpatched his commands with as much tranquillity as if he had been in his palace; and ſprung from place to place, to re-inſtate what was amiſs, and ſuſtain thoſe who ſuffered moſt.

During

* *The Greeks conſidered all other nations as Barbarians, and treated them accordingly.*

During the heat of the engagement, one of the Italian horſe, with a lance in his hand, ſingled out Pyrrhus from all the reſt of the troops, and followed him with the utmoſt ardour wherever he went, directing all his own motions by thoſe of the king. And having at laſt found a favourable opportunity, he aimed a furious ſtroke at him, but wounded only his horſe. At the ſame time Leonatus of Macedon killed the Italian's horſe. Both horſes being down, Pyrrhus was immediately ſurrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, and killed the Italian, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus more precaution than he had practiſed before, and obliged him to be more careful of himſelf; which is an indiſpenſible duty in a general, on whoſe welfare that of a whole army depends. When he beheld his cavalry give way, he ordered his infantry to advance, and immediately drew it up. Then giving his mantle and arms to Megacles, one of his friends, he put on thoſe of the latter, and vigorouſly charged the Romans, who received him with great intrepidity. The battle was obſtinately diſputed on both ſides, and the victory long continued doubtful. Authors ſay, that each army gave way ſeven times, and as often returned to the charge.

Pyrrhus, by changing his arms, took a proper method for the preſervation of his life; though, in the event, it almoſt proved fatal to him, and was on the point of wreſting the victory out of his hands. The enemies threw themſelves in throngs about Megacles, whom they took to be the king; and he was at laſt wounded by an horſeman, who left him upon the ſpot, after he had torn off his arms and mantle, which he carried full ſpeed to Levinus the conſul; and as he ſhowed them to him, cried out aloud, That he had ſlain Pyrrhus. Theſe ſpoils being born in triumph through all the ranks, filled the whole Roman army with inexpreſſible joy. All the field reſounded with acclamations of victory, while the Grecian

cian troops were ſtruck with univerſal conſternation and diſcouragement.

Pyrrhus, who perceived the terrible effect of this miſtake, flew bare-headed through all the lines, holding out at the ſame time his hand to the ſoldiers, and making himſelf known to them by his voice and geſtures. The battle was then renewed, and the elephants were chiefly inſtrumental in deciding the victory. For when Pyrrhus ſaw the Romans broken by thoſe animals, and that the horſe, inſtead of approaching them, were ſo terrified, that they ran away with their riders, he immediately led up the Theſſalian cavalry againſt them, while they were in confuſion, and put them to flight, after having made a great ſlaughter of them.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus writes, that near fifteen thouſand Romans were killed in this battle, and that Pyrrhus loſt thirteen thouſand of his men. But other hiſtorians make the loſs leſs on both ſides.

Pyrrhus immediately made himſelf maſter of the enemies camp, which they had abandoned, brought over ſeveral cities from their alliance, ravaged all the country around him, and advanced within fifteen leagues of Rome.

The Lucanians and Samnites having joined him, after the battle, he ſeverely reproached them for their delay. But his air and aſpect made it evident, that he was exceedingly delighted at bottom, that his troops, in conjunction with the Tarentines alone, had defeated ſo well-diſciplined and numerous an army of the Romans, without the aſſiſtance of his allies.

The Romans, however, were not dejected at the great loſs they had ſuſtained; and, inſtead of recalling Levinus, were ſolely intent on preparation for a ſecond battle. This exalted turn of ſoul, which manifeſted ſo much ſteadineſs and intrepidity, ſurpriſed, and even terrified Pyrrhus. He therefore thought it prudent to diſpatch a ſecond embaſſy, in order to ſound their diſpoſitions, and to ſee if they would not incline to ſome expedient for an amicable accommodation,

and

and in the mean time returned to Tarentum. Cineas, therefore, being ſent to Rome, had ſeveral conferences with the principal citizens, and ſent preſents, in the name of the king, to them and their wives: But not one Roman would receive them. They all replied, and even their wives, That when Rome had made a publick treaty with the king, it would be time enough to expreſs his ſatisfaction with regard to them.

When Cineas was introduced to the ſenate, he acquainted them with the propoſals of his maſter, who offered to deliver up his priſoners to the Romans without any ranſom, and to aid them in the conqueſt of all Italy; requiring, at the ſame time, no other return but their friendſhip, and a ſufficient ſecurity for the Tarentines. Several of the Senators ſeemed inclinable to a peace; and this was no unreaſonable diſpoſition. They had lately been defeated in a great battle, and were on the point of hazarding another of much more importance. They had likewiſe reaſon to be apprehenſive of many fatal events; the forces of Pyrrhus having been conſiderably augmented by the junction of ſeveral of his Italian allies.

The Roman courage in this conjuncture, ſeemed to want the animating ſpirit of the celebrated Appius Claudius, an illuſtrious ſenator, whoſe great age and loſs of ſight had obliged him to confine himſelf to his family, and retire from publick affairs. But when he underſtood, by the confuſed report which was then diſperſed through the city, that the ſenators were diſpoſed to accept the offers of Pyrrhus, he cauſed himſelf to be carried into the aſſembly, which kept a profound ſilence the moment he appeared. There the venerable old man, whoſe zeal for the honour of his country ſeemed to have inſpired him with all his ancient vigour, made it evident, by reaſons equally ſolid and affecting, that they were on the point of deſtroying, by an infamous treaty, all the glory which Rome had ever acquired. "Where," ſaid he, with a warmth of noble indignation, "where is the ſpirit that ſuggeſted "the bold language you once uttered, and whoſe accents

" cents rung through all the world; when you de-
" clared, that if the great Alexander himſelf had in-
" vaded Italy, when we were young, and our fathers
" in the vigour of their age, he would never have
" gained the reputation of being invincible, but have
" added new luſtre to the glory of Rome, either by
" his flight or death! Is it poſſible then, that you
" ſhould now tremble at the mere name of a Pyrrhus,
" who has paſſed his days in cringing to one of the
" guards of that Alexander, and who now wanders,
" like a wretched adventurer from country to country,
" to avoid the enemies he has at home, and who
" has the inſolence to promiſe you the conqueſt of
" Italy, with thoſe very troops who have not been
" able to ſecure him a ſmall tract of Macedonia!"
He added many other things of the ſame nature, which awakened the Roman bravery, and diſpelled the apprehenſions of the ſenators; who unanimouſly returned this anſwer to Cineas.—*That Pyrrhus ſhould firſt retire from Italy; after which, if he ſhould find himſelf diſpoſed for peace, he might ſend an embaſſy to ſollicit it: But that, as long as he continued in arms in their country, the Romans would maintain the war againſt him with all their forces, though he ſhould even vanquiſh ten thouſand ſuch leaders as Levinus.*

It is ſaid, that Cineas, during his continuance at Rome, in order to negotiate a peace, took all the methods of a man of wiſdom and addreſs, to inform himſelf of the manners and cuſtoms of the Romans; their publick as well as private conduct, with the form and conſtitution of their government; and that he was induſtrious to obtain as exact an account as poſſible of the forces and revenues of the republick. When he returned to Tarentum, he gave the king a faithful relation of all the diſcoveries he had made in his conferences with the principal men of Rome, and told him, among other particulars, *That the ſenate ſeemed to him an aſſembly of kings.* A juſt and noble idea of that auguſt body! And with reſpect to the numerous inhabitants who filled the ſtreets, and all parts of the

the country, he added, *I greatly fear we are fighting with an hydra.* Cineas, indeed, had ſome reaſon for this remark, for the conſul Levinus had at that time an army in the field, twice as numerous as the firſt, and Rome had ſtill an infinite number of men capable of bearing arms, and forming many armies as powerful as that which had been newly levied.

The return of Cineas to Tarentum was immediately ſucceeded by the arrival of ambaſſadors to Pyrrhus from the Romans, among whom was Fabricius, who, as Cineas informed the king, was highly eſteemed at Rome as a very virtuous man, and well experienced in military affairs, but that his fortune was extremely low. Pyrrhus received them with extraordinary marks of diſtinction, and treated them with all the honours poſſible. The ambaſſadors, at their audience, ſaid every thing neceſſary in the preſent conjuncture; and as they imagined his thoughts were elate by the victory he had obtained over their troops, they repreſented to him the viciſſitudes and inconſtancy of fortune, which no prudence of man could foreſee; and the greateſt overthrows in the field were incapable of ſinking the Roman fortitude, and conſequently it could never be alarmed at any little diſadvantage; that the examples of ſo many enemies as they had defeated, ſhould teach Pyrrhus to reflect on the enterpriſe he was forming; that he would find, at worſt, that they were enemies prepared to receive him, and in a capacity to defend themſelves. They concluded their remonſtrances with leaving it to his choice, either to receive a ranſom for their ſoldiers who were then his priſoners of war, or to exchange them for ſuch of his troops as the Romans had taken from him.

(*b*) Pyrrhus, after a conſultation with his friends, anſwered the ambaſſadors to this effect. "Romans, "it is with an ill grace you demand the priſoners I "have taken from you, as you intend to employ "them againſt me, after your refuſal of the peace I "propoſed.

(*b*) Dion. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat. p. 744—748.

" propoſed. If our mutual intereſt had been the ſub-
" ject of your attention, you never would have had
" recourſe to ſuch evaſions. Be it your care to end,
" by an amicable treaty, the war you are maintain-
" ing againſt me and my allies, and I promiſe to re-
" ſtore you all my priſoners, as well your citizens as
" your confederates, without the ranſom you offer
" me. If you reject this condition, it is in vain for
" you to imagine, that Pyrrhus will ever be prevailed
" upon to releaſe ſo great a number of ſoldiers."

When he had returned this anſwer to the ambaſſadors, he took Fabricius aſide, and addreſſed him in the following manner. " As for you, Fabricius, I
" am ſenſible of your merit. I am likewiſe informed
" that you are an excellent general, and perfectly
" qualified for the command of an army; that juſtice
" and temperance are united in your character, and
" that you paſs for a perſon of conſummate virtue.
" But I am likewiſe as certain of your poverty; and
" muſt confeſs, that fortune, in this particular alone,
" has treated you with injuſtice, by miſplacing you
" in the claſs of indigent ſenators. In order, there-
" fore, to ſupply that ſole deficiency, I am ready to
" give you as much gold and ſilver as will raiſe you
" above the richeſt citizen of Rome; being fully per-
" ſuaded, *That no expenſe can be more honourable to*
" *a prince than that which is employed in the relief of*
" *great men, who are compelled by their poverty to lead*
" *a life unworthy of their virtue; and that this is the*
" *nobleſt purpoſe to which a king can poſſibly devote his*
" *treaſures.* At the ſame time, I muſt deſire you to
" believe, that I have no intention to exact any unjuſt
" or diſhonourable ſervice from you, as a return of
" gratitude. I expect nothing from you, but what is
" perfectly conſiſtent with your honour, and what
" will add to your authority and importance in your
" own country. Let me therefore conjure you to
" aſſiſt me with your credit in the Roman ſenate,
" which has hitherto aſſumed an air of too much in-
" flexibility, with relation to the treaty I propoſed,
" and

" and has never conſulted the rules of moderation in " any reſpect. Make them ſenſible, I intreat you, " that I have given my ſolemn word to aſſiſt the Ta- " rentines, and other Greeks, who are ſettled in this " part of Italy; and that I cannot in honour abandon " them on any account, and eſpecially as I am now " at the head of a potent army that has already gained " me a battle. I muſt, however, acquaint you, that I " am called, by ſome preſſing affairs, to my own do- " minions; and this is the circumſtance which makes " me wiſh for peace with the greater ſollicitude. As " to any other particulars, if my quality as a king " cauſes me to be ſuſpected by the ſenate, becauſe a " number of other princes have openly violated the " faith of treaties and alliances, without the leaſt " heſitation; become my ſecurity yourſelf on this " occaſion; aſſiſt me with your counſels in all my " proceedings, and command my armies under me. " I want a virtuous man, and a faithful friend; and " you as much need a prince, whoſe liberalities may " enable you to be more uſeful, and to do more good " to mankind. Let us, therefore, conſent to render " mutual aſſiſtance to each other, in all the future " conjunctures of our lives."

Pyrrhus having expreſſed himſelf in this manner, Fabricius, after a few moments ſilence, replied to him in theſe terms. " It is needleſs for me to make " any mention of the experience I may poſſibly have " in the conduct of publick or private affairs, ſince " you have been informed of that from others. With " reſpect alſo to my poverty, you ſeem to be ſo well " acquainted with it, that it would be unneceſſary " for me to aſſure you, I have no money to improve, " nor any ſlaves from whom I derive the leaſt revenue: " That my whole fortune conſiſts in a houſe of no " conſiderable appearance; and in a little ſpot of " ground that furniſhes me with my ſupport. But if " you believe my poverty renders my condition in- " ferior to that of every other Roman, and that, " while I am diſcharging the duties of an honeſt man,

" I am

" I am the leſs conſidered, becauſe I happen not to
" be of the number of the rich; permit me to acquaint
" you, that the idea you conceive of me, is not juſt,
" and that whoever may have inſpired you with that
" opinion, or you only ſuppoſe ſo yourſelf, you are
" deceived to entertain it. Though I do not poſſeſs
" riches, I never did imagine my indigence a prejudice
" to me, whether I conſider myſelf as a publick or
" private perſon. Did my neceſſitous circumſtances
" ever induce my country to exclude me from thoſe
" glorious employments, that are the nobleſt objects
" of the emulation of great ſouls? I am inveſted with
" the higheſt dignities, and ſee myſelf placed at the
" head of the moſt illuſtrious embaſſies. I aſſiſt alſo
" at the moſt auguſt aſſemblies, and even the moſt ſa-
" cred functions of divine worſhip are confided to
" my care. Whenever the moſt important affairs
" are the ſubject of deliberation, I hold my rank in
" councils, and offer my opinion with as much free-
" dom as another. I preſerve a parity with the rich-
" eſt and moſt powerful perſons in the republick; and,
" if any circumſtance cauſes me to complain, it is my
" receiving too much honour and applauſe from my
" fellow-citizens. The employments I diſcharge coſt
" me nothing of mine, no more than any other Ro-
" man. Rome never reduces her citizens to a ruinous
" condition, by raiſing them to the magiſtracy. She
" gives all neceſſary ſupplies to thoſe ſhe employs in
" publick ſtations, and beſtows them with liberality
" and magnificence. Rome, in this particular, differs
" from many other cities, where the publick is extreme-
" ly poor, and private perſons immenſely rich. We are
" all in a ſtate of affluence, as long as the republick is
" ſo, becauſe we conſider her treaſures as our own.
" The rich and the poor are equally admitted to her
" employments, as ſhe judges them worthy of truſt,
" and ſhe knows no diſtinction between her citizens,
" but thoſe of merit and virtue. As to my particular
' affairs, I am ſo far from repining at my fortune,
' that I think I am the happieſt of men when I com-

" pare myſelf with the rich, and find a certain ſatis-
" faction, and even pride, in that fortune. My little
" field, poor and unfertile as it is, ſupplies me with
" whatever I want, when I am careful to cultivate
" it as I ought, and to lay up the fruits it produces.
" What can I want more? Every kind of food is
" agreeable to my palate, when ſeaſoned by hunger:
" I drink with delight when I thirſt, and I enjoy all
" the ſweetneſs of ſleep when fatigued with toil. I
" content myſelf with an habit that covers me from
" the rigours of winter; and of all the various kinds
" of furniture neceſſary for the ſame uſes, the meaneſt
" is, in my ſenſe, the moſt commodious. I ſhould be
" unreaſonable, unjuſt, ſhould I complain of fortune,
" whilſt ſhe ſupplies me with all that nature requires.
" As to ſuperfluities, I confeſs ſhe has not furniſhed
" me with any; but then ſhe has not formed me with
" the leaſt deſire to enjoy them. Why ſhould I then
" complain? It is true, the want of this abundance
" renders me incapable of relieving the neceſſitous,
" which is the only advantage the rich may be en-
" vied for enjoying. But when I impart to the re-
" publick, and my friends, ſome portion of the little
" I poſſeſs, and render my country all the ſervices I
" am capable of performing: in a word, when I diſ-
" charge all the duties incumbent on me, to the beſt
" of my ability, wherein can my conſcience condemn
" me? If riches had ever been the leaſt part of my
" ambition, I have ſo long been employed in the ad-
" miniſtration of the republick, that I have had a
" thouſand opportunities of amaſſing great ſums, and
" even by irreproachable methods. Could any man
" deſire one more favourable than that which occurred
" to me a few years ago? The conſular dignity was
" conferred upon me, and I was ſent againſt the Sam-
" nites, the Brutii, and the Lucanians, at the head
" of a numerous army. We ravaged a large tract of
" land, and defeated the enemy in ſeveral battles:
" We took many flouriſhing and opulent cities by
" aſſault; I enriched the whole army with their

" ſpoils

" ſpoils; I returned every citizen the money he had " contributed to the expence of the war: and after I " had received the honours of a triumph, I brought " four hundred talents into the publick treaſury. After " having neglected ſo conſiderable a booty, of which " I had full power to appropriate any part to myſelf; " after having deſpiſed ſuch immenſe riches ſo juſtly " acquired, and ſacrificed the ſpoils of the enemy to " the love of glory, in imitation of Valerius Publi- " cola, and many other great men, whoſe diſintereſt- " ed generoſity of mind has raiſed the glory of Rome " to ſo illuſtrious an height; would it now become " me to accept of the gold and ſilver you offer me? " What idea would the world entertain of me? And " what an example ſhould I ſet Rome's citizens? " How could I bear their reproaches? how even their " looks at my return? Thoſe aweful magiſtrates, " our cenſors, who are appointed to inſpect our diſ- " cipline and manners with a vigilant eye, would they " not compel me to be accountable, in the view of all " the world, for the preſents you ſollicit me to ac- " cept? You ſhall keep then, if you pleaſe, your " riches to yourſelf, and I my poverty and my re- " putation."

I take it for granted, that the hiſtorian furniſhed Pyrrhus and Fabricius with theſe ſpeeches, but he has only painted their ſentiments, eſpecially thoſe of the latter in ſtrong colours. For ſuch was the character of the Romans in thoſe glorious ages of the republick. Fabricius was really perſuaded there was more glory and grandeur in being able to deſpiſe all the gold of a king, than there was in reigning over an empire*.

(c) Pyrrhus being deſirous the next day to ſurpriſe the Roman ambaſſador, who had never ſeen an elephant, ordered the captain of thoſe animals to arm the largeſt of them, and lead him to the place where he intended to converſe with Fabricius; the officer was

(c) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 395—397.

* Fabricius Pyrrhi regis aurum regias opes poſſe contemnere. *Se-* repulit, majuſque regno judicavit *nec. Epiſt.* 129.

then to place him behind a large hanging of tapeſtry, that he might be ready to make his appearance at a certain ſignal. This was accordingly executed; and the ſignal being given, the tapeſtry was drawn aſide, and preſented to view the enormous animal, who ſtretched out his trunk over the head of Fabricius, and ſhook the apartment with a moſt terrible cry. Fabricius, inſtead of diſcovering the leaſt ſurpriſe or conſternation, turned very calmly to Pyrrhus, and ſaid to him with a ſmile, *Neither your gold yeſterday, nor your elephant to-day, alter me.*

Whilſt they were ſitting at table in the evening, the converſation turned upon a variety of ſubjects; and after ſome conference on the affairs of Greece, and the ſeveral philoſophers of note, Cineas introduced the opinions of Epicurus, and related the particular opinions of his diſciples, with reference to the gods, and the government of the world: Declaring that they repreſented pleaſure as the end and ſovereign good of man, and declined all dignities and employments, as deſtructive to happineſs. To this he added, that they never aſcribed to the divinity, either love, or hatred, or wrath; but maintained, that he was entirely regardleſs of mankind; and that they conſigned him to a life of tranquillity, in which he paſſed all ages void of occupation, and plunged in an endleſs variety of delights and pleaſures. The ſoft and voluptuous lives of the Tarentines might probably occaſion this diſcourſe. Whilſt Cineas was going on with this ſubject, Fabricius, to whom ſuch a doctrine was altogether new, cried out as loud as he was able, *Great Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites follow this doctrine, as long as they ſhall make war with the Romans!*

Who of us moderns, where we to judge of the manners of the ancients by thoſe which prevail in our age, would expect to hear the converſation between great warriors, at table, turn, not only on political ſyſtems, but points of erudition; for, at that time, philoſophical enquiries were conſidered as the principal part of learning?

ing? Are not ſuch diſcourſes as theſe ſeaſoned with improving reflection, and enlivened with ſprightly replies, equal at leaſt to thoſe table converſations, which frequently continue as long as the entertainment, and are paſſed, without much expence of genius, in exclamations worthy of Epicureans, on the delicacy of the proviſions, and the admirable flavour of the wines and other liquors.

Pyrrhus was ſtruck with ſo much admiration at the greatneſs of ſoul which he diſcovered in the Roman ambaſſador, and was ſo charmed with his manners and his wiſdom, that he became more impatient than ever to contract an alliance with his city. He therefore took him apart, and conjured him, a ſecond time, to mediate an accommodation between the two ſtates, and conſent to reſide at his court, where he ſhould hold the firſt rank among all his friends and captains. *I would not adviſe you to perſiſt in that requeſt*, replied Fabricius, whiſpering in his ear with a ſmile, *and you ſeem to be but little acquainted with your own intereſt; for if thoſe who now honour and admire you, ſhould once happen to know me, perhaps they might be more deſirous of having me for their king than yourſelf.*

The prince, inſtead of being offended at this reply, eſteemed him the more for making it, and would intruſt the priſoners with none but him, that he might be certain they would be ſent back to him, after they had embraced their relations and friends, and celebrated the Saturnalia, in caſe the ſenate ſhould continue averſe to a peace. They were accordingly ſent to him at the expiration of the feſtival, the ſenate having ordered every priſoner to return to Pyrrhus, upon pain of death.

The command of the army being conferred on Fabricius the following year, an unknown perſon came into his camp, with a letter from the king's phyſician, who offered to take Pyrrhus off by poiſon, if the Romans would promiſe him a recompence proportionable to the ſervice he ſhould render them, by putting an end to ſo deſtructive a war without any danger to

themſelves. Fabricius, who always retained the ſame probity and juſtice *, even in time of war, which furniſhes ſo many pretexts for departing from them, and as he knew there were ſome rights, which ought to be preſerved inviolable, even with enemies themſelves, was ſtruck with a juſt horrour at ſuch a propoſal: And as he would not ſuffer the king to conquer him with gold, he thought it would be infamous in himſelf to conquer the king by poiſon. After ſome conference, therefore, with his colleague Emilius, he wrote a letter to Pyrrhus, to caution him againſt that black treachery. His letter was conceived in theſe terms.

CAIUS FABRICIUS *and* QUINTUS EMILIUS, *conſuls; to king* PYRRHUS; *Health.*

YOU ſeem to form a wrong judgement both of friends and enemies; and this will be your own opinion, when you have read the letter which has been written to us. For you will then be ſenſible, that you are carrying on a war againſt people of virtue and honour, at the ſame time that you repoſe entire confidence in the worſt of men. The information we now ſend you, reſults more from our affection for ourſelves, than for you; for we were unwilling that your death ſhould give the world occaſion to defame us; and would not have it imagined, that we had recourſe to treachery, through deſpair of terminating this war happily by our valour.

Pyrrhus having received this letter, and finding it to be a true repreſentation of the fact, cauſed his phyſician to be puniſhed, and ſent back all his priſoners to the conſul without ranſom, as a teſtimonial of his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans. He likewiſe deputed Cineas to negotiate a peace; but the Romans, who would never accept either a favour from

* Ejuſdem animi fuit, auro non vinci, veneno non vincere. Admirati ſumus ingentem virum, quem non regis, non contra regem promiſſa flexiſſent; boni exempli tenacem; quod difficillimum eſt. in bello innocentem; qui aliquod eſſe crederet etiam in hoſte nefas; qui in ſumma paupertate quam ſibi decus fecerat, non aliter refugit divitias quàm venenum. *Senec. Epiſt.* 120.

from their enemy, or a recompence for not committing the moſt execrable piece of injuſtice, were not averſe to receiving the priſoners: They however returned an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites, as an equivalent; but as to the treaty of pacification, they would not permit Cineas to mention it, till Pyrrhus had returned to Epirus in the ſame fleet that landed him and his troops in Italy. But as his affairs made a ſecond battle neceſſary, he aſſembled his army, and attacked the Romans near the city of Aſculum.

The troops fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides, and the victory continued doubtful till the cloſe of the battle. Pyrrhus, at the beginning of the action, having been driven into places impracticable to the cavalry, and againſt a river very difficult, as well in regard to its banks, as marſhes on the ſides of it, was treated very rudely by the enemy, and loſt a great number of his men. But having at laſt diſengaged himſelf from that diſadvantageous ſituation, and regained the plain, where he could make uſe of his elephants, he advanced againſt the Romans with the greateſt impetuoſity, his ranks being all in good order and well cloſed; and as he met with a vigorous reſiſtance, the ſlaughter became very great, and he himſelf was wounded. He, however, had diſpoſed his elephants ſo judiciouſly, that they broke through the Roman infantry, in ſeveral quarters, notwithſtanding which, they ſtill maintained their ground. The two armies, fired with implacable rage, exerted the utmoſt efforts that bravery could inſpire, and did not ceaſe fighting till night parted them. The loſs was almoſt equal on both ſides, and amounted to fifteen thouſand men in the whole. The Romans were the firſt who retreated, and gained their camp, which was near the field of battle. The advantage, therefore, ſeemed to remain with Pyrrhus, who continued longeſt in the field; but when one of his officers came to congratulate him on his victory, *If we gain ſuch another*, replied he, *we are inevitably ruined.* And as he had really loſt his beſt troops and braveſt officers, he was

very ſenſible of his inability to bring another army into the field againſt the Romans, whoſe very defeat inſpired them with new vigour and ardour to continue the war *.

(*b*) While he was revolving theſe melancholy thoughts in his mind, and had the mortification to ſee himſelf in a manner deſtitute of all reſource, and incapable of recurring to any honourable expedient, to diſengage himſelf from an enterpriſe he had undertaken too inconſiderately, a dawn of hope and good fortune inſpired him with new reſolution. A deputation was ſent to him, at that critical juncture, from Sicily, with a commiſſion to deliver Syracuſe, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines, into his poſ-
A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278. ſeſſion; and to implore the aſſiſtance of his arms to drive the Carthaginians from their iſland, and deliver them from their tyrants. Several couriers from Greece alſo arrived at his camp at the ſame time, to inform him that Ceraunus had been killed in a battle with the Gauls, in Macedonia, and that this kingdom ſeemed to invite him to aſcend to the throne.

Pyrrhus then found himſelf in a new perplexity. A moment before he was deſtitute of all hope, and now it flowed ſo faſt upon him, that he was at a loſs to determine which offer he ought to prefer. But after a long deliberation, and when he had maturely weighed the reaſons that offered themſelves on both ſides, he reſolved for Sicily, which would open him a paſſage into Africa, and conduct him to a more ample harveſt of glory. In conſequence of this reſolution, he immediately diſpatched Cineas to treat with the cities, and gave them aſſurances of his ſpeedy arrival; he then embarked for Sicily, after he had left a ſtrong garriſon in Tarentum, notwithſtanding the repugnance of the inhabitants, who had the mortification to ſee themſelves abandoned by Pyrrhus, and reduced

(*b*) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 397, 398. Pauſan. l. i. p. 22. Juſtin. l. xviii. c. 2. & l. xxiii. c. 3.

* Per damna, per cædes, ab ipſo
Ducit opes animumque ferro. *Horat.*

reduced at the ſame time to a ſtate of ſlavery by his troops.

When he arrived in Sicily, he immediately became maſter of Syracuſe, which was delivered up to him by Soſtratus *, who then governed that city, and by Thenon, who commanded in the citadel. He alſo received money from them, out of the publick treaſury, and about two hundred ſhips, which facilitated his conqueſt of all Sicily. His inſinuating and affable behaviour at his firſt arrival, gained him the hearts of all the people; and as he had then an army of thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, with a fleet of two hundred ſail, he diſpoſſeſſed the Carthaginians of their ſettlements in that iſland, and obliged them to evacuate the city of Eryx, which was the ſtrongeſt of all their places there, and the beſt furniſhed with people for its defence: He alſo defeated in a great battle, the inhabitants of Meſſina, who were called *Mamertines* †, and whoſe frequent irruptions infeſted all Sicily, and entirely demoliſhed all their fortreſſes.

The rapid progreſs of his arms terrified the Carthaginians, who were now diveſted of all their acquiſitions in Sicily, except the ſingle city of Lilybæum; and they ſent to purchaſe peace and his friendſhip with money and ſhips. But as he aſpired to much greater things, he anſwered them, that the only method to obtain what they deſired, would be to abandon Sicily, and conſent to let the Libyan ſea be the boundary between them and the Greeks. He intended to beſtow Sicily on his ſon Helenus, as a kingdom to which he had a right by birth, this prince being his ſon by the daughter of Agathocles; and he propoſed to give his ſon Alexander the kingdom of Italy, which he looked upon as a certain conqueſt.

A continued ſeries of proſperity, and the numerous

* *He is called Seſiſtratus by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus.*

† *The word ſignifies* martial, *becauſe they were a very warlike people. They originally came from Italy, and having made themſelves maſters of Meſſina, into which they had been received, they retained their own name there, though that of the city was not changed.*

rous forces under his command, had raiſed his hopes ſo high at that time, that he thought of nothing but accompliſhing the great views that had drawn him into Sicily; the firſt and principal of which was the conqueſt of Africa. He had a ſufficient number of veſſels for that great expedition, but wanted mariners; in order, therefore, to obtain that ſupply, he obliged the cities to furniſh him with men, and ſeverely puniſhed thoſe who neglected to obey his orders.

In conſequence of theſe proceedings, his power was ſoon changed into an inſolent and tyrannical ſway, which firſt drew upon him the hatred of the family and friends of Agathocles, whom he deprived of all the fortunes they had received from that prince, and beſtowed them upon his own creatures. (c) In contempt of the cuſtoms of that country, he alſo conferred the firſt dignities, and the government of cities, on his guards and centurions, whom he continued in the magiſtracy as long as he thought proper, and without any regard to the time preſcribed by the laws. And as to all judicial proceedings, with reſpect to private property, and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary ſentence, or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whoſe ſole views were to enrich themſelves by ſordid gain, and live in all manner of luxury, profuſion, and debauchery.

A conduct ſo oppreſſive and different from that, by which he at firſt had ſo well ſucceeded, could not fail to alienate the affection of the people from him; and when he became ſenſible that he was univerſally hated, and that the Sicilians, exaſperated at his odious government, were ſollicitous to ſhake off the yoke, he placed in moſt of the cities ſuch garriſons as he knew were at his devotion, under pretext that the Carthaginians were preparing to invade him. He alſo ſeiſed the moſt illuſtrious citizens of each city, and cauſed them to be put to death, after he had charged them with treaſonable conſpiracies. Of this number was Thenon,

(c) Dionyſ. Halic. in Excerpt. p. 71.

Thenon, the commander of the citadel; and all the important ſervices he had rendered the king of Epirus did not ſuffice to exempt him from ſo cruel a policy; though it was allowed that he had contributed more than any other perſon to reduce Sicily under Pyrrhus. He alſo reſolved to have Soſtratus ſeiſed; but as he had ſome ſuſpicion of what was intended againſt him, he found means to quit the city. A prince hazards all things when he loſes the affection of his people, which is the ſtrongeſt tie that unites them to their ſovereign. The ſame barbarous and unjuſt treatment of the principal citizens of Syracuſe, who had conduced moſt to the progreſs of his power in that iſland, rendered him entirely odious and inſupportable to the Sicilians. Such was the character of Pyrrhus: His vigorous conduct in the enterpriſes he undertook, facilitated his conqueſt of kingdoms and provinces, but he wanted art to preſerve them *. The averſion which the cities conceived againſt him was ſo great, that ſome of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, in order to deſtroy him.

At this juncture, when he beheld nothing but new inſurrections and revolts kindling all round, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, which informed him that they had been diſpoſſeſſed of all their lands, and were then ſhut up in their cities, where it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain the war, unleſs he would haſten to their aſſiſtance. Theſe letters arrived at a proper time for affording him an honourable pretext for his departure, and preventing it from appearing a flight from Sicily, as if he deſpaired of ſucceeding any longer in that iſland.

As he was embarking at Syracuſe, the Carthaginians attacked him in ſuch a manner, as obliged him to fight in the very port, againſt thoſe Barbarians, where he loſt ſeveral of his ſhips. This, however, did not prevent him from ſailing to Italy with thoſe that

* Ut ad devincenda regna invictus habebatur, ita devictis acquiſitiſque celeriter carebat: tanto meliùs ſtudebat acquirere imperia, quàm retinere. *Juſtin.* l. xxv. c. 4.

that remained; but upon his arrival there he found a great body of Mamertines, who had paſſed thither before him, to the number of near ten thouſand men, and greatly incommoded his march, by frequently harraſſing his troops, and making repeated attacks upon his rear guard.

(*d*) Livy, and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, tell us one circumſtance not very much to the honour of Pyrrhus's memory. In Locris was a celebrated temple, conſecrated to Proſerpine, and held in the greateſt veneration by all the inhabitants of that country, as well as by ſtrangers, and no one had ever preſumed to violate it, though it was certain that immenſe treaſures were depoſited within it. (*e*) Pyrrhus, who then wanted money extremely, was not ſo ſcrupulous, but carried off all the riches of the goddeſs, and lodged them in his ſhip. The next day, if hiſtory may be credited, his fleet was ſhattered by a violent tempeſt, and all the veſſels that were laden with theſe rich and ſacred ſpoils were caſt upon the coaſt of Locris. This proud prince, ſays Livy, being convinced by this cruel diſaſter, that the gods were not imaginary beings, cauſed all the treaſures to be replaced in the temple with the utmoſt devotion. The goddeſs, however, was not appeaſed by this involuntary reſtitution; and the author who relates this event, repreſents this impious ſacrilege as the cauſe of all the future calamities which happened to Pyrrhus, and particularly of the unfortunate death which put an end to his enterpriſes.

A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274. Pyrrhus, after he had ſuffered by this tempeſt, arrived at Tarentum with twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and when he had re-inforced them with the beſt troops he could find in that city, he advanced, by long marches, againſt the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

This people retained a ſecret reſentment againſt Pyrrhus, for deſerting them, when he undertook his expedition

(*d*) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 399. Pauſan. l. i. p. 22. Juſtin. l. xxiii. c. 3.
(*e*) Liv. l. xxix. n. 28. Dionyſ. Halicarn. in Excerp. p. 542.

expedition into Sicily; for which reaſon he was joined by very few of their troops. This, however, did not prevent him from dividing his army into two bodies; one of which he ſent into Lucania, to oppoſe the conſul who was there at that time, and to render him incapable of aſſiſting his colleague: The other he led himſelf againſt Manius Curius, the other conſul, who had intrenched himſelf in a very advantageous poſt, near the city of Beneventum, where he waited for the ſuccours that were advancing to him from Lucania.

Pyrrhus haſtened, as much as poſſible, to attack this laſt, before the other had joined him; and with this view he ſelected his beſt troops, with ſuch of his elephants as were ſtrongeſt, and of moſt ſervice in the field; after which he began his march about the cloſe of the evening, in order to ſurpriſe the conſul in his camp. The enemy, however, diſcovered him the next morning, as he was deſcending the mountains; and Manius having marched out of his intrenchments with a body of troops, fell upon the firſt he met. Theſe he ſoon put into confuſion, and obliged them to have recourſe to flight, which ſpread univerſal terrour among the reſt, great numbers of whom were ſlain, and even ſome of the elephants taken.

This ſucceſs emboldened Manius to draw all his troops out of their entrenchments, in order to combat in the open plain. One of his wings had the advantage, at the beginning of the battle, and puſhed their enemies with great vigour; but the other was overthrown by the elephants, and driven back to their camp. In this emergency he ſent for the troops he had left behind him, to guard the intrenchments, and who were all freſh and under arms. Theſe forces advanced in the critical moment, and with their pikes and darts compelled the elephants to turn their backs, and fall upon their own battalions, which created ſuch a general confuſion, that the Romans at laſt obtained a complete victory, which, in ſome ſenſe, was of no leſs value to them than their future conqueſt of all nations.

nations. For the intrepidity they diſcovered in this engagement, and the gallant actions they performed in all the battles they fought with ſuch an enemy as Pyrrhus, increaſed their reputation, as well as their fortitude and confidence in their own bravery, and cauſed them to be conſidered as invincible. This victory over Pyrrhus rendered them indiſputable maſters of all Italy between the two ſeas; and this acquiſition was ſoon ſucceeded by the wars with Carthage, in which, having at laſt ſubdued that potent rival, they no longer beheld any power in a condition to oppoſe them.

In this manner did Pyrrhus find himſelf fallen from all the high hopes he had received, with relation to Italy and Sicily, after he had conſumed ſix whole years in thoſe wars, and entirely ruined his own affairs. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that he preſerved an invincible fortitude of mind amidſt all theſe diſgraces; and his experience in military affairs, with his valour and intrepidity, cauſed him always to paſs for the firſt of all the kings and generals of his time. But whatever he acquired by his great exploits, he ſoon loſt by his vain hopes; for his impatience to purſue what he had not yet attained, rendered him incapable of preſerving what was already in his poſſeſſion. This diſpoſition of his made Antigonus compare him to a man who threw good caſts at tables, but played them very ill.

(f) He at length returned to Epirus, with eight thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe; but as his revenues were not ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of theſe troops, he was induſtrious to find out ſome new war for their ſupport; and having received a re-inforcement of ſome Gauls who joined him, he threw himſelf into Macedonia, where Antigonus then reigned. His intention was only to ravage the country, and carry off a great booty; but when he had once made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities, without any difficulty, and had alſo ſeduced two thouſand of Antigonus's ſoldiers

(f) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400. Pauſan. l. i. c. 23. Juſtin. l. xxv. c. 3.

diers over to his party, he indulged the moſt exalted hopes, marched againſt Antigonus himſelf, attacked him in the defiles, and put his whole army into diſorder. A large body of other Gauls, who formed the rear guard of Antigonus, courageouſly ſuſtained his efforts for ſome time, and the encounter grew very warm; but moſt of them were at laſt cut to pieces; and thoſe who commanded the elephants, being ſurrounded by his troops, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners, and delivered up the elephants. The Macedonian phalanx was all that now remained; but the troops who compoſed this corps were ſtruck with terrour and confuſion at the defeat of their rear guard. Pyrrhus, perceiving that they ſeemed to refuſe fighting him, ſtretched out his hand to the commanders, and other officers, and called each of them by his name. This expedient gained him all the infantry of Antigonus, who was obliged to have recourſe to flight, in order to preſerve ſome of the maritime places in their obedience to him.

Pyrrhus was exceedingly animated by this victory, as may be judged by the following inſcription on the ſpoils which he conſecrated to the Itonian * Minerva. *Pyrrhus, king of the Moloſſians, conſecrates to the Itonian Minerva theſe bucklers of the fierce Gauls, after he had defeated the whole army of Antigonus. Let no one be ſurpriſed at this event. The deſcendents of Æacus are ſtill, as they originally were, perfectly brave and valiant.*

Pyrrhus, after this victory, made himſelf maſter of all the cities of Macedonia, and particularly of Ægæ †, whoſe inhabitants he treated with great ſeverity, and garriſoned their city with part of his Gauls, a people as inſatiable and rapacious after money, as any nation that was ever in the world. The moment they took poſſeſſion of the city, they began with plundering the tombs of the Macedonian kings, whoſe remains were depoſited

* *Minerva was called Itonia, from Itonus, the ſon of Amphictyon, and ſhe had two temples dedicated to her, under this name; one in Theſſaly, near Lariſſa, which was the ſame with that in the paſſage before us. The other was in Bœotia, near Coronæa.*

† *A city of Macedonia, on the river Haliacmon.*

depoſited there. They alſo carried off all the riches encloſed in thoſe monuments, and, with ſacrilegious inſolence, ſcattered the aſhes of thoſe princes in the air. Pyrrhus lightly paſſed over this infamous action, either becauſe the important affairs he then had upon his hands engaged his whole attention, or that his preſſing occaſion for the ſervice of theſe Barbarians, rendered him unwilling to alienate their affection from him, by too ſtrict an enquiry into this proceeding, which would make it neceſſary for him to puniſh the delinquents: So criminal a connivance ſunk him very much in the opinion of the Macedonians.

A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271. (g) Though his affairs were not eſtabliſhed on ſo ſecure a foundation as to give him juſt reaſons to be void of apprehenſion, he conceived new hopes, and engaged in new enterpriſes. Cleonymus, the Spartan, came to ſollicit him to march his army againſt Lacedæmonia, and Pyrrhus lent a willing ear to that propoſal. This Cleonymus was of the royal race. Cleomenes, his father, who was king of Sparta, had two ſons; Acrotates, and Cleonymus. The former who was the eldeſt, died before his father, and left a ſon named Areus. After the death of the old king, a diſpute, with relation to the ſovereignty, aroſe between Areus and Cleonymus; and as this latter ſeemed to be a man of a violent and deſpotick diſpoſition, the conteſt was decided in favour of Areus. Cleonymus, when he was much advanced in age, eſpouſed a very beautiful woman, whoſe name was Chelidonida, the daughter of Leotychidas. This young lady conceived a violent paſſion for Acrotates, the ſon of king Areus, who was very amiable, finely ſhaped, and in the flower of his youth. This circumſtance rendered her marriage not only a very melancholy, but diſhonourable affair, to her huſband Cleonymus, who was equally tranſported with love and jealouſy; for his diſgrace was publick, and every Spartan acquainted with the contempt his wife entertained

(g) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400—403. Pauſan. l. i. p. 23, 24, & l. iii. p. 168. Juſtin. l. xxv. c. 4.

tained for him. Animated, therefore, with a burning impatience to avenge himſelf at once on his partial citizens and his faithleſs wife, he prevailed with Pyrrhus to march againſt Sparta with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twenty-four elephants.

Theſe great preparations for war made it immediately evident, that Pyrrhus was more intent to conquer Peloponneſus for himſelf, than to make Cleonymus maſter of Sparta. This, indeed, he ſtrongly diſavowed in all his diſcourſe; for when the Lacedæmonians ſent ambaſſadors to him, during his reſidence at Megalopolis, he aſſured them that no hoſtilities were intended by him againſt Sparta, and that he only came to reſtore liberty to thoſe cities which Antigonus poſſeſſed in that country. He even declared to them that he deſigned to ſend his youngeſt children to Sparta, if they would permit him ſo to do, that they might be educated in the manners and diſcipline of that city, and have the advantage, above all other kings and princes, of being trained up in ſo excellent a ſchool.

With theſe flattering promiſes he amuſed all ſuch as preſented themſeves to him in his march; but thoſe perſons muſt be very thoughtleſs and imprudent, who place any confidence in the language of politicians, with whom artifice and deceit paſs for wiſdom, and faith for weakneſs and want of judgement. Pyrrhus had no ſooner advanced into the territories of Sparta, than he began to ravage and plunder all the country around him.

He arrived, in the evening, before Lacedæmon; which Cleonymus deſired him to attack without a moment's delay, that they might take advantage of the confuſion of the inhabitants, who had no ſuſpicion of a ſiege, and of the abſence of king Areus, who was gone to Crete to aſſiſt the Gortynians. The helots, and friends of Cleonymus, were ſo confident of ſucceſs that they were then actually preparing his houſe for his reception; firmly perſuaded he would

ſup there that very night with Pyrrhus. But this prince who looked upon the conqueſt of the city as inevitable, deferred the aſſault till the next morning. That delay ſaved Sparta, and ſhowed that there are favourable and deciſive moments which muſt be ſeiſed immediately, and which, once neglected, never return.

When night came, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the expediency of ſending their wives to Crete, but were oppoſed by them in that point: One among them, in particular, whoſe name was Archidamia, ruſhed into the ſenate with a drawn ſword, and after ſhe had uttered her complaints, in the name of the reſt, demanded of the men who were there aſſembled, *What could be their inducement to entertain ſo bad an opinion of them, as to imagine they would conſent to live after the deſtruction of Sparta?*

The ſame council gave directions for opening a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, in order to oppoſe their approaches to the city, by placing troops along that work: But, as the abſence of their king, and the ſurpriſe with which they were then ſeiſed, prevented them from raiſing a ſufficient number of men, to form a front equal to that of the enemy, and engage them in the open field, they reſolved to ſhut themſelves up as ſecurely as poſſible, by adding to each extremity of the ditch a kind of intrenchment, formed by a barricade of carriages, ſunk in the earth up to the axle-trees of the wheels, that by theſe means they might check the impetuoſity of the elephants, and prevent the cavalry from aſſaulting them in flank.

While the men were employed in this work, their wives and daughters came to join them, and after they had exhorted thoſe who were appointed for the encounter to take ſome repoſe, while the night laſted, they proceeded to meaſure the length of the trench, and took in the third part of it for their own ſhare in the work, which they completed before day. The

trench

trench was nine feet in breadth, ſix in depth, and nine hundred in length.

When day appeared, and the enemies began to be in motion, thoſe women preſented arms to all the young men, and as they were retiring from the trench they had made, they exhorted them to behave in a gallant manner; intreating them, at the ſame time, to conſider how glorious it would be for them to conquer in the ſight of their country, and breathe their laſt in the arms of their mothers and wives, after they had proved themſelves worthy of Sparta by their valour. When Chelidonida, in particular, retired with the reſt, ſhe prepared a cord, which ſhe intended ſhould be the fatal inſtrument of her death, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her huſband, if the city ſhould happen to be taken.

Pyrrhus, in the mean time, advanced at the head of his infantry, to attack the Spartan front, who waited for him on the other ſide of the trench, with their bucklers cloſely joined together. The trench was not only very difficult to be paſſed, but the ſoldiers of Pyrrhus could not even approach the edge of it, nor maintain a good footing, becauſe the earth, which had been newly thrown up, eaſily gave way under them. When his ſon Ptolemy ſaw this inconvenience, he drew out two thouſand Gauls, with a ſelect band of Chaonians, and filed off along the trench to the place where the carriages were diſpoſed, in order to open a paſſage for the reſt of the troops. But theſe were ranged ſo thick, and ſunk to ſuch a depth in the earth, as rendered his deſign impracticable. Upon which the Gauls endeavoured to ſurmount this difficulty, by diſengaging the wheels, in order to draw the carriages into the adjoining river.

The young Acrotates was the firſt who ſaw the danger, and immediately ſhot through the city with three hundred ſoldiers. Having taken a large compaſs, he poured upon the rear of Ptolemy's troops, without being diſcovered in his approach, becauſe he advanced through hollow ways. Upon this ſudden attack, as

their ranks were broken, and their troops thrown into diſorder, they crowded and preſſed upon each other, and moſt of them rolled into the ditch, and fell around the chariots. In a word, after a long encounter, which coſt them a vaſt quantity of blood, they were repulſed, and obliged to have recourſe to flight. The old men, and moſt of the women, ſtood on the other ſide of the trench, and beheld with admiration the undaunted bravery of Acrotates. As for him, covered with blood, and exulting from his victory, he returned to his poſt amidſt the univerſal applauſe of the Spartan women, who extolled his valour, and envied, at the ſame time, the glory and happineſs of Chelidonida: An evident proof that the Spartan ladies were not extremely delicate in point of conjugal chaſtity.

The battle was ſtill hotter along the edge of the ditch, where Pyrrhus commanded, and which was defended by the Lacedæmonian infantry: The Spartans fought with great intrepidity, and ſeveral among them diſtinguiſhed themſelves very much; particularly Phyllius, who, after having oppoſed the enemy for a conſiderable time, and killed, with his own hand, all thoſe who attempted to force a paſſage where he fought; finding himſelf, at laſt, faint with the many wounds he had received, and the large quantity of blood he had loſt, he called to one of the officers who commanded at that poſt, and after having reſigned his place to him, he retired a few paces, and fell down dead amidſt his countrymen, that the enemies might not be maſters of his body.

Night obliged both parties to diſcontinue the engagement: But the next morning it was renewed by break of day. The Lacedæmonians defended themſelves with new efforts of ardour and bravery, and even the women would not forſake them, but were always at hand to furniſh arms and refreſhments to ſuch as wanted them, and alſo to aſſiſt in carrying off the wounded. The Macedonians were indefatigable in their endeavours to fill up the ditch with vaſt

quantities of wood, and other materials, which they threw upon the arms and dead bodies; and the Lacedæmonians redoubled their ardour to prevent their effecting that deſign.

But while the latter were thus employed, Pyrrhus had forced himſelf a paſſage at the place where the chariots had been diſpoſed, and puſhed forwards full ſpeed to the city. Thoſe who defended this poſt, ſent up loud cries, which were anſwered by diſmal ſhrieks from the women, who ran from place to place in the utmoſt conſternation. Pyrrhus ſtill advanced, and bore down all who oppoſed him. He was now within a ſmall diſtance of that city, when a ſhaft from a Cretan bow pierced his horſe, and made him ſo furious, that he ran with his maſter into the very midſt of the enemies, and fell dead with him to the ground. Whilſt his friends crowded about him, to extricate him from the danger he was in, the Spartans advanced in great numbers, and, with their arrows, repulſed the Macedonians beyond the trench.

Pyrrhus then cauſed a general retreat to be ſounded, in expectation that the Lacedæmonians, who had loſt a great number of men, and were moſt of them wounded, would be inclined to ſurrender the city, which was then reduced to the laſt extremity, and ſeemed incapable of ſuſtaining a new attack. But at the very inſtant when every thing ſeemed deſperate, one of the generals of Antigonus arrived from Corinth, with a very conſiderable body of foreign troops; which had ſcarce entered the city before king Areus appeared with two thouſand foot, which he had brought from Crete.

Theſe two re-inforcements, which the Lacedæmonians received the ſame day, did but animate Pyrrhus, and add new ardour to his ambition. He was ſenſible, that it would be more glorious for him to take the city in ſpite of its new defenders, and in the very ſight of its king; but, after he had made ſome attempts to that effect, and was convinced that he ſhould gain nothing but wounds, he deſiſted from his enter-

priſe, and began to ravage the country, with an intention to paſs the winter there; but he was diverted from this deſign by a new ray of hope, which ſoon drew him off to another quarter.

A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C 271.

(*b*) Ariſtæas and Ariſtippus, two of the principal citizens of Argos, had excited a great ſedition in that city. The latter of theſe was deſirous of ſupporting himſelf, by the favour and protection of Antigonus; and Ariſtæas, in order to fruſtrate his deſign, immediately invited Pyrrhus to eſpouſe his party. The king of Epirus, always fond of new motions, conſidered his victories as ſo many ſteps to greater advantages; and thought his defeats furniſhed him with indiſpenſable reaſons for entering upon a new war, to repair his loſſes. Neither good nor ill ſucceſs, therefore, could inſpire him with a diſpoſition for tranquillity; for which reaſon he had no ſooner given audience to the courier of Ariſtæas, than he began his march to Argos. King Areus formed ſeveral ambuſcades to deſtroy him by the way, and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the moſt difficult paſſes, cut to pieces the Gauls and Moloſſians, who formed his rear guard. Ptolemy, who had been detached by Pyrrhus, his father, to ſuccour that guard, was killed in the engagement, upon which his troops diſbanded and fled. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, commanded by Evalcus, an officer of great reputation, purſued them with ſo much ardour, that he inſenſibly advanced to a great diſtance from his infantry, who were incapable of keeping up with him.

Pyrrhus being informed of his ſon's death, which affected him with the ſharpeſt ſorrow, immediately led up the Moloſſian cavalry againſt the purſuers; and throwing himſelf amongſt their thickeſt troops, made ſuch a ſlaughter of the Lacedæmonians, as in a moment covered him with blood. He was always intrepid and terrible in battles; but on this occaſion, when grief and revenge gave a new edge to his courage, he even

(*b*) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 403—406. Pauſan. l. i. p. 24. Juſtin. l. xxv. c. 5.

even ſurpaſſed himſelf, and effaced the luſtre of his conduct in all former battles, by the ſuperior valour and intrepidity which he now diſplayed. He continually ſought Evalcus in the throng, and having at laſt ſingled him out, he ſpurred his horſe againſt him, and ſtruck him through with his javelin, after having been in great danger himſelf. He then ſprung from his horſe, and made a terrible ſlaughter of the Lacedæmonians, whom he overthrew in heaps upon the dead body of Evalcus. This loſs of the braveſt officers and troops of Sparta, proceeded altogether from the temerity of thoſe, who, after they had gained a complete victory, ſuffered it to be wreſted out of their hands, by purſuing thoſe who fled with a blind and imprudent eagerneſs.

Pyrrhus having thus celebrated the funeral ſolemnities of Ptolemy by this great battle, and mitigated his affliction in ſome meaſure, by ſatiating his rage and vengeance in the blood of thoſe who had ſlain his ſon, continued his march to Argos, and upon his arrival there, was informed that Antigonus poſſeſſed the heights upon the borders of the plain. He then formed his camp near the city of Nauplia, and ſent a herald the next morning to Antigonus, with an offer to decide their quarrel by a ſingle combat; but Antigonus contented himſelf with replying, *That if Pyrrhus was grown weary of life, there were abundance of methods for putting an end to it.*

The inhabitants of Argos diſpatched ambaſſadors at the ſame time to both theſe princes, to intreat them to withdraw their troops, and not reduce their city into ſubjection to either of them, but allow it to continue in a ſtate of friendſhip with both. Antigonus readily conſented to this propoſal, and ſent his ſon as an hoſtage to the Argives. Pyrrhus alſo promiſed to retire; but as he offered no ſecurity for the performance of his word, they began to ſuſpect his ſincerity, and indeed with ſufficient reaſon.

As ſoon as night appeared, he advanced to the walls, and having found a door left open by Ariſtæas,

he had time to pour his Gauls into the city, and to ſeiſe it without being perceived. But when he would have introduced his elephants, he found the gate too low; which obliged him to cauſe the towers to be taken down from their backs, and replaced there, when thoſe animals had entered the city. All this could not be effected, amidſt the darkneſs, without much trouble, noiſe, and confuſion, and without a conſiderable loſs of time, which cauſed them to be diſcovered. The Argives, when they beheld the enemy in the city, fled to the citadel, and to thoſe places that were moſt advantageous for their defence, and ſent a deputation to Antigonus, to preſs his ſpeedy advance to their aſſiſtance. He accordingly marched that moment, and cauſed his ſon, with the other officers, to enter the city at the head of his beſt troops.

In this very juncture of time, king Areus alſo arrived at Argos, with a thouſand Cretans, and as many Spartans as were capable of coming. Theſe troops, when they had all joined each other, charged the Gauls with the utmoſt fury, and put them into diſorder. Pyrrhus haſtened, on his part, to ſuſtain them, but the darkneſs and confuſion were then ſo great, that it was impoſſible for him to be either heard or obeyed. When day appeared, he was not a little ſurpriſed to ſee the citadel filled with enemies; and as he then imagined all was loſt, he thought of nothing but a timely retreat. But as he had ſome apprehenſions, with reſpect to the city gates, which were much too narrow, he ſent orders to his ſon Helenus, whom he had left without with the greateſt part of the army, to demoliſh part of the wall that his troops might have a free paſſage out of the city. The perſon to whom Pyrrhus gave this order in great haſte, having miſunderſtood his meaning, delivered a quite contrary meſſage, in conſequence of which Helenus immediately drew out his beſt infantry, with all the elephants he had left, and then advanced into the city to aſſiſt his father,

father, who was preparing to retire the moment the other entered the place.

Pyrrhus, as long as the place afforded him a ſufficient extent of ground, appeared with a reſolute mien, and frequently faced about, and repulſed thoſe who purſued him; but when he found himſelf engaged in a narrow ſtreet, which ended at the gate, the confuſion, which already was very great, became infinitely increaſed, by the arrival of the troops his ſon brought to his aſſiſtance. He frequently called aloud to them to withdraw, in order to clear the ſtreet, but in vain, for as it was impoſſible for his voice to be heard, they ſtill continued to advance, And to complete the calamity in which they were involved, one of the largeſt elephants ſunk down in the middle of the gate, and filled up the whole extent in ſuch a manner, that the troops could neither advance nor retire. The confuſion occaſioned by this accident became then inexpreſſible.

Pyrrhus obſerving the diſorder of his men, who broke forward and were driven back, like the waves of the ſea, took off the glittering creſt which diſtinguiſhed his helmet, and cauſed him to be known, and then, confiding in the goodneſs of his horſe, he ſprung into the throng of the enemies who purſued him; and while he was fighting with an air of deſperation, one of the adverſe party advanced up to him, and pierced his cuiraſs with a javelin. The wound, however, was neither great nor dangerous, and Pyrrhus immediately turned upon the man from whom he received it, and who happened to be only a private ſoldier, the ſon of a poor woman of Argos. The mother beheld the combat from the top of a houſe, where ſhe ſtood with ſeveral other women.

The moment ſhe ſaw her ſon engaged with Pyrrhus, ſhe almoſt loſt her ſenſes, and was chilled with horrour at the danger to which ſhe beheld him expoſed. Amidſt the impreſſions of her agony, ſhe caught up a large tile, and threw it down upon Pyrrhus. The maſs fell directly upon his head, and his helmet being

too

to weak to ward off the blow, his eyes were immediately covered with darkneſs, his hands dropped the reins, and he ſunk down from his horſe without being then obſerved. But he was ſoon diſcovered by a ſoldier, who put an end to his life, by cutting off his head.

The noiſe of this accident was immediately ſpread in all parts. Alcyonæus, the ſon of Antigonus, took the head from the ſoldier, and rid away with it full ſpeed to his father, at whoſe feet he threw it; but met with a very ill reception for acting in a manner ſo unbecoming his rank. Antigonus, recollecting the fate of his grandfather Antigonus, and that of Demetrius his father could not refrain from tears at ſo mournful a ſpectacle, and cauſed magnificent honours to be rendered to the remains of Pyrrhus. After having made himſelf maſter of his camp and army, he treated his ſon Helenus, and the reſt of his friends, with great generoſity, and ſent them back to Epirus.

The title of a great captain is juſtly due to Pyrrhus, as he was ſo particularly eſteemed by the Romans themſelves; and eſpecially if we conſider the glorious teſtimony given in his favour, by a perſon the moſt worthy of belief, with regard to the merit of a warrior, and the beſt qualified to form a competent judgement in that particular. (*i*) Livy reports, from an hiſtorian whom he cites as his voucher, that Hannibal, when he was aſked by Scipio, whom he thought the moſt able and conſummate general, placed Alexander in the firſt rank, Pyrrhus in the ſecond, and himſelf in the third.

The ſame general alſo characteriſed Pyrrhus, by adding, "That he was the firſt who taught the art "of encamping; that no one was more ſkilful in "chooſing his poſts, and drawing up his troops; "that he had a peculiar art in conciliating affection, "and attaching people to his intereſt; and this to "ſuch a degree, that the people of Italy were more "deſirous of having him for their maſter, though a "ſtranger,

(*i*) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14.

"ſtranger, than to be governed by the Romans "themſelves, who, for ſo many years, had held the "firſt rank in that country."

Pyrrhus might poſſibly be maſter of all theſe great qualities; but I cannot comprehend, why Hannibal ſhould repreſent him as the firſt who taught the art of encamping. Were not ſeveral Grecian kings and generals maſters of this art before him? The Romans, indeed, learnt it from him, and Hannibal's evidence extends no farther. However, theſe extraordinary qualities alone are not ſufficient to conſtitute a great commander; and even proved ineffectual to him on ſeveral occaſions. He was defeated by the Romans near Aſculum, merely from having choſen his ground ill. He failed in his attempt on Sparta, by deferring the attack for a few hours. He loſt Sicily, by his injudicious treatment of the people; and was himſelf killed at Argos, for venturing too raſhly into an enemy's city. We might alſo enumerate a variety of other errors committed by him, with reference even to military affairs.

Is it not entirely inconſiſtent with the rank and duty of a great general, and eſpecially of a king, to be always expoſing his perſon, without the leaſt precaution, like a common ſoldier; to charge in the foremoſt ranks, like a common adventurer; to be more vain of a perſonal action, which only ſhows ſtrength and intrepidity, than a wiſe and attentive conduct, ſo eſſential to a general vigilant for the general ſafety, who never confounds his own merit and functions with thoſe of a private ſoldier? We may even obſerve the ſame defects to have been very apparent, in the kings and generals of this age, who undoubtedly were led into it by the falſe luſtre of Alexander's ſucceſsful temerity.

May it not be alſo ſaid, that Pyrrhus was deficient, in not obſerving any rule in his military enterpriſes, and in plunging blindly into wars, without reflection, without cauſe, through temperament, paſſion, habit, and mere incapacity to continue in a ſtate of tranquillity,

tranquillity, or paſs any part of his time to his ſatisfaction, unleſs he was tilting with all the world? The reader will, I hope, forgive me the oddneſs of that expreſſion, ſince a character of this nature ſeems, in my opinion, very much to reſemble that of the heroes and knights errant of romances.

But no fault is more obvious in Pyrrhus's character, nor muſt have ſhocked my readers more, than his forming his enterpriſes without the leaſt maturity of thought, and abandoning himſelf, without examination, to the leaſt appearances of ſucceſs; frequently changing his views, on ſuch ſlender occaſions, as diſcover no conſiſtency of deſign, and even little judgement; in a word, beginning every thing, and ending nothing. His whole life was a continued ſeries of uncertainty and variation; and while he ſuffered his reſtleſs and impetuous ambition to hurry him, at different times, into Sicily, Italy, Macedonia, and Greece, his cares and attention were employed no where ſo little as in Epirus, the land of his nativity, and his hereditary dominions. Let us then allow him the title of a great captain, if valour and intrepidity alone are ſufficient to deſerve it; for in theſe qualities, no man was ever his ſuperior. When we behold him in his battles, we think ourſelves ſpectators of the vivacity, intrepidity, and martial ardour of Alexander; but he certainly had not the qualities of a good king, who, when he really loves his people, makes his valour conſiſt in their defence, his happineſs in making them happy, and his glory in their peace and ſecurity.

A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274. The reputation of the Romans beginning now to ſpread through foreign nations, by the war they had maintained for ſix years againſt Pyrrhus, whom at length they compelled to retire from Italy, and return ignominiouſly to Epirus, (*k*) Ptolemy Philadelphus ſent ambaſſadours to deſire their friendſhip; and the Romans were charmed to find it ſollicited by ſo great a king.

An

(*k*) Liv. Epit. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii.

(*l*) An embaſſy was alſo ſent from Rome to Egypt the following year, in return to the civilities of Ptolemy. The ambaſſadors were Q. Fabius Gurges, Cn. Fabius Pictor, with Numerius, his brother, and Q. Ogulnius. The diſintereſted air with which they appeared, ſufficiently indicated the greatneſs of their ſouls. Ptolemy gave them a ſplendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to preſent each of them with a crown of gold; which they received, becauſe they were unwilling to diſoblige him by declining the honour he intended them; but they went the next morning, and placed them on the head of the king's ſtatues erected in the publick parts of the city. The king having likewiſe tendered them very conſiderable preſents, at their audience of leave, they received them as they before accepted of the crowns; but before they went to the ſenate, to give an account of their embaſſy, after their arrival at Rome, they depoſited all thoſe preſents in the publick treaſury, and made it evident, by ſo noble a conduct, that perſons of honour ought, when they ſerve the publick, to propoſe no other advantage to themſelves, than the honour of acquitting themſelves well of their duty. The republick, however, would not ſuffer itſelf to be exceeded in generoſity of ſentiments. The ſenate and people came to a reſolution, that the ambaſſadors, in conſideration of the ſervices they had rendered the ſtate, ſhould receive a ſum of money equivalent to that they had depoſited in the publick treaſury. This, indeed, was an amiable conteſt between generoſity and glory, and one is at a loſs to know, to which of the antagoniſts to aſcribe the victory. Where ſhall we now find men, who devote themſelves, in ſuch a manner, to the publick good, without any intereſted expectations of a return; and who enter upon employments in the ſtate, without the leaſt view of enriching themſelves? But let me add too, where ſhall we find ſtates and princes, who know how to eſteem and recompence merit in this manner?

A. M. 3731. Ant. J. C. 273.

(*l*) Liv. Epit. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Dion. in Excerpt.

manner? We may obſerve here, ſays an hiſtorian (*m*), three fine models ſet before us, in the noble liberality of Ptolemy, the diſintereſted ſpirit of the ambaſſadors, and the grateful equity of the Romans.

SECT. VIII. *Athens beſieged and taken by* ANTIGONUS. *The juſt puniſhment inflicted on* SOTADES, *a ſatyrick poet. The revolt of* MAGAS *from* PHILADELPHUS. *The death of* PHILATERES, *founder of the kingdom of Pergamus. The death of* ANTIOCHUS SOTER. *He is ſucceeded by his ſon* ANTIOCHUS, *ſurnamed* THEUS. *The wiſe meaſures taken by* PTOLEMY *for the improvement of commerce, An accommodation effected between* MAGAS *and* PHILADELPHUS. *The death of the former. The war between* ANTIOCHUS *and* PTOLEMY. *The revolt of the Eaſt againſt* ANTIOCHUS. *Peace reſtored between the two kings. The death of* PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

THE Greeks, after they had been ſubjected by the Macedonians, and rendered dependent on their authority, ſeemed, by loſing their liberty, to have been alſo diveſted of that courage, and greatneſs of ſoul, by which they had been till then ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed from other people. They appeared entirely changed, and to have loſt all ſimilitude to their ancient character. Sparta that was once ſo bold and imperious, and in a manner poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty of all Greece, patiently bowed down her neck, at laſt, beneath a foreign yoke; and we ſhall ſoon behold her ſubjected to domeſtick tyrants, who will treat her with the utmoſt cruelty. We ſhall ſee Athens, once ſo jealous of her liberty, and ſo formidable to the moſt powerful kings, running headlong into ſlavery, and, as ſhe changes her maſters, ſucceſſively paying them the homage of the baſeſt and moſt abject adulation. Each of theſe cities will, from time to time, make ſome efforts to re-inſtate themſelves in their ancient liberties, but impetuouſly, and without ſucceſs.

Antigonus

(*m*) Valerius Maximus.

(*a*) Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, became very powerful, ſome years after the death of Pyrrhus, and thereby formidable to the ſtates of Greece: The Lacedæmonians, therefore, entered into a league with the Athenians againſt him, and engaged Ptolemy Philadelphus to accede to it. Antigonus, in order to fruſtrate the confederacy which theſe two ſtates had formed againſt him, and to prevent the conſequences that might reſult from it, immediately began hoſtilities with the ſiege of Athens; but Ptolemy ſoon ſent a fleet thither, under the command of Patroclus, one of his generals; while Areus, king of Lacedæmon, put himſelf at the head of an army to ſuccour that city by land. Patroclus, as ſoon as he arrived before the place, adviſed Areus to attack the enemy, and promiſed to make a deſcent, at the ſame time, in order to aſſault them in the rear. This counſel was very judicious, and could not have failed of ſucceſs, had it been carried into execution; but Areus, who wanted proviſions for his troops, thought it more adviſeable to return to Sparta. The fleet, therefore, being incapable of acting alone, ſailed back to Egypt, without doing any thing. This is the uſual inconvenience to which troops of different nations are expoſed, when they are commanded by chiefs who have neither any ſubordination, nor good intelligence, between them. Athens, thus abandoned by her allies, became a prey to Antigonus, who put a garriſon into it. A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268.

(*b*) Patroclus happened, in his return to ſtop at Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, where he met with Sotades, a poet univerſally decried for the unbounded licence, both of his muſe, and his manners. His ſatyrick poetry never ſpared either his beſt friends, or the moſt worthy perſons; and even the ſacred characters of kings were not exempted from his malignity. When he was at the court of Lyſimachus, he affected to blacken the reputation of Ptolemy by atrocious calumny A. M. 3737. Ant. J. C. 267.

(*a*) Juſtin. l. xxvi. c. 2. Pauſan. in Lacon. p. 168, & in Attic. p. 1.
(*b*) Athen. l. xiv. p. 620, 621.

calumny; and when he was entertained by this latter, he traduced Lyſimachus in the ſame manner. He had compoſed a virulent ſatyr againſt Ptolemy, wherein he inſerted many cutting reflexions on his marriage with Arſinoe, his own ſiſter; he afterwards fled from Alexandria, to ſave himſelf from the reſentment of that prince. Patroclus thought it his duty to make an example of a wretch who had affronted his maſter in ſuch an inſolent manner; he accordingly cauſed a weight of lead to be faſtened to his body, and then ordered him to be thrown into the ſea. The generality of poets, who profeſs ſatyr, are a dangerous and deteſtable race of men, who have renounced all probity and ſhame, and whoſe quill, dipped in the bittereſt gall, reſpects neither rank nor virtue.

A. M. 3739. Ant. J. C. 265. (*c*) The affairs of Ptolemy were greatly perplexed by a revolt excited in Egypt, by a prince from whom he never ſuſpected any ſuch treatment. Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, having ſet up the ſtandard of rebellion againſt Ptolemy, his maſter and benefactor, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of thoſe provinces. Ptolemy and he were brothers by the ſame mother; for the latter was the ſon of Berenice and Philip, a Macedonian officer, who was her huſband before ſhe was eſpouſed to Ptolemy Soter. Her ſollicitations, therefore, obtained for him this government, when ſhe was advanced to the honours of a crown, upon the death of Ophellas, as I have formerly obſerved. Magas had ſo well eſtabliſhed himſelf in his government, by long poſſeſſion, and by his marriage with Apamia, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, that he endeavoured to render himſelf independent; and as ambition is a boundleſs paſſion, his pretenſions roſe ſtill higher. He was not contented with wreſting from his brother the two provinces he governed, but formed a reſolution to dethrone him. With this view he advanced into Egypt, at the head of a great army, and, in his march towards

(*c*) Pauſan. in Att. p. 12, 13.

wards Alexandria, made himſelf maſter of Paretonion, a city of Marmorica.

The intelligence he received of the revolt of the Marmarides in Libya, prevented him from proceeding any farther in this expedition; and he immediately returned to regulate the diſorders in his provinces. Ptolemy, who had marched an army to the frontiers, had now a favourable opportunity of attacking him in his retreat, and entirely defeating his troops; but a new danger called him to another quarter. He detected a conſpiracy which had been formed againſt him, by four thouſand Gauls, whom he had taken into his pay, and who intended no leſs than to drive him out of Egypt, and ſeiſe it for themſelves. In order, therefore, to fruſtrate their deſign, he found himſelf obliged to return to Egypt, where he drew the conſpirators into an iſland in the Nile, and ſhut them up ſo effectually there, that they all periſhed by famine, except thoſe who choſe rather to deſtroy one another, than languiſh out their lives in that miſerable manner.

Magas, as ſoon as he had calmed the troubles which occaſioned his return, renewed his deſigns on Egypt, and, in order to ſucceed more effectually, engaged his father-in-law, Antiochus Soter, to enter into his plan: It was then reſolved, that Antiochus ſhould attack Ptolemy on one ſide, while Magas invaded him on the other; but Ptolemy, who had ſecret intelligence of his treaty, prevented Antiochus in his deſign, and gave him ſo much employment in all his maritime provinces, by repeated deſcents, and the devaſtations made by the troops he ſent into thoſe parts, that this prince was obliged to continue in his own dominions, to concert meaſures for their defence; and Magas, who expected a diverſion to be made in his favour by Antiochus, thought it not adviſeable to enter upon any action, when he perceived his ally had not made the effort on which he depended. A. M. 3740. Ant. J. C. 264.

A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. (*d*) Phileteres, who founded the kingdom of Pergamus, died the following year, at the age of fourſcore. He was an eunuch, and originally a ſervant of Docimus, an officer in the army of Antigonus; who having quitted that prince, to enter into the ſervice of Lyſimachus, was ſoon followed by Phileteres. Lyſimachus, finding him a perſon of great capacity, made him his treaſurer, and entruſted him with the government of the city of Pergamus, in which his treaſures were depoſited. He ſerved Lyſimachus very faithfully in this poſt for ſeveral years: But his attachment to the intereſt of Agathocles, the eldeſt ſon of Lyſimachus, who was deſtroyed by the intrigues of Arſinoe the younger, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, as I have formerly related; and the affliction he teſtified at the tragical death of that prince, cauſed him to be ſuſpected by the young queen; and ſhe accordingly took meaſures to deſtroy him. Phileteres, who was ſenſible of her intentions, reſolved upon a revolt, and ſucceeded in his deſign, by the protection of Seleucus; after which he ſupported himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the city and treaſures of Lyſimachus; favoured in his views by the troubles which aroſe upon the death of that prince, and that of Seleucus, which happened ſeven months after. He conducted his affairs with ſo much art and capacity, amidſt all the diviſions of the ſucceſſors of thoſe two princes, that he preſerved the city, with all the country around it, for the ſpace of twenty years, and formed it into a ſtate, which ſubſiſted for ſeveral generations in his family, and became one of the moſt potent ſtates of Aſia. He had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, the former of whom, who was the eldeſt, had a ſon named alſo Eumenes, who ſucceeded his uncle, and reigned twenty-two years.

In this year began the firſt Punick war, which continued for the ſpace of twenty four years, between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

Nicomedes,

(*d*) Strab. l. xiii. p. 623, 624. Pauſan. in Att. p. 13. & 18.

(*e*) Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having built a city near the place where Aſtacus, which Lyſimachus deſtroyed, had formerly ſtood, called it Nicomedia, from his own name. Great mention is made of it in the hiſtory of the Lower Empire, becauſe ſeveral of the Roman emperors reſided there. A. M. 3742. Ant. J. C. 262.

Antiochus Soter was deſirous to improve the death of Phileteres to his own advantage, and take that opportunity to ſeiſe his dominions; but Eumenes, his nephew and ſucceſſor, raiſed a fine army for his defence, and obtained ſuch a complete victory over him near Sardis, as not only ſecured him the poſſeſſion of what he already enjoyed, but enabled him to enlarge his dominions conſiderably.

(*f*) Antiochus returned to Antioch after this defeat, where he ordered * one of his ſons to be put to death, for raiſing a commotion in his abſence, and cauſed the other, whoſe name was the ſame as his own, to be proclaimed king; ſhortly after which he died, and left him all his dominions. This young prince was his ſon by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who, from his mother-in-law, became his conſort, as I have formerly obſerved. A. M. 3743. Ant. J. C. 261.

(*g*) Antiochus the ſon, when he came to the crown, was eſpouſed to Laodice, his ſiſter by the father. He afterward aſſumed the ſurname of Theos, whch ſignifies God, and diſtinguiſhes him, at this day, from the other kings of Syria, who were called by the name of Antiochus. The Mileſians were the firſt who conferred it upon him, to teſtify their gratitude for his delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus, governor of Caria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was not only maſter of Egypt, but of Cœloſyria, and Paleſtine, with the provinces of Cilicia, A. M. 3744. Ant. J. C. 260.

(*e*) Pauſan. Eliac. I. p. 405. Euſeb. in Chron. Trebell. Pollio in Gallien. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 9. Memn. c. xxi. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. (*f*) Trog. in Prologo. l. xxvi. (*g*) Polyæn. Stratag. l. viii. c. 50. Appian in Syriac. p. 230. Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

* *M. La Nauze affirms, that there is an error in this abridgment of Trogus Pompeius. The reader may conſult* Tome VII. *of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions.*

Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, in Aſia Minor. Timarchus revolted from his ſovereign, and choſe Miletus for the ſeat of his reſidence. The Mileſians, in order to free themſelves from this tyrant, had recourſe to Antiochus, who defeated and killed him. In acknowledgment for which they rendered him divine honours, and even conferred upon him the title of *God*. With ſuch impious flattery was it uſual to treat the reigning princes of thoſe ages! (*b*) The Lemnians had likwiſe beſtowed the ſame title on his father and grandfather, and did not ſcruple to erect temples to their honour; and the people of Smyrna were altogether as obſequious to his mother Stratonice.

(*i*) Beroſus, the famous hiſtorian of Babylon, flouriſhed in the beginning of this prince's reign, and dedicated his hiſtory to him. Pliny informs us, that it contained the aſtronomical obſervations of four hundred and eighty years. When the Macedonians were maſters of Babylon, Beroſus made himſelf acquainted with their language, and went firſt to Cos, which had been rendered famous by the birth of Hippocrates, and there eſtabliſhed a ſchool, in which he taught aſtronomy and aſtrology. From Cos he proceeded to Athens, where, notwithſtanding the vanity of his art, he acquired ſo much reputation by his aſtrological predictions, that the citizens erected a ſtatue to him, with a tongue of gold (*k*), in the Gymnaſium, where the youths performed all their exerciſe. Joſephus and Euſebius have tranſmitted to us ſome excellent fragments of this hiſtory, that illuſtrate ſeveral paſſages in the Old Teſtament, and without which it would be impoſſible to trace any exact ſucceſſion of the kings of Babylon.

A. M. 3745. Ant. J. C. 259. Ptolemy being ſollicitous to enrich his kingdom, conceived an expedient to draw into it all the maritime commerce of the Eaſt; which, till then, had been in the poſſeſſion of the Tyrians, who tranſacted it by ſea, as far as Elath; and from thence, by land, to Rhinocorura,

(*b*) Athen. l. vi. p. 255. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Vitruv. 9. 7. (*i*) Tatian. in Orat. con. Græc. p. 171. (*k*) Plin. 737.

Rhinocorura, and from this laſt place by ſea again, to the city of Tyre. Elath and Rhinocorura were wo ſea-ports; the firſt on the eaſtern ſhore of the Red-ſea, and the ſecond on the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Paleſtine, and near the mouths of the river of Egypt.

(*l*) Ptolemy, in order to draw this commerce into his own kingdom, thought it neceſſary to found a city on the weſtern ſhore of the Red-ſea, from whence the ſhips were to ſet out. He accordingly built it, almoſt on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and gave it the name of his mother Berenice; but the port not being very commodious, that of Myos-Hormos was preferred, as being very near, and much better; and all the commodities of Arabia, India, Perſia, and Ethiopia, were conveyed thither. From thence they were tranſported on camels to Coptus, where they were again ſhipped, and brought down the Nile to Alexandria, which tranſmitted them to all the Weſt, in exchange for its merchandiſe, which was afterwards exported to the Eaſt. But as the paſſage from Coptus to the Red-ſea lay croſs the deſarts, where no water could be procured, and which had neither cities nor houſes to lodge the caravans; Ptolemy, in order to remedy this inconvenience, cauſed a canal to be opened along the great road, and to communicate with the Nile that ſupplied it with water. On the edge of this canal houſes were erected, at proper diſtances, for the reception of paſſengers, and to ſupply them and their beaſts of burthen with all neceſſary accommodations.

As uſeful as all theſe labours were, Ptolemy did not think them ſufficient; for, as he intended to engroſs all the traffick between the Eaſt and Weſt into his dominions, he thought his plan would be imperfect, unleſs he could protect what he had facilitated in other reſpects. With this view, he cauſed two fleets to be fitted out, one for the Red-ſea, and the

(*l*) Strab. xxvii. p. 815. Plin. l. vi. c. 23.

other for the Mediterranean. (*m*) This laſt was extremely fine, and ſome of the veſſels which compoſed it, much exceeded the common ſize. Two of them, in particular, had thirty benches of oars; one twenty; four rowed with fourteen; two with twelve; fourteen with eleven; thirty with nine; thirty-ſeven with ſeven; five with ſix, and ſeventeen with five. The number of the whole amounted to a hundred and twelve veſſels. He had as many more, with four and three benches of oars, beſide a prodigious number of ſmall veſſels. With this formidable fleet he not only protected his commerce from all inſults; but kept in ſubjection, as long as he lived, moſt of the maritime provinces of Aſia Minor, as Cilicia, for inſtance, with Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, as far as the Cyclades.

A. M. 3746. Ant. J. C. 258. Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing very aged and infirm, cauſed overtures of accommodation to be tendered to his brother Ptolemy, with the propoſal of a marriage between Berenice, his only daughter, and the eldeſt ſon of the king of Egypt; and a promiſe to give her all his dominions for her dowry. The negotiation ſucceeded, and a peace was concluded on thoſe terms.

A. M. 3747. Ant. J. C. 257. (*n*) Magas, however, died before the execution of the treaty, having continued in the government of Libya, and Cyrenaica, for the ſpace of fifty years. Toward the cloſe of his days he abandoned himſelf to pleaſure, and particularly to exceſs at his table, which greatly impaired his health. His widow Apamia, whom Juſtin calls Arſinoe, reſolved, after his death, to break off her daughter's marriage with the ſon of Ptolemy, as it had been concluded without her conſent. With this view, ſhe employed perſons in Macedonia to invite Demetrius, the uncle of king Antigonus Gonatus, to come to her court, aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that her daughter and crown ſhould be his. Demetrius arrived there in a ſhort time,

(*m*) Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. Athen. l. v. p. 203. (*n*) Athen. l. xii. p. 550. Juſtin. l. xxvi. c. 3.

time, but as ſoon as Apamia beheld him, ſhe contracted a violent paſſion for him, and reſolved to eſpouſe him herſelf. From that moment he neglected the daughter, to engage himſelf to the mother; and as he imagined that her favour raiſed him above all things, he began to treat the young princeſs, as well as the miniſters and officers of the army, in ſuch an inſolent and imperious manner, that they formed a reſolution to deſtroy him. Berenice herſelf conducted the conſpirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they ſtabbed him in his bed, though Apamia employed all her efforts to ſave him, and even covered him with her own body. Berenice, after this, went to Egypt, where her marriage with Ptolemy was conſummated, and Apamia was ſent to her brother Antiochus Theos, in Syria.

(*o*) The princeſs had the art to exaſperate her brother ſo effectually againſt Ptolemy, that ſhe at laſt ſpirited him up to a war, which continued for a long ſpace of time, and was productive of fatal conſequences to Antiochus, as will be evident in the ſequel. A. M. 3748. Ant. J. C. 256.

(*p*) Ptolemy did not place himſelf at the head of his army, his declining ſtate of health not permitting him to expoſe himſelf to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniencies of a camp; for which reaſon he left the war to the conduct of his generals. Antiochus, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field at the head of all the forces of Babylon and the Eaſt, and with a reſolution to carry on the war with the utmoſt vigour. Hiſtory has not preſerved the particulars of what paſſed in that campaign, or perhaps the advantages obtained on either ſide were not very conſiderable. A. M. 3749. Ant. J. C. 255.

(*q*) Ptolemy did not forget to improve his library, notwithſtanding the war, and continually enriched it with new books. He was exceedingly curious in pictures and deſigns by great maſters. Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, was one of thoſe who collected for A. M. 3750. Ant. J. C. 254.

(*o*) Hieron. in Daniel. (*p*) Strab. l. xvii. p. 789. Hieron. in Daniel. (*q*) Plut. in Arat. p. 1031.

him in Greece; and he had the good fortune to gratify the taſte of that prince for thoſe works of art to ſuch a degree, that Ptolemy entertained a friendſhip for him, and preſented him with twenty-five talents, which he expended in the relief of the neceſſitous Sicyonians, and in the redemption of ſuch of them as were detained in captivity.

A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250. While Antiochus was employed in his war with Egypt, a great inſurrection was fomented in the Eaſt, and which his remoteneſs at that time rendered him incapable of preventing with the neceſſary expedition. The revolt, therefore, daily gathered ſtrength, till it at laſt became incapable of remedy. Theſe troubles gave birth to the Parthian empire.

(r) The cauſe of theſe commotions proceeded from Agathocles, governor of the Parthian dominions for Antiochus. This officer attempted to offer violence to a youth of the country, whoſe name was Tiridates; upon which Arſaces, the brother of the boy, a perſon of low extraction, but great courage and honour, aſſembled ſome of his friends, in order to deliver his brother from the brutality intended him. They accordingly fell upon the governor, killed him on the ſpot, and then fled for ſafety with ſeveral perſons whom they had drawn together for their defence againſt the purſuit to which ſuch a bold proceeding would inevitably expoſe them. Their party grew ſo numerous, by the negligence of Antiochus, that Arſaces ſoon found himſelf ſtrong enough to drive the Macedonians out of that province, and aſſume the government himſelf. The Macedonians had always continued maſters of it, from the death of Alexander; firſt, under Eumenes, then under Antigonus, next under Seleucus Nicator, and laſtly under Antiochus.

(s) Much about the ſame time, Theodotus alſo revolted in Bactriana, and, from a governor, became king of that province; after which he ſubjected the thouſand cities it contained, while Antiochus was amuſing

(r) Arrian. in Parth. apud Phot. Cod. 58. Syncell. p. 284. Juſtin. l. xli. c. 4. Strab. l. xi. p. 515. (s) Juſtin. & Strab. ibid.

amuſing himſelf with the Egyptian war; and ſtrengthened himſelf ſo effectually in his new acquiſitions, that it became impoſſible to reduce him afterwards. This example was followed by all the other nations in thoſe parts, each of whom threw off the yoke at the ſame time; by which means Antiochus loſt all the eaſtern provinces of his empire beyond the Tigris. This event happened according to Juſtin, when L. Manlius Vulſo, and * M. Atilius Regulus, were conſuls at Rome; that is to ſay, the fourteenth year of the firſt Punick war.

(t) The troubles and revolts in the Eaſt, made Antiochus at laſt deſirous to diſengage himſelf from the war with Ptolemy. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between them; and the conditions of it were, that Antiochus ſhould divorce Laodice, and eſpouſe Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy; that he ſhould alſo diſinherit his iſſue by the firſt marriage, and ſecure the crown to his children by the ſecond. Antiochus, after the ratification of the treaty, repudiated Laodice, though ſhe was his ſiſter by the father's ſide, and had brought him two ſons: Ptolemy then embarked at Peluſium, and conducted his daughter to Seleucia, a maritime city, near the mouth of the Orontes, a river of Syria. Antiochus came thither to receive his bride, and the nuptials were ſolemnized with great magnificence. Ptolemy had a tender affection for his daughter, and gave orders to have regular ſupplies of water from the Nile tranſmitted to her; believing it better for her health than any other water whatever, and therefore he was deſirous ſhe ſhould drink none but that. When marriages are contracted from no other motives than political views, and are founded on ſuch unjuſt conditions, they are generally attended with calamities and fatal events. A. M. 3755. Ant. J. C. 249.

Theſe particulars of the marriage of Antiochus with the daughter of Ptolemy were evidently foretold by

(t) Hieron. in Dan. x. Polyæn. Strab. l. viii. c. 50. Athen. l. ii. p. 45.

* *In all facts he is called C. Atilius.*

by the prophet Daniel. I ſhall here repeat the beginning of this prophecy, which has already been explained elſewhere, that the reader may at once behold and admire the prediction of the greateſt events in hiſtory, and their literal accompliſhment at the appointed time.

(*u*) *I will now ſhow thee the truth.* Theſe words were ſpoken to Daniel, on the part of God, by the man clothed in linen. *Behold, there ſhall ſtand up yet three kings in Perſia*; namely, Cyrus, who was then upon the throne; his ſon Cambyſes; and Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes. *And the fourth ſhall be far richer than they all: And by his ſtrength through his riches he ſhall ſtir up all againſt the realm of Greece.* The monarch here meant was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a very formidable army.

(*x*) *And a mighty king ſhall ſtand up, that ſhall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.* In this part of the prophecy we may eaſily trace Alexander the Great.

(*y*) *And when he ſhall ſtand up, his kingdom ſhall be broken* (by his death) *and ſhall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his poſterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: For his kingdom ſhall be plucked up, even for others beſide thoſe*; namely, beſide the four greater princes. We have already ſeen the vaſt empire of Alexander * parcelled out into four great kingdoms; without including thoſe foreign princes who founded other kingdoms in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, Heraclea, and on the Boſphorus. All this was preſent to Daniel.

The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage we have already mentioned.

(*z*) *The king of the South ſhall be ſtrong, and one of his princes, and he ſhall be ſtrong above him, and have dominion: His dominion ſhall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they ſhall join themſelves together; for the*

(*u*) Dan. xi. 2. (*x*) Ver. 3. (*y*) Ver. 4. (*z*) Ver. 5, 6.

* Tum maximum in terris Macedonium regnum nomenque, inde morte Alexandri diſtractum in multa regna, dum ad ſe quiſque opes rapiunt lacerantes viribus. *Liv.* l. xlv. n. 9.

the king's daughter of the South ſhall come to the king of the North to make an agreement: But he ſhall not retain the power of the arm, neither ſhall he ſtand, nor his arm; but ſhe ſhall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that ſtrengthened her in theſe times.

It will be neceſſary to obſerve, that Daniel, in this paſſage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himſelf to the kings of Egypt and Syria, becauſe they were the only princes who engaged in wars againſt the people of God.

(*a*) *The king of the South ſhall be ſtrong.* This *king of the South* was Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, king of Egypt; and *the king of the North* was Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria. And, indeed, ſuch was their exact ſituation with reſpect to Judæa, which has Syria to the North, and Egypt to the South.

According to Daniel, the king of Egypt, who firſt reigned in that country after the death of Alexander, was Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls *the king of the South*, and declares, that *he ſhall be ſtrong*. The exactneſs of this character is fully juſtified by what we have ſeen in his hiſtory: For he was maſter of Egypt, Libya, Cyrenaica, Arabia, Palæſtine, Cœloſyria, and moſt of the maratime provinces of Aſia Minor; with the iſland of Cyprus; as alſo ſeveral iſles in the Ægean ſea, which is now called the Archipelago; and even ſome cities of Greece, as Sicyon and Corinth.

(*b*) The prophet, after this, mentions another of the four ſucceſſors to this empire, whom he calls *Princes*, or *Governors*. This was Seleucus Nicator, *the king of the North*; of whom he declares, *that he ſhould be more powerful than the king of the South, and his dominion more extenſive:* For this is the import of the prophet's expreſſion, *he ſhall be ſtrong above him, and have dominion.* It is eaſy to prove, that his territories were of greater extent than thoſe of the king of Egypt; for he was maſter of all the Eaſt, from mount Taurus to

(*a*) Dan. chap. xi. ver. 5. (*b*) Ver. 6.

to the river Indus; and alſo of ſeveral provinces in Aſia Minor, between Mount Taurus and the Ægean ſea; to which he added Thrace and Macedonia, a little before his death.

(*c*) Daniel then informs us, *that the daughter of the king of the South came to the king of the North, and mentions the treaty of peace, which was concluded on this occaſion between the two kings.* This evidently points out the marriage of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, with Antigonus Theos, king of Syria, and the peace concluded between them in conſideration of this alliance; every circumſtance of which exactly happened according to the prediction before us. The ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhow us the fatal event of this marriage, which was alſo foretold by the prophet.

In the remaining part of the chapter, he relates the moſt remarkable events of future times, under theſe two races of kings, to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great perſecutor of the Jewiſh nation. I ſhall be careful, as theſe events occur in the ſeries of this hiſtory, to apply the prophecy of Daniel to them, that the reader may obſerve the exact accompliſhment of each prediction.

In the mean time, I cannot but acknowledge in this place, with admiration, the divinity ſo viſible in the ſcriptures, which have related, in ſo particular a manner, a variety of ſingular and extraordinary facts, above three hundred years before they were tranſacted. What an immenſe chain of events extends from the prophecy to the time of its accompliſhment; by the breaking of any ſingle link, the whole would be diſconcerted! With reſpect to the marriage alone, what hand, but that of the Almighty, could have conducted ſo many different views, intrigues, and paſſions, to the ſame point? What knowledge but this could, with ſo much certainty, have foreſeen ſuch a number of diſtinct circumſtances, ſubject not only to the freedom of will, but even to the irregular impreſſions

(*c*) Dan. chap. xi. ver. 6.

preſſions of caprice? And what man but muſt adore that ſovereign power which God exerciſes, in a ſecret certain manner, over kings and princes, whoſe very crimes he renders ſubſervient to the execution of his ſacred will, and the accompliſhment of his eternal decrees; in which all events, both general and particular, have their appointed time and place fixed beyond the poſſibility of failing, even thoſe which depend the moſt on the choice and liberty of mankind?

(d) As Ptolemy was curious, to an uncommon degree, in the ſtatues, deſigns, and pictures of excellent maſters, as he alſo was in books; he ſaw, during the time he continued in Syria, a ſtatue of Diana, in one of the temples, which ſuited his taſte exceedingly. Antigonus made him a preſent of it, at his requeſt, and he carried it into Egypt. Some time after his return, Arſinoe was ſeiſed with an indiſpoſition, and dreamed that Diana appeared to her, and acquainted her, that Ptolemy was the occaſion of her illneſs, by his having taken her ſtatue out of the temple where it was conſecrated to her divinity. Upon this, the ſtatue was ſent back, as ſoon as poſſible, to Syria, in order to be replaced in the proper temple. It was alſo accompanied with rich preſents to the goddeſs, and a variety of ſacrifices were offered up to appeaſe her diſpleaſure; but they were not ſucceeded by any favourable effect. The queen's diſtemper was ſo far from abating, that ſhe died in a ſhort time, and left Ptolemy inconſolable at her loſs; and more ſo, becauſe he imputed her death to his own indiſcretion, in removing the ſtatue of Diana out of the temple. A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 248.

This paſſion for ſtatues, pictures, and other excellent curioſities of art, may be very commendable in a prince, and other great men, when indulged to a certain degree; but when a perſon abandons himſelf to it entirely, it degenerates into a dangerous temptation, and frequently prompts him to notorious injuſtice and violence. This is evident by what Cicero relates of

(d) Liban, Orat. xi.

of Verres, who practiſed a kind of piracy in Sicily, where he was prætor, by ſtripping private houſes and temples, of all their fineſt and moſt valuable curioſities. But though a perſon ſhould have no recourſe to ſuch baſe extremities, it is ſtill very ſhocking and offenſive, ſays Cicero, to ſay to a perſon of diſtinction, worth, and fortune, *Sell me this picture, or that ſtatue**, ſince it is, in effect, declaring, *you are unworthy to have ſuch an admirable piece in your poſſeſſion, which ſuits only a perſon of my rank and taſte.* I mention nothing of the enormous expences into which a man is drawn by this paſſion; for theſe exquiſite pieces have no price but what the deſire of poſſeſſing them ſets upon them, and that we know has no bounds †.

Though Arſinoe was older than Ptolemy, and too infirm to have any children, when he eſpouſed her; he however retained a conſtant and tender paſſion for her at the laſt, and rendered all imaginable honours to her memory, after her death. He gave her name to ſeveral cities, which he cauſed to be built, and performed a number of other remarkable things, to teſtify how well he loved her.

(*e*) Nothing could be more extraordinary than the deſign he formed of erecting a temple to her, at Alexandria, with a dome riſing above it, the concave part of which was to be lined with adamant, in order to keep an iron ſtatue of that queen ſuſpended in the air. This plan of building was invented by Dinocrates, a famous architect in thoſe times; and the moment he propoſed it to Ptolemy, that prince gave orders for beginning the work without delay. The experiment, however, remained imperfect, for want of ſufficient time; for Ptolemy and the architect dying within a very ſhort time after this reſolution, the project was entirely

(*e*) Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 14

* Superbum eſt & non ferendum, dicere prætorem in provincia homini honeſto, locupleti, ſplendido; vende mihi vaſa cælata. Hoc eſt enim dicere: non es dignus tu, qui habeas quæ tam bene facta ſunt. Meæ dignitatis iſta ſunt. *Cic. orat. de ſignis*, n. 45.

† Etenim, qui modus eſt cupiditatis, idem eſt æſtimationis. Difficile eſt enim finem facere pretio, niſi libidini feceris. *Id.* n. 14.

entirely diſcontinued. It has long been ſaid, and even believed, that the body of Mahomet was ſuſpended in this manner, in an iron coffin, by a loadſtone fixed in the vaulted roof of the chamber where his corpſe was depoſited after his death; but this is a mere vulgar error, without the leaſt foundation.

(f) Ptolemy Philadelphus ſurvived his beloved Arſinoe but a ſhort time. He was naturally of a tender conſtitution, and the ſoft manner of life he led, contributed to the decay of his health. The infirmities of old age, and his affliction for the loſs of a conſort whom he loved to adoration, brought upon him a languiſhing diſorder, which ended his days, in the ſixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. (g) He left two ſons and a daughter, whom he had by his firſt wife Arſinoe, the daughter of Lyſimachus, a different perſon from the laſt-mentioned queen of that name. His eldeſt ſon, Ptolemy Evergetes, ſucceeded him in the throne; the ſecond bore the name of Lyſimachus his grandfather by the mother, and was put to death by his brother for engaging in a rebellion againſt him. The name of the daughter was Berenice, whoſe marriage with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, has already been related.

A. M. 3757. Ant. J. C. 247.

SECT. IX. *Character and qualities of* PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

PTOLEMY Philadelphus had certainly great and excellent qualities; and yet we cannot propoſe him a perfect model of a good king, becauſe thoſe qualities were counterpoiſed by defects altogether as conſiderable. He diſhonoured the firſt period of his reign, by his reſentment againſt a man of uncommon merit, I mean Demetrius Phalereus, becauſe he had given ſome advice to his father, contrary to the intereſt of Philadelphus, but entirely conformable to equity and natural right. His immenſe riches ſoon drew after them a train of luxury and effeminate pleaſures, the uſual concomitants of ſuch high fortunes, which

(f) Athen. l. xii. p. 550. (g) Canon. Ptolem. Aſtron.

which contributed not a little to emaſculate his mind. He was not very induſtrious in cultivating the military virtues; but we muſt acknowledge, at the ſame time, that a remiſſneſs of this nature is not always a misfortune to a people.

He, however, made an ample compenſation for this neglect, by his love of the arts and ſciences, and his generoſity to learned men. The fame of his liberalities invited ſeveral illuſtrious poets to his court, particularly Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus; the laſt of whom gives him very lofty praiſes in ſome of his Idyllia. We have already ſeen his extraordinary taſte for books; and it is certain, that he ſpared no expence in the augmentation and embelliſhment of the library founded by his father, and from whence both thoſe princes have derived as much glory, as could have redounded to them from the greateſt conqueſts. As Philadelphus had abundance of wit, and his happy genius had been carefully cultivated by great maſters, he always retained a peculiar taſte for the ſciences, but in ſuch a manner, as ſuited the dignity of a prince; as he never ſuffered them to engroſs his whole attention, but regulated his propenſity to thoſe grateful amuſements, by prudence and moderation. In order to perpetuate this taſte in his dominions, he erected publick ſchools and academies at Alexandria, where they long flouriſhed in great reputation. He loved to converſe with men of learning; and as the greateſt maſters in every kind of ſcience were emulous to obtain his favour, he extracted from each of them, if I may uſe that expreſſion, the flower and quinteſſence of the ſciences in which they excelled. This is the ineſtimable advantage which princes and great men poſſeſs; and happy are they when they know how to uſe the opportunity of acquiring, in agreeable converſations, a thouſand things, not only curious, but uſeful and important, with reſpect to government.

This intercourſe of Philadelphus with learned men, and his care to place the arts in honour, may be conſidered as the ſource of thoſe meaſures he purſued,

through the courſe of his long reign, to make commerce flouriſh in his dominions; and in which attempt no prince ever ſucceeded more effectually than himſelf. The greateſt expences, in this particular, could never diſcourage him from perſiſting in what he propoſed to accompliſh. We have already obſerved, that he built whole cities, in order to protect and facilitate his intended traffick; that he opened a very long canal through deſarts deſtitute of water; and maintained a very numerous and complete navy in each of the two ſeas, merely for the defence of his merchants. His principal point in view was to ſecure to ſtrangers all imaginable ſafety and freedom in his ports, without any impoſitions on trade, or the leaſt intention of turning it from its proper channel, in order to make it ſubſervient to his own particular intereſt; as he was perſuaded, that commerce was like ſome ſprings, that ſoon ceaſe to flow, when diverted from their natural courſe.

Theſe were views worthy of a great prince, and a conſummate politician, and their laſting effects were infinitely beneficial to his kingdom. They have even continued to our days, ſtrengthened by the principles of their firſt eſtabliſhment, after a duration of above two thouſand years; opening a perpetual flow of new riches, and new commodities of every kind, into all nations; drawing continually from them a return of voluntary contributions; uniting the Eaſt and Weſt by the mutual ſupply of their reſpective wants; and eſtabliſhing on this baſis a commerce that has conſtantly ſupported itſelf from age to age without interruption. Thoſe great conquerors and celebrated heroes, whoſe merit has been ſo highly extolled, not to mention the ravages and deſolation they have occaſioned to mankind, have ſcarce left behind them any traces of the conqueſts and acquiſitions they have made for aggrandiſing their empires; or at leaſt thoſe traces have not been durable, and the revolutions to which the moſt potent ſtates are obnoxious, diveſt them of their conqueſts in a ſhort time, and transfer them to

others. On the contrary, the commerce of Egypt, eſtabliſhed thus by Philadelphus, inſtead of being ſhaken by time, has rather increaſed through a long ſucceſſion of ages, and become daily more uſeful and indiſpenſable to all nations. So that, when we trace it up to its ſource, we ſhall be ſenſible that this prince ought to be conſidered not only as the benefactor of Egypt, but of all mankind in general, to the lateſt poſterity.

What we have already obſerved, in the hiſtory of Philadelphus, with reſpect to the inclination of the neighbouring people to tranſplant themſelves in crowds into Egypt, preferring a reſidence in a foreign land to the natural affection of mankind for their native ſoil, is another glorious panegyrick on this prince; as the moſt eſſential duty of kings, and the moſt grateful pleaſure they can poſſibly enjoy, amidſt the ſplendours of a throne, is to gain the love of mankind, and to make their government deſirable. Ptolemy was ſenſible, as an able politician, that the only ſure expedient for extending his dominions, without any act of violence, was to multiply his ſubjects, and attach them to his government, by their intereſt and inclination; to cauſe the land to be cultivated in a better manner; to make arts and manufactures flouriſh; and to augment, by a thouſand judicious meaſures, the power of a prince and his kingdom, whoſe real ſtrength conſiſts in the multitude of his ſubjects.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

SECT. I. ANTIOCHUS THEOS *is poiſoned by his queen* LAODICE, *who cauſes* SELEUCUS CALINICUS *to be declared king. She alſo deſtroys* BERENICE *and her ſon.* PTOLEMY EVERGETES *avenges their death, by that of* LAODICE, *and ſeiſes part of Aſia.* ANTIOCHUS HIERAX *and* SELEUCUS *his brother unite againſt* PTOLEMY. *The death of* ANTIGONUS GONATAS, *king of Macedonia. He is ſucceeded by his ſon* DEMETRIUS. *The war between the two brothers,* ANTIOCHUS *and* SELEUCUS. *The death of* EUMENES, *king of Pergamus.* ATTALUS *ſucceeds him. The eſtabliſhment of the Parthian empire by* ARSACES. ANTIOCHUS *is ſlain by robbers.* SELEUCUS *is taken priſoner by the Parthians. Credit of* JOSEPH, *the nephew of* ONIAS, *with* PTOLEMY. *The death of* DEMETRIUS, *king of Macedonia.* ANTIGONUS *ſeiſes the throne of that prince. The death of* SELEUCUS.

(*a*) AS ſoon as Antiochus Theos had received intelligence of the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his father-in-law, he divorced Berenice, and recalled Laodice and her children. This lady, who knew the variable diſpoſition and inconſtancy of Antiochus, and was apprehenſive that the ſame levity of mind would induce him to ſupplant her, by receiving Berenice again, reſolved to improve the preſent opportunity to ſecure the crown for her ſon. Her own children were diſinherited by the treaty made with Ptolemy; by which it was alſo ſtipulated, that the iſſue Berenice might have by Antiochus ſhould ſucceed to the throne, and ſhe then had a ſon. Laodice, therefore cauſed Antiochus to be poiſoned; and when ſhe ſaw him expiring, ſhe placed in his bed a perſon, named Artemon, who very much reſembled him both in his features and the tone of his voice. He was there to act the part ſhe had occaſion for, and acquit-

(*a*) Hieron. in Daniel. Plin. l. vii. c. 12. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 14. Solin. c. i. Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

ted himſelf with great dexterity; taking great care, in the few viſits that were rendered him, to recommend his dear Laodice and her children to the lords and people. In his name were iſſued orders, by which his eldeſt ſon Seleucus Callinicus was appointed his ſucceſſor. His death was then delared, upon which Seleucus peaceably aſcended the throne, and enjoyed it for the ſpace of twenty years. It appears by the ſequel, that his brother Antiochus, ſurnamed Hierax, had the government of the provinces of Aſia Minor, where he commanded a very conſiderable body of troops.

Laodice, not believing herſelf ſafe as long as Berenice and her ſon lived, concerted meaſures with Seleucus to deſtroy them alſo; but that princeſs, being informed of their deſign, eſcaped the danger for ſome time, by retiring with her ſon to Daphne, where ſhe ſhut herſelf up in the aſylum built by Seleucus Nicator. But being at laſt betrayed by the perfidy of thoſe who beſieged her there by the order of Laodice, firſt her ſon and then herſelf, with all the Egyptians who had accompanied her to that retreat, were murthered in the blackeſt and moſt inhuman manner.

This event was an exact accompliſhment of what the prophet Daniel had foretold with relation to this marriage. (*b*) *The king's daughter of the South ſhall come to the king of the North to make an agreement: But he ſhall not retain the power of the arm, neither ſhall he ſtand, nor his arm; but ſhe ſhall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that ſtrengthened her in theſe times.* I am not ſurpriſed that Porphyry, who was a profeſſed enemy to Chriſtianity, ſhould repreſent theſe prophecies of Daniel, as predictions made after the ſeveral events to which they refer; for could they poſſibly be clearer if he had even been a ſpectator of the acts he foretold?

What probability was there that Egypt and Syria, which, in the time of Daniel, conſtituted part of the Babylonian empire, as tributary provinces, ſhould each

(*b*) Dan. xi. 6.

each of them be governed by kings who originally ſprung from Greece; and yet the prophet ſaw them eſtabliſhed in thoſe dominions above three hundred years before that happened. He beheld theſe two kings in a ſtate of war, and ſaw them afterwards reconciled by a treaty of peace ratified by a marriage. He alſo obſerved, that it was the king of Egypt, and not the king of Syria, who cemented the union between them by the gift of his daughter. He ſaw her conducted from Egypt to Syria in a pompous and magnificent manner; but was ſenſible that this event would be ſucceeded by a ſtrange cataſtrophe. In a word he diſcovered that the iſſue of this princeſs, notwithſtanding all the expreſs precautions in the treaty for ſecuring their ſucceſſion to the crown, in excluſion of the children by a former marriage, were ſo far from aſcending the throne, that they were entirely exterminated; and that the new queen herſelf was delivered up to her rival, who cauſed her to be deſtroyed, with all the officers who conducted her out of Egypt into Syria, and till then, had been her ſtrength and ſupport. "Great God! how worthy "are thy oracles to be believed and reverenced!" *Teſtimonia tua credibile facta ſunt nimis.*

Whilſt Berenice was beſieged and blocked up in Daphne, the cities of Aſia Minor, who had received intelligence of her treatment, were touched with compaſſion at her misfortune: in conſequence of which they formed a confederacy, and ſent a body of troops to Antioch for her relief. Her brother Ptolemy Evergetes was alſo as expeditious as poſſible to advance thither with a formidable army; but the unhappy Berenice and her children were dead before any of theſe auxiliary troops could arrive at the place where the ſiege had been carried on againſt her. When they therefore ſaw that all their endeavours to ſave the queen and her children were rendered ineffectual, they immediately determined to revenge her death in a remarkable manner. The troops of Aſia joined thoſe of Egypt, and Ptolemy, who commanded them, was as

ſucceſsful as he could deſire in the ſatisfaction of his juſt reſentment. The criminal proceeding of Laodice, and of the king her ſon, who had made himſelf an accomplice in her barbarity, ſoon alienated the affection of the people from them; and Ptolemy not only cauſed Laodice to ſuffer death, but made himſelf maſter of all Syria and Cilicia; after which he paſſed the Euphrates, and conquered all the country as far as Babylon and the Tigris: and if the progreſs of his arms had not been interrupted by a ſedition which obliged him to return to Egypt, he would certainly have ſubdued all the provinces of the Syrian empire. He, however, left Antiochus, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had gained on this ſide of mount Taurus; and Xantippus was entruſted with thoſe that lay beyond it; Ptolemy then marched back to Egypt, laden with the ſpoils he had acquired by his conqueſts.

This prince carried off forty thouſand * talents of ſilver, with a prodigious quantity of gold and ſilver veſſels, and two thouſand five hundred ſtatues, part of which were thoſe Egyptian idols, that Cambyſes, after his conqueſt of this kingdom, had ſent into Perſia. Ptolemy gained the hearts of his ſubjects by replacing thoſe idols in their ancient temples, when he returned from this expedition: for the Egyptians, who were more devoted to their ſuperſtitious idolatry than all the reſt of mankind, thought they could not ſufficiently expreſs their veneration and gratitude to a king, who had reſtored their gods to them in ſuch a manner. Ptolemy derived from this action the title of Evergetes, which ſignifies *a Benefactor*, and is infinitely preferable to all appellations which conquerors have aſſumed from a falſe idea of glory. An epithet of this nature is the true characteriſtick of kings, whoſe ſolid greatneſs conſiſts in the inclination and ability to improve the welfare of their ſubjects; and it were to be wiſhed, that Ptolemy had merited this title by actions more worthy of it.

All

* *About ſix millions ſterling.*

All this was alſo accompliſhed exactly as the prophet Daniel had foretold, and we need only cite the text, to prove what we advance. (*c*) *But out of a branch of her root* (intimating the king of the South, who was Ptolemy Evergetes, the ſon of Ptolemy Philadelphus) *ſhall one ſtand up in his eſtate, who ſhall come with an army, and ſhall enter into the fortreſs of the king of the North* (Seleucus Callinicus) *and ſhall deal againſt them, and ſhall prevail. And ſhall alſo carry captives into Egypt, their gods, with their princes, and with their precious veſſels of ſilver, and of gold, and he ſhall continue more years than the king of the North. So the king of the South ſhall come into his kingdom, and ſhall return into his own land*; namely, into that of Egypt.

(*d*) When Ptolemy Evergetes firſt ſet out on this expedition, his queen Berenice, who tenderly loved him, being apprehenſive of the dangers to which he would be expoſed in the war, made a vow to conſecrate her hair, if he ſhould happen to return in ſafety. This was undoubtedly a ſacrifice of the ornament ſhe moſt eſteemed; and when ſhe at laſt ſaw him return with ſo much glory, the accompliſhment of her promiſe was her immediate care; in order to which ſhe cauſed her hair to be cut off, and then dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had founded in honour to his beloved Arſinoe on Zephyrium, a promontory in Cyprus, under the name of the Zephyrian Venus. This conſecrated hair being loſt ſoon after by ſome unknown accident, Ptolemy was extremely offended with the prieſts for their negligence; upon which Conon of Samos, an artful courtier, and alſo a mathematician, being then at Alexandria, took upon him to affirm, that the locks of the queen's hair had been conveyed to heaven, and he pointed out ſeven ſtars near the lion's tail, which till then had never been part of any conſtellation; declaring, at the ſame time, that thoſe were the hair of

(*c*) Dan. xi. 7—9. (*d*) Hygini. Poet. Aſtron. l. ii. Nonnus in Hiſt. Synag. Catullus de coma Beren.

Berenice. Several other aſtronomers, either to make their court as well as Conon, or that they might not draw upon themſelves the diſpleaſure of Ptolemy, gave thoſe ſtars the ſame name, which is ſtill uſed to this day. Callimachus, who had been at the court of Philadelphus, compoſed a ſhort poem on the hair of Berenice, which Catullus afterward tranſlated into Latin, which verſion is come down to us.

(*e*) Ptolemy, in his return from this expedition, paſſed through Jeruſalem, where he offered a great number of ſacrifices to the God of Iſrael, in order to render homage to him, for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria; by which action he evidently diſcovered his preference of the true God to all the idols of Egypt. Perhaps the prophecies of Daniel were ſhown to that prince, and he might conclude, from what they contained, that all his conqueſts and ſucceſſes were owing to that God who had cauſed them to be foretold ſo exactly by his prophets.

A. M. 3759. Ant. J. C. 245. (*f*) Seleucus had been detained for ſome time in his kingdom, by the apprehenſion of domeſtick troubles; but when he received intelligence that Ptolemy was returning to Egypt, he ſet ſail with a conſiderable fleet, to reduce the revolted cities. His enterpriſe was, however, ineffectual; for, as ſoon as he advanced into the open ſea, his whole navy was deſtroyed by a violent tempeſt; as if heaven itſelf, ſays * Juſtin, had made the winds and waves the miniſters of his vengeance on this parricide. Seleucus, and ſome of his attendants, were almoſt the only perſons who were ſaved, and it was with great difficulty that they eſcaped naked from the wreck. But this dreadful ſtroke, which ſeemed intended to overwhelm him, contributed, on the contrary, to the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs. The cities of Aſia which had revolted, through the horrour they conceived againſt him, after the murther of Berenice and her children, no ſooner received intelligence of the great

(*e*) Joſeph. contr. Appian. l. ii. (*f*) Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

* Velut diis ipſis parricidium vindicantibus.

great loſs he had now ſuſtained, than they imagined him ſufficiently puniſhed, and as their hatred was then changed into compaſſion, they all declared for him anew.

This unexpected change having re-inſtated him in the greateſt part of his dominions, he was induſtrious to raiſe another army to recover the reſt. This effort, however, proved as unſucceſsful as the former; his army was defeated by the forces of Ptolemy, who cut off the greateſt part of his troops. He ſaved himſelf at Antioch, with the ſmall number of men who were left him when he eſcaped from the ſhipwreck at ſea: As if, ſays a certain hiſtorian, he had recovered his former power, only to loſe it a ſecond time with the greater mortification, by a fatal viciſſitude of fortune*. A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244.

After this ſecond fruſtration of his affairs, the cities of Smyrna and Magneſia, in Aſia Minor, were induced, by mere affection to Seleucus, to form a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually ſtipulated to ſupport him. They were greatly attached to his family, from whom they undoubtedly had received many extraordinary favours: They had even rendered divine honours to his father, Antiochus Theos, and alſo to Stratonice, the mother of this latter. Callinicus retained a grateful remembrance of the regard theſe cities had teſtified for his intereſt, and afterwards granted them ſeveral advantageous privileges. They cauſed the treaty we have mentioned to be engraven on a large column of marble, which ſtill ſubſiſts, and is now in the area before the theatre at Oxford. This column was brought out of Aſia, by Thomas Earl of Arundel, at the beginning of the reign of Charles the Firſt, and, with ſeveral other antique marbles, were preſented to the univerſity of Oxford by his grandſon, Henry Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Charles the ſecond. All the learned world ought to think themſelves indebted to noble-

men

* Quaſi ad ludibrium tantùm fortunæ natus eſſet, nec propter aliud opes regni recepiſſet, quàm ut amitteret. *Juſtin.*

men who are emulous to adorn and enrich univerſities in ſuch a generous manner; and I wiſh the ſame zeal had been ever teſtified for that of Paris, the mother of all the reſt, and whoſe antiquity and reputation, in conjunction with the abilities of her profeſſors, and her attachment to the ſacred perſons of kings, have rendered her worthy of being favoured in a peculiar manner by princes and great men. The eſtabliſhment of a library in this illuſtrious ſeminary would be an immortal honour to the perſon who ſhould lay the foundation of ſuch a work.

Seleucus, in the extremities to which he was reduced, had made application to his brother Antiochus, whom he promiſed to inveſt with the ſovereignty of the provinces of Aſia Minor, provided he would join him with his troops, and act in concert with him. The young prince was then at the head of an army in thoſe provinces; and though he was but fourteen years of age *, yet, as he had all the ambition and malignity of mind that appear in men of an advanced age, he immediately accepted the offers made him, and advanced in queſt of his brother, not with any intention to ſecure him the enjoyment of his dominions, but to ſeiſe them for himſelf. His avidity was ſo great, and he was always ſo ready to ſeiſe for himſelf whatever came in his way, without the leaſt regard to juſtice, that he acquired the ſurname of † Hierax, which ſignifies a bird that preys on all things he finds, and thinks every thing good upon which he lays his talons.

A. M. 3761. Ant. J. C. 243. When Ptolemy received intelligence, that Antiochus was preparing to act in concert with Seleucus againſt him, he reconciled himſelf with the latter, and concluded a truce with him for ten years, that he might

* Antiochus, cùm eſſet annos quatuordecim natus, ſupra ætatem regni avidus, occaſionem non tam pio animo, quàm offerebatur, arripuit: ſed, latronis more, totum fratri eripere cupiens, puer ſceleratam virilemque ſumit audaciam. Unde Hierax ex cognominatus: quia, non hominis ſed accipitris ritu, in alienis eripiendis vitam ſectaretur. *Juſtin.*

† *A Kite.*

might not have both thoſe princes for his enemies at the ſame time.

Antigonus Gonatas died much about this period, A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242. at the age of eighty, or eighty-three years; after he had reigned thirty-four years in Macedonia, and forty-four in Greece. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and made himſelf maſter of Cyrenaica and all Libya. (*g*) Demetrius firſt married the ſiſter of Antiochus Hierax; but Olympias, the daughter of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, engaged him, after the death of her huſband Alexander, who was likewiſe her brother, to eſpouſe her daughter Phthia. The firſt wife, being unable to ſupport this injurious proceeding, retired to her brother Antiochus, and earneſtly preſſed him to declare war againſt her faithleſs huſband: but his attention was then taken up with other views and employments.

This prince ſtill continued his military preparations, as if he deſigned to aſſiſt his brother, in purſuance of the treaty between them *; but his real intention was to dethrone him, and he concealed the virulent diſpoſition of an enemy under the name of a brother. Seleucus penetrated his ſcheme, and immediately paſſed mount Taurus, in order to check his progreſs. (*h*) Antiochus founded his pretext on the promiſe which had been made him of the ſovereignty of the provinces of Aſia Minor, as a compenſation for aſſiſting his brother againſt Ptolemy; but Seleucus, who then ſaw himſelf diſengaged from that war without the aid of his brother, did not conceive himſelf obliged to perform that promiſe. Antiochus reſolving to perſiſt in his pretenſions, and Seleucus refuſing to allow them, it became neceſſary to decide the difference by arms. A battle was accordingly fought near Ancyra, in Galatia, wherein Seleucus was defeated, and eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty from the enemy. Antiochus was alſo expoſed to great dangers, notwithſtanding his victory.

(*g*) Polyb. l. ii. p. 131. Juſtin. l. xxviii. c. 1.

(*h*) Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

* Pro auxilio bellum, pro fratre hoſtem, imploratus exhibuit,

tory. The troops, on whoſe valour he chiefly relied, were a body of Gauls whom he had taken into his pay, and they were undoubtedly ſome of thoſe who had ſettled in Galatia. Theſe traitors, upon a confuſed report that Seleucus had been killed in the action, had formed a reſolution to deſtroy Antiochus, perſuading themſelves that they ſhould be abſolute maſters of Aſia, after the death of thoſe two princes. Antiochus therefore was obliged, for his own preſervation, to diſtribute all the money of the army amongſt them.

(*i*) Eumenes, prince of Pergamus, being deſirous of improving this conjuncture, advanced with all his forces againſt Antiochus and the Gauls, in full expectation to ruin them both, in conſequence of their diviſion. The imminent danger to which Antiochus was then reduced, obliged him to make a new treaty with the Gauls, wherein he ſtipulated to renounce the title of their maſter which he had before aſſumed, for that of their ally: and he alſo entered into a league offenſive and defenſive with that people. This treaty, however, did not prevent Eumenes from attacking them; and as he came upon them in ſuch a ſudden and unexpected manner as did not allow them any time to recover after their fatigues, or to furniſh themſelves with new recruits, he obtained a victory over them, which coſt him but little, and laid all Aſia Minor open to him.

A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. (*k*) Eumenes, upon this fortunate event, abandoned himſelf to intemperance and exceſs at his table, and died after a reign of twenty years. As he left no children, he was ſucceeded by Attalus, his couſin-german, who was the ſon of Attalus, his father's younger brother. This prince was wiſe and valiant, and perfectly qualified to preſerve the conqueſts that he inherited. He entirely reduced the Gauls, and then eſtabliſhed himſelf ſo effectually in his dominions, that he took upon himſelf the title of king; for though his predeceſſors

(*i*) Juſtin, l. xxvii. c. 3.

(*k*) Athen. l. x. p. 445. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Valer. excerpt. ex Polyb.

predeceſſors had enjoyed all the power, they had never ventured to aſſume the ſtile of ſovereigns. Attalus therefore was the firſt of his houſe who took it upon him, and tranſmitted it, with his dominions, to his poſterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation.

Whilſt Eumenes, and, after him, Attalus were ſeiſing the provinces of the Syrian empire in the Weſt, Theodotus and Arſaces were proceeding by their example in the Eaſt. (*l*) The latter hearing that Seleucus had been ſlain in the battle of Ancyra, turned his arms againſt Hyrcania, and annexed it to Parthia, which he had diſmembered from the empire. He then erected theſe two provinces into a kingdom, which, in proceſs of time, became very formidable to the empire of the Romans, Theodotus dying ſoon after, Arſaces made a league offenſive and defenſive with his ſon, who bore the ſame name, and ſucceeded his father in Bactria; and they mutually ſupported themſelves in their dominions by this union. The two brothers notwithſtanding theſe tranſactions, continued the war againſt each other, with the moſt implacable warmth, not conſidering, that while they contended with each other for the empire their father had left them, the whole would be gradually wreſted from them by their common enemies.

The treaſure and forces of Antiochus being exhauſted by the ſeveral overthrows and loſſes he had ſuſtained, he was obliged to wander from one retreat to another, with the ſhattered remains of his party, till he was at laſt entirely driven out of Meſopotamia. Finding, therefore, that there was no place in all the empire of Syria, where he could poſſibly continue in ſafety, he retired for refuge to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, whoſe daughter he had eſpouſed. Ariarathes, notwithſtanding this alliance, was ſoon weary of entertaining a ſon-in-law who became a burthen to him; for which reaſon he determined to deſtroy him. Antiochus, being informed of his deſign, avoided the danger

A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230.

(*l*) Juſtin. l. xli. c. 4.

ger by a ſpeedy retreat into Egypt; where he rather choſe to deliver himſelf up to the power of Ptolemy, the profeſſed enemy of his houſe, than to truſt a brother whom he had ſo highly offended. He however had reaſon to repent of this proceeding, for immediately after his arrival in Egypt, Ptolemy cauſed him
A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. to be ſeiſed and impriſoned; he alſo placed a ſtrong guard over him, and detained him ſeveral years in that confinement, till at laſt he found means to eſcape by the aſſiſtance of a courteſan; but as he was quitting that kingdom, he had the misfortune to be aſſaſſinated by a band of robbers.

A. M. 3765. Ant. J. C. 239. Ptolemy, in the mean time, devoted the ſweets of peace to the cultivation of the ſciences in his dominions, and the enlargement of his father's library at Alexandria with all ſorts of books: but as a proper collection could not well be made without an able librarian, to whoſe care it would be likewiſe neceſſary to conſign them, (*m*) Evergetes, upon the death of Zenodotus, who had exerciſed that function from the time of Ptolemy Soter, the grandfather of that prince, ſent to Athens for Eratoſthenes the Cyrenian, who was then in great reputation, and had been educated by Callimachus, a native of the ſame country. (*n*) He was a man of univerſal learning, but none of his works have been tranſmitted to us, except his catalogue of the kings of Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their reſpective reigns, from Menes, or Miſraim, who firſt peopled Egypt after the deluge, to the Trojan war. This catalogue contains a ſucceſſion of thirty-eight kings, and is ſtill to be ſeen in Syncellus.

A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236. When Seleucus ſaw himſelf extricated from the troubles his brother had occaſioned, his firſt cares were employed in the re-eſtabliſhment of order and tranquillity in the dominions he poſſeſſed; and when he had accompliſhed this, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the oriental provinces which had revolted from

(*m*) Suid. in voc. Ζηνόδοτος. (*n*) Ibid. in voc. Ἀπολλώνιος & Ἐρατοσθένης.

from him. This laſt attempt, however, was not attended with ſucceſs; for Arſaces had been allowed too much time to ſtrengthen himſelf in his uſurpation. Seleucus therefore, after many ineffectual endeavours to recover thoſe territories, was obliged to diſcontinue his enterpriſe in a diſhonourable manner. He, perhaps, might have ſucceeded better in time, if new commotions, which had been excited in his dominions during his abſence, had not compelled him to make a ſpeedy return, in order to ſuppreſs them. This furniſhed Arſaces with a new opportunity of eſtabliſhing his power ſo effectually, that all future efforts were incapable of reducing it.

(o) Seleucus, however, made a new attempt, as ſoon as his affairs would admit: But this ſecond expedition proved more unfortunate than the firſt; for he was not only defeated, but taken priſoner by Arſaces, in a great battle. The Parthians celebrated, for many ſucceeding years, the anniverſary of this victory, which they conſidered as the firſt day of their liberty, though in reality it was the firſt æra of their ſlavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than thoſe Parthian kings to whom they were ſubjected. The Macedonian yoke would have been much more ſupportable than their oppreſſive government, if they had perſevered to ſubmit to it. Arſaces now began to aſſume the title of king, and firmly eſtabliſhed this empire of the Eaſt, which, in proceſs of time, counterpoiſed the Roman power, and became a barrier, which all the armies of that people were incapable of forcing. All the kings who ſucceeded Arſaces made it an indiſpenſable law, and counted it an honour, to be called by his name; in the ſame manner as the kings of Egypt retained that of Ptolemy, as long as the race of Ptolemy Soter governed that kingdom. Arſaces raiſed himſelf to a throne from the loweſt condition of life, and became as memorable among the Parthians, as Cyrus had been among the Perſians, or Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the

A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230.

(o) Juſtin. l. xli. c. 4 & 5.

the Romans *. This verifies that paſſage in holy ſcripture, which declares, (*p*) *That the Moſt High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomſoever he will, and ſetteth up over it the baſeſt of men.*

A. M. 3771. Ant. J. C. 233.

(*q*) Onias, the ſovereign pontiff of the Jews, had neglected to ſend Ptolemy the uſual tribute of twenty talents, which his predeceſſors had always paid to the kings of Egypt, as a teſtimonial of the homage they rendered to that crown. The king ſent Athenion, one of his courtiers, to Jeruſalem, to demand the payment of the arrears, which then amounted to a great ſum; and to threaten the Jews, in caſe of refuſal, with a body of troops, who ſhould be commiſſioned to expel them from their country, and divide it among themſelves. The alarm was very great at Jeruſalem on this occaſion, and it was thought neceſſary to ſend a deputation to the king, in the perſon of Joſeph, the nephew of Onias, who, though in the prime of his youth, was univerſally eſteemed for his prudence, probity, and juſtice. Athenion, during his continuance at Jeruſalem, had conceived a great regard for his character, and as he ſet out for Egypt before him, he promiſed to render him all the good offices in his power with the king. Joſeph followed him in a ſhort time, and on his way met with ſeveral conſiderable perſons of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, who were alſo going to Egypt, with an intention to offer terms for farming the great revenues of thoſe provinces. As the equipage of Joſeph was far from being ſo magnificent as theirs, they treated him with little reſpect, and conſidered him as a perſon of no great capacity. Joſeph concealed his diſſatisfaction at their behaviour, but drew, from the converſation that paſſed between them, all the circumſtances he could deſire, with relation to the affair that brought them to court, and without ſeeming to have any particular view in the curioſity he expreſſed.

When

(*p*) Dan. iv. 17. (*q*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3 & 4.

* Arſaces, quæſito ſimul conſtitutoque regno, non minùs, memorabilis [Parthis fuit] quàm Perſis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus. *Juſtin.*

When they arrived at Alexandria, they were informed that the king had taken a progreſs to Memphis, and Joſeph was the only perſon among them who ſet out from thence, in order to wait upon that monarch, without loſing a moment's time. He had the good fortune to meet him, as he was returning from Memphis, with the queen and Athenion in his chariot. The king, who had received impreſſions in his favour from Athenion, was extremely delighted at his preſence, and invited him into his chariot. Joſeph, to excuſe his uncle, repreſented the infirmities of his great age, and the natural tardineſs of his diſpoſition, in ſuch an engaging manner, as ſatisfied Ptolemy, and created in him an extraordinary eſteem for the advocate who had ſo effectually pleaded the cauſe of that pontiff. He alſo ordered him an apartment in the royal palace of Alexandria, and allowed him a place at his table.

When the appointed day came for purchaſing, by auction, the privilege of farming the revenues of the provinces, the companions of Joſeph in his journey to Egypt offered no more than eight thouſand talents for the provinces of Cœloſyria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria. Upon which Joſeph, who had diſcovered, in the converſation that paſſed between them in his preſence, that this purchaſe was worth double the ſum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and offered twice as much as they had done. Ptolemy was well ſatisfied to ſee his revenues ſo conſiderably increaſed; but being apprehenſive that the perſon who proffered ſo large a ſum would be in no condition to pay it, he aſked Joſeph what ſecurity he would give him for the performance of his agreement? The Jewiſh deputy replied, with a calm air, that he had ſuch perſons to offer for his ſecurity on that occaſion, as he was certain his majeſty could have no objections to. Upon being ordered to mention them, he named the king and queen themſelves; and added, that they would be his ſecurities to each other. The king could not

avoid ſmiling at this little pleaſantry, which put him into ſo good an humour, that he allowed him to farm the revenues without any other ſecurity than his verbal promiſe for payment. Joſeph acted in that ſtation for the ſpace of ten years, to the mutual ſatisfaction of the court and provinces. His rich competitors, who had farmed thoſe revenues before, returned home in the utmoſt confuſion, and had reaſon to be ſenſible, that a magnificent equipage is a very inconſiderable indication of merit.

A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232. (*r*) King Demetrius died, about this time, in Macedonia, and left a ſon, named Philip, in an early ſtate of minority; for which reaſon his guardianſhip was conſigned to Antigonus, who, having eſpouſed the mother of his pupil, aſcended the throne, and reigned for the ſpace of twelve years. He was magnificent in promiſes, but extremely frugal in performance, which occaſioned his being ſurnamed * *Doſon*.

A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. (*s*) Five or ſix years after this period, Seleucus Callinicus, who for ſome time had continued in a ſtate of captivity in Parthia, died in that country by a fall from his horſe, Arſaces had always treated him as a king during his confinement. His wife was Laodice, the ſiſter of Andromachus, one of his generals, and he had two ſons and a daughter by that marriage. He eſpouſed his daughter to Mithridates king of Pontus, and conſigned Phrygia to her for her dowry. His ſons were Seleucus and Antiochus; the former of whom, ſurnamed Ceraunus, ſucceeded him in the throne.

We are now arrived at the period wherein the republick of the Achæans begins to appear with luſtre in hiſtory, and was in a condition to ſuſtain wars, particularly againſt that of the Lacedæmonians. It will therefore be neceſſary for me to repreſent the preſent ſtate

(*r*) Juſtin. l. xxviii. c. 3. Dexipp. Porphyr. Duſeb. (*s*) Juſtin. l. vii. c. 3. Athen. p. 153.

* *This name ſignifies in the Greek language,* One who will give, *that is to ſay, a perſon who promiſes to give, but never gives what he promiſes.*

ſtate of thoſe two republicks; and I ſhall begin with that of the Achæans.

SECT. II. *The eſtabliſhment of the republick of the Achæans.* ARATUS *delivers* SICYON *from tyranny. The character of that young Grecian. He is enabled, by the liberalities of* PTOLEMY EVERGETES, *to extinguiſh a ſedition ready to break out in Sicyon. Takes Corinth from* ANTIGONUS *king of Macedonia. Prevails on the cities of Megara, Trazene, Epidaurus, and Megalopolis, to accede to the Achæan league; but is not ſo ſucceſsful with reſpect to Argos.*

(a) THE republick of the Achæans was not conſiderable at firſt, either for the number of its troops, the immenſity of its riches, or the extent of its territory, but derived its power from the great reputation it acquired for the virtues of probity, juſtice, love of liberty; and this reputation was very ancient. The Crotonians and Sybarites adopted the laws and cuſtoms of the Achæans, for the re-eſtabliſhment of good order in the cities. The Lacedæmonians and Thebans had ſuch an eſteem for their virtue, that they choſe them, after the celebrated battle of Leuctra, to arbitrate the differences which ſubſiſted between them.

The government of this republick was democratical, that is to ſay in the hands of the people. It likewiſe preſerved its liberty to the times of Philip and Alexander; but under thoſe princes, and in the reigns of thoſe who ſucceeded them, it was either in ſubjection to the Macedonians who had made themſelves maſters of Greece, or elſe was oppreſſed by cruel tyrants.

It was compoſed of twelve * cities, all in Peloponneſus, but together not equal to a ſingle one of conſiderable rank. This republick did not ſignalize herſelf immediately by any thing great and remarkable, becauſe, amongſt all her citizens, ſhe produced none of

(a) Polyb. l. viii. p. 125—130.

* *Theſe twelve cities were, Pa- ontium, Aegira, Pellene, Aegium, ræ, Dyma, Pharæ, Tritæa, Le- Bura, Ceraunia, Olenus, Helice.*

any diſtinguiſhed merit. The ſequel will diſcover the extraordinary change a ſingle man was capable of introducing among them, by his great qualities. After the death of Alexander, this little ſtate was involved in all the calamities inſeparable from diſcord. The ſpirit of patriotiſm no longer prevailed among them, and each city was ſolely attentive to its particular intereſt. Their ſtate had loſt its former ſolidity, becauſe they changed their maſter as often as Macedonia became ſubject to new ſovereigns. They firſt ſubmitted to Demetrius; after him, to Caſſander; and laſt of all to Antigonus Gonatus, who left them in ſubjection to tyrants of his own eſtabliſhing, that they might not withdraw themſelves from his authority.

A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280. Toward the beginning of the CXXIVth Olympiad, very near the death of Ptolemy Soter, the father of Philadelphus, and the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy, the republick of the Achæans reſumed their former cuſtoms, and renewed their ancient concord. The inhabitants of Patræ and Dyma laid the foundations of this happy change. The tyrants were expelled from the cities, which then united, and conſtituted one body of a republick anew: All affairs were decided by a publick council: The regiſters were committed to a common ſecretary: The aſſembly had two preſidents, who were nominated by the cities in their reſpective turns; but it was ſoon thought adviſeable to reduce them to one.

The good order which reigned in this little republick, where freedom and equality, with a love of juſtice and the publick good, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew into their community ſeveral neighbouring cities, who received their laws, and aſſociated themſelves into their privileges. Sicyon was one of the firſt that acceded in this manner; by which means Aratus, one of its citizens, had an opportunity of acting a very great part, and became very illuſtrious.

(*b*) Sicyon, which had long groaned under the yoke of

(*b*) Plut. in Arato, p. 1027—1031.

of her tyrants, attempted to ſhake it off, by placing Clinias, one of her firſt and braveſt citizens, at her head; and the government already began to flouriſh and aſſume a new form, when Abantidas found means to diſconcert this amiable plan, in order to ſeiſe the tyranny into his own hands. Some of his relations and friends he expelled from the city, and took off others by death: He alſo ſearched for Aratus, the ſon of Clinias, who was then but ſeven years of age, in order to deſtroy him; but the infant eſcaped, with ſome other perſons, amidſt the diſorder that filled the houſe when his father was killed; and as he was wandering about the city, in the utmoſt conſternation and diſtreſs, he accidentally entered unſeen into a houſe which belonged to the tyrant's ſiſter. This lady was naturally generous, and as ſhe alſo believed that this deſtitute infant had taken refuge under her roof, by the impulſe of ſome deity, ſhe carefully concealed him; and when night came, cauſed him to be ſecretly conveyed to Argos.

Aratus being thus preſerved from ſo imminent a danger, conceived in his ſoul from thenceforth an implacable averſion to tyrants, which always increaſed with his age. He was educated with the utmoſt care, by ſome hoſpitable friends of his father's, at Argos.

The new tyranny in Sicyon had paſſed through ſeveral hands in a ſhort time, when Aratus, who began to arrive at a ſtate of manhood, was ſollicitous to deliver his country entirely from oppreſſion. He was greatly reſpected, as well for his birth as his courage, which was accompanied with a gravity ſuperior to his age, and a ſtrong and clear underſtanding. Theſe qualities, which were well known at that time, cauſed the exiles from Sicyon to caſt their eyes upon him in a peculiar manner, and to conſider him as a perſon deſtined to be their future deliverer; in which conjecture they were not deceived.

Aratus, who was then in the twentieth year of his age, formed a confederacy againſt Nicocles, who was tyrant at that time; and though the ſpies he ſent A. M. 3752. Ant. J. C. 252.

to Argos kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he perſued his meaſures with ſo much prudence and ſecrecy, that he ſcaled the walls of Sicyon, and entered the city by night. The tyrant was fortunate enough to ſecure himſelf a retreat, through ſubterranean paſſages, and when the people aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been tranſacted, a herald cried with a loud voice, that *Aratus, the ſon of Clinias, invited the citizens to reſume their liberty.* Upon which the crowd immediately flocked to the palace of the tyrant, and burnt it to aſhes in a few moments; but not a ſingle man was killed or wounded on either ſide; the good genius of Aratus not ſuffering an action of this nature to be polluted with the blood of his citizens; and in which circumſtance he made his joy and triumph conſiſt. He then recalled all thoſe who had been baniſhed, to the number of five hundred.

Sicyon then began to enjoy ſome repoſe, but Aratus was not fully relieved from inquietude and perplexity. With reſpect to the ſituation of affairs without, he was ſenſible that Antigonus caſt a jealous eye on the city, and had meditated expedients for making himſelf maſter of it, from its having recovered its liberty. He beheld the ſeeds of ſedition and diſcord ſown within, by thoſe who had been baniſhed, and was extremely apprehenſive of their effects. He imagined, therefore, that the ſafeſt and moſt prudent conduct in this delicate juncture, would be to unite Sicyon in the Achæan league, in which he eaſily ſucceeded; and this was one of the greateſt ſervices he was capable of rendering his country.

The power of the Achæans was indeed but inconſiderable; for, as I have already obſerved, they were only maſters of three very ſmall cities. Their country was neither good nor rich, and they inhabited a coaſt which had neither ports, nor any other maritime ſtations of ſecurity. But, with all this mediocrity and ſeeming weakneſs, they of all people made it moſt evident, that the forces of the Greeks could be always invincible, when under good order and diſci-

pline,

pline, and with a prudent and experienced general at the head of them. Thus did thoſe Achæans (who were ſo inconſiderable in compariſon of the ancient power of Greece) by conſtantly adhering to good counſels, and continuing ſtrictly united together, without blaſting the merit of their fellow-citizens with the malignant breath of envy; thus, I ſay, did theſe Achæans not only maintain their liberties, amidſt ſo many potent cities, and ſuch a number of tyrants, but reſtored freedom and ſafety to moſt of the Grecian ſtates.

Aratus, after he had engaged his city in the Achæan league, entered himſelf among the cavalry, for the ſervice of that ſtate, and was not a little eſteemed by the generals, for the promptitude and vivacity he diſcovered in the execution of their orders: For though he had infinitely contributed to the power and credit of the league, by ſtrengthening it with his own reputation, and all the forces of his country, he yet appeared as ſubmiſſive as the meaneſt ſoldier to the general of the Achæans, notwithſtanding the obſcurity of the city from whence that officer was ſelected for ſuch an employment. This is certainly an excellent example for young princes and noblemen, when they ſerve in armies, which will teach them to forget their birth on thoſe occaſions, and pay an exact ſubmiſſion to the orders of their commanders.

(d) The conduct and character of Aratus are undoubtedly worthy of admiration. He was naturally polite and obliging; his ſentiments were great and noble; and he entirely devoted himſelf to the good of the ſtate, without any intereſted views. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants, and regulated his friendſhip and enmity by the publick utility. He was qualified, in many particulars, to appear at the head of affairs: His expreſſions in diſcourſe were always proper: his thoughts juſt; and even his ſilence judicious. He conducted himſelf with a complacency of temper, in all differences that aroſe in any deliberations of moment, and had no ſuperior in the happy art of contract-

(*d*) Plut. in Arat. p. 1031. Polyb. l. iv. p. 277, 278.

ing friendſhips and alliances. He had a wonderful facility in forming enterpriſes againſt an enemy; in making his deſigns impenetrable ſecrets, and in executing them happily by his patience and intrepidity. It muſt however be acknowledged, that this celebrated Aratus did not ſeem to be the ſame man at the head of an army: Nothing could then be diſcovered in him, but protraction, irreſolution, and timidity; whilſt every proſpect of danger was inſupportable to him. Not that he really wanted courage and boldneſs, but theſe qualities ſeemed to be ſtruck languid by the greatneſs of the execution, and he was only timorous on certain occaſions, and at intervals. It was from this diſpoſition of his, that all Peloponneſus was filled with the trophies of his conquerors, and the monuments of his own defeats. In this manner, ſays Polybius, has nature compounded different and contrary qualities together, not only in the bodies of men, but even in their minds; and hence it is that we are to account for the ſurpriſing diverſity we frequently perceive in the ſame perſons. On ſome occaſions they appear lively, heroick, and undaunted; and at others, all their vigour, vivacity, and reſolution, entirely abandon them.

A. M. 3753. Ant. J. C. 251. (*e*) I have already obſerved, that thoſe citizens who had been baniſhed gave Aratus great perplexity. His diſquiet was occaſioned by their pretenſions to the lands and houſes they poſſeſſed before their exile; the greateſt part of which had been conſigned to other perſons, who afterwards ſold them, and diſappeared upon the expulſion of the tyrant. It was reaſonable that theſe exiles ſhould be re-inſtated in their former poſſeſſions, after their recall from baniſhment, and they made application to that effect with all imaginable importunity. On the other hand, the greateſt part of what they claimed had been alienated to fair purchaſers, who conſequently expected to be re-imburſed, before they delivered up ſuch houſes and lands to the claimants. The pretenſions and complaints on this occaſion were vigorouſly urged on both ſides, and Sicyon

(*e*) Plut. in Arat. p. 1031—1038.

cyon was in the utmoſt danger of being ruined by a civil war, which ſeemed inevitable. Never was any affair more difficult than this. Aratus was incapable of reconciling the two parties, whoſe demands were equally equitable, and it was impoſſible to ſatisfy them both at the ſame time, without expending very conſiderable ſums, which the ſtate was in no condition to furniſh. In this emergency he could think of no reſource but the goodneſs and liberality of Ptolemy king of Egypt, which he himſelf had experienced, on the following occaſion.

That prince was extremely curious in portraits and other paintings: Aratus, therefore, who was an excellent judge of ſuch performances, collected all the works of the greateſt maſters which he could poſſibly procure, eſpecially thoſe of Pamphilus and Melanthus, and ſent them to the king. Sicyon was ſtill in great reputation for the arts, and painting in particular; the true taſte of which was preſerved there in all its ancient purity. It is even ſaid, that Apelles, who was then admired by all the world, had been at Sicyon, where he frequented the ſchools of two painters, to whom he gave a talent (equal to a thouſand crowns) not for acquiring a perfection in the art from them, but in order to obtain a ſhare in their great reputation. When Aratus had re-inſtated his city in its former liberties, he deſtroyed all the pictures of the tyrants; but when he came to that of Ariſtratus, who reigned in the time of Philip, and whom the painter had repreſented in the attitude of ſtanding in a triumphant chariot, he heſitated a long time whether he ſhould deface it or not; for all the capital diſciples of Melanthus had contributed to the completion of that piece, and it had even been touched by the pencil of Apelles. This work was ſo inimitable in its kind, that Aratus was inchanted with its beauties; but his averſion for tyrants prevailed over his admiration of the picture, and he accordingly ordered it to be deſtroyed.

The fine taſte of Aratus for painting, had recommended him to the good graces of Ptolemy; and he therefore

therefore thought he might take the liberty to implore the generoſity of that prince, in the melancholy ſituation to which he was then reduced. With this view he embarked for Egypt; but was expoſed to many dangers and diſappointments, before he could arrive in that kingdom. He had a long audience of Ptolemy, who eſteemed him the better, the more he knew him; and preſented him with a hundred and fifty talents for the benefit of his city. Aratus carried away forty talents when he ſet out for Peloponneſus, and the king remitted him the remainder in ſeparate payments.

His fortunate return occaſioned univerſal joy in Sicyon, and he was inveſted with full power to decide the pretenſions of the exiles, and regulate the partitions to be made in their favour. But as a wiſe politician, who is not for engroſſing the deciſion of all affairs to himſelf, is not afraid of diminiſhing his reputation by admitting others to ſhare it with him, he firmly refuſed the honours deſigned him, and nominated for his coadjutors fifteen citizens of the greateſt repute, in conjunction with whom he at laſt reſtored harmony and peace among the inhabitants, and refunded to the ſeveral purchaſers all the ſums they had expended for the lands and houſes they had actually bought. It has always been obſerved, that glory purſues thoſe who are induſtrious to decline it. Aratus, therefore, who thought himſelf in need of good counſels, to aſſiſt him in the determination of this important affair (and perſons of the greateſt merit always entertain the ſame diffidence of themſelves) had all the honour of this affair. His conduct was infinitely applauded; ſtatues were erected to him, and the people, by publick inſcriptions, declared him the father of the people, and the deliverer of his country. Theſe are qualities that infinitely tranſcend thoſe of the moſt celebrated conquerors.

A ſucceſs ſo illuſtrious gave Antigonus jealouſy, and even fear; in conſequence of which, at a publick entertainment, he artfully enhanced the merit and capacity

capacity of this young man by extraordinary praiſes, poſſibly with an intention either to gain him over to his own intereſt, or to render him ſuſpected to Ptolemy. He inſinuated, in terms ſufficiently intelligible, that Aratus having diſcovered, by his own experience, the vanity of the Egyptian pride, intended to attach himſelf to his ſervice; and that he therefore was reſolved to employ him in his affairs: He concluded this ſtrain of artifice with intreating all the lords of his court, who were then preſent, to regard him for the future as their friend. The particulars of this diſcourſe were ſoon repeated to Ptolemy, who was not a little ſurpriſed and afflicted when he heard them; and he complained to Aratus of this injurious change, but the latter eaſily juſtified himſelf to that monarch.

Aratus having been elected general of the Achæans, for the firſt time, ravaged Locris, and all the territory of Calydon, and advanced with a body of ten thouſand men to ſuccour the Bœotians; but was ſo unfortunate as not to arrive among them till after the battle of Chæronea *, in which they were defeated by the Ætolians.

Eight years after this tranſaction, he was elected general of the Achæans a ſecond time, and rendered great ſervice to all Greece, by an action which, according to Plutarch, was equal to any of the moſt illuſtrious enterpriſes of the Grecian leaders. A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244.

The Iſthmus of Corinth, which ſeparates the two ſeas, unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponneſus; the citadel alſo of Corinth, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Acro-Corinthus, is ſituated on a high mountain, exactly in the middle of thoſe two continents, which are there divided from each other by a very narrow neck of land; by which means this fortreſs, when furniſhed with a good garriſon, cuts off all communication, by land and ſea, from the inner part of the Iſthmus, and renders the perſon who poſſeſſes it, with

* *Philip, above forty years before this event, had obtained a celebrated victory over the Athenians and Thebans, near the ſame place.*

with a good body of troops, abſolute maſter of all Greece. Philip called this citadel *the ſhackles of Greece*, and as it was capable of being rendered ſuch, it created jealouſy in all the neighbouring ſtates, and eſpecially kings and princes, who conſequently were deſirous of ſeiſing it for their own uſe.

Antigonus, after a long impatience to render himſelf maſter of this place, was ſo fortunate as to carry it by ſurpriſe, and made no ſcruple to congratulate himſelf as much on this ſucceſs, as on a real triumph. Aratus, on the other hand, entertained hopes of wreſting this fortreſs from him, in his turn; and while all his thoughts were employed to that effect, an accidental circumſtance furniſhed him with an opportunity of accompliſhing his deſign.

Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinth, had taken a journey to Sicyon, in order to tranſact ſome affairs in that city; and had there contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker, who was a particular friend of Aratus. As the citadel happened to be the ſubject of one of their converſations, Erginus told his friend, that, when he went to viſit his brother, who was a ſoldier of the garriſon, he had obſerved a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led to that part of the ſummit where the wall of the citadel was very low. The banker was very attentive to this account, and, with a ſmile, deſired his friend to tell him, whether he and his brother would be inclinable to gain a large ſum of money, and make their fortunes? Erginus immediately comprehended the bent of this queſtion, and promiſed to ſound his brother Diocles on that head. Some few days after this converſation he returned to the banker, and engaged to conduct Aratus to that part of the mountain where the height of the wall did not exceed fifteen feet, adding, at the ſame time, that himſelf and his brother would aſſiſt him in executing the reſt of his enterpriſe. Aratus promiſed, on his part, to give them ſixty talents, if the affair ſhould happen to ſucceed; but as it became requiſite to depoſit that ſum in the hands of the banker, for

the

the ſecurity of the two brothers, and as Aratus was neither maſter of ſo many talents, nor had any inclination to borrow them, for fear of giving ſuſpicion by that proceeding, which would have entirely defeated his enterpriſe, he pledged all his gold and ſilver plate, with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a ſecurity for the promiſed ſum.

Aratus had ſo great a ſoul, ſays Plutarch, and ſuch an ardour for great actions, that when he conſidered with himſelf, how univerſally the famous Epaminondas and Phocion had been reputed the moſt worthy and juſt men in all Greece, for refuſing the preſents that had been offered to them; and preferring virtue to all the riches in the world, he was ſollicitous to refine upon their generoſity and diſintereſted ſpirit. There is certainly a wide difference between the mere refuſal of preſents, and the ſacrifice of a perſon's ſelf and fortune for the ſervice of the publick. Aratus parted with all his fortune, and that too without its being known, for an enterpriſe, wherein he alone was expoſed to all the danger. Where is the man, cries Plutarch, amidſt the enthuſiaſm into which this amiable action had wrought him, who can poſſibly be incapable of admiring ſo uncommon and ſurpriſing an inſtance of magnanimity! Who, even at this time, can forbear to intereſt himſelf in this great exploit, and to combat in imagination by the ſide of ſo great a man, who paid ſo dearly for ſo extraordinary a danger, and pledged the moſt valuable part of his fortune, only to procure an opportunity of advancing into the midſt of his enemies in the dead of night, when he knew he ſhould be compelled to engage for his own life, without any other ſecurity than the hopes of performing a noble action!

It may juſtly be remarked on this occaſion, that the taſte for glory, diſintereſtedneſs, and the publick good, where perpetuated among the Greeks, by the rememberance of thoſe great men who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in paſt ages by ſuch glorious ſentiments. This is the great advantage which attends hiſtory written

written like that of the Greeks, and the principal advantage derived from it.

The preparations for the enterprise were disconcerted by a variety of obstructions, any one of which seemed sufficient to have rendered it ineffectual; but when all these were at last surmounted, Aratus ordered his troops to pass the night under arms. He then selected four hundred men, most of whom were unacquainted with the design he intended to execute: they were all furnished with scaling-ladders, and he led them directly to the gates of the city by the walls of Juno's temple. The sky was then unclouded, and the moon shone extremely bright, which filled the adventurers with just apprehensions of being discovered. But in a little time a dark fog rose very fortunately from the sea, and shed a thick gloom over all the adjacent parts of the city. All the troops then seated themselves on the ground, to take off their shoes, as well to lessen the noise, as to facilitate their ascent by the scaling-ladders, from which they would not then be so liable to slip. In the mean time, Erginus, with seven resolute young men, habited like travellers, passed through the gate without being perceived, and killed the centinel and guards who were there upon duty. The ladders were then fixed on the wall, and Aratus ascended with a hundred of his boldest troops, giving orders to the rest to follow him as fast as they were able; and when they had all mounted the walls, he descended into the city with the utmost joy, as having already succeeded, by passing undiscovered.

As they were proceeding in their march, they saw a small guard of four men with lights in their hands, by whom they were not perceived, because the darkness of the night shrowded them from their view. Aratus and his men shrunk back into a line against some walls and ruins that were near, where they disposed themselves into an ambuscade, from whence they started as the four men were passing by, and killed three of their number. The fourth, who received a deep wound on his head, fled from the place, and cried

cried out as loud as he was able, that the enemies were entered the city. The trumpets in a moment ſounded the alarm, and all the inhabitants crowded together at the noiſe. The ſtreets were already filled with people, who flocked from all quarters by the blaze of innumerable lights which were immediately ſet up in the city, and alſo on the ramparts of the caſtle, whilſt every place reſounded with undiſtinguiſhed cries.

Aratus ſtill continued his progreſs, notwithſtanding the alarm, and endeavoured to climb the ſteep rocks, which at firſt were very difficult of aſcent, becauſe he had miſſed the path that led to the wall through numberleſs windings, which it was almoſt impracticable to trace out. While he was thus perplexed, the clouds diſperſed, as if a miracle had interpoſed in his favour; the moon then appeared in its former brightneſs, and diſcovered all the intricacies of the path, till he arrived on the ſpot of ground at the foot of the wall, which had been formerly deſcribed to him. The ſkies were then happily covered with clouds again, and the moon was once more immerſed in darkneſs.

The three hundred ſoldiers whom Aratus had left without, near the temple of Juno, having entered the city, which was then filled with confuſion and tumult, and alſo illuminated with a prodigious number of lights; and not being able to find the path which Aratus had taken, drew up into a cloſe body, under a bending rock which ſhaded them at the bottom of the precipice, and where they waited in the utmoſt anxiety and diſtreſs. Aratus was then ſkirmiſhing on the ramparts of the citadel, and the noiſe of the combatants might eaſily be heard: But as the ſound was repeated by the echoes of the neighbouring mountains, it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the place from whence it proceeded. Thoſe ſoldiers, therefore, not knowing which way to bend their courſe, Archelaus, who commanded the troops of king Antigonus, having drawn out a conſiderable number of troops, mounted the aſcent with loud ſhouts, and a great blaſt of trumpets, with an intention to aſſault Aratus in his rear, and paſſed

paſſed by thoſe three hundred men without perceiving them: But when he had advanced a little beyond them, they ſtarted from the place of their concealment, as if they had been planted expreſsly in ambuſcade, and fell upon him with great reſolution, killing all who firſt came in their way. The reſt of the troops, and even Archelaus himſelf, were then ſeiſed with ſuch a conſternation, that they fled from their enemies, who continued to attack them in their retreat, till they had all diſperſed themſelves in the city.

This defeat was immediately ſucceeded by the arrival of Erginus, who had been ſent by thoſe that were fighting on the walls of the citadel, to acquaint them that Aratus was engaged with the enemies, who made a very vigorous defence, and was in great need of immediate aſſiſtance. The troops then deſired him to be their conductor that moment, and as they mounted the rocks, they proclaimed their approach by loud cries, to animate their friends, and redouble their ardour. The beams of the moon, which was then in the full, played upon their armour, and, in conjunction with the length of the way by which they aſcended, made them appear more numerous, while the midnight ſilence rendered the echoes much more ſtrong and audible; by which means their ſhouts ſeemed thoſe of a much greater body of men than they really were. In a word, when they at laſt had joined their companions, they charged their enemies with a vigour that ſoon diſperſed them, upon which they poſted themſelves on the wall, and became abſolute maſters of the citadel by break of day; ſo that the ſun's firſt rays ſaw them victorious. The reſt of their troops arrived at the ſame time from Sicyon; and the Corinthians, after they had willingly thrown open the city gates to receive them, aſſiſted them in making the troops of Antigonus priſoners of war.

Aratus, when he had effectually ſecured his victory, deſcended from the citadel into the theatre, which was then crowded with a vaſt concourſe of people, drawn thither by their curioſity to ſee him, and to hear him ſpeak.

ſpeak. After he had poſted his Achæans in two lines in the avenues of the theatre, he advanced from the bottom of the ſtage completely armed, with a countenance extremely changed by his want of reſt and the long fatigue he had ſuſtained. The bold and manly joy with which this extraordinary ſucceſs had inſpired him, was obſcured by the languor his extreme weakneſs and decay of ſpirits had occaſioned. The moment he appeared in the theatre, all the people were emulous to teſtify their profound reſpect and gratitude, by repeated applauſes and acclamations. Aratus, in the mean time, ſhifted his lance from his left to his right hand; and then reſted upon it, with his body bent a little towards the audience, in which poſture he continued for ſome time.

When the whole theatre was at laſt ſilent, he exerted all the vigour he had left, and acquainted them, in a long diſcourſe, with the particulars of the Achæan league; after which he exhorted them to accede to it. He likewiſe delivered to them the keys of their city, which, till then, had never been in their power from the time of Philip. As to the captains of Antigonus, he reſtored Archelaus, whom he had taken priſoner, to his liberty, but cauſed Theophraſtus to ſuffer death, for refuſing to quit the city.

Aratus made himſelf maſter of the temple of Juno, and of the port, where he ſeiſed twenty-five of the king's ſhips. He alſo took five hundred war-horſes, and four hundred Syrians, whom he afterward ſold. The Achæans kept the citadel, in which they placed a garriſon of four hundred men.

An action ſo bold and ſucceſsful as this, muſt undoubtedly be productive of very fortunate events. The inhabitants of Megara quitted the party of Antigonus and joined Aratus. Their example was ſoon followed by the people of Træzene and Epidaurus, who acceded to the Achæan league.

Aratus alſo brought Ptolemy, king of Egypt into the confederacy, by aſſigning the ſuperintendency of the war to him, and electing him generaliſſimo of

their troops by land and ſea. This event acquired him ſo much credit and reputation, that though the nomination of any man to the poſt of captain-general for a ſucceſſion of years was expreſsly prohibited by the laws, Aratus was however elected every other year, and he, either by his counſels or perſonal conduct, enjoyed that command without any diſcontinuation: For it was evident to all mankind, that neither riches nor the friendſhip of kings, no nor even the particular advantages of Sicyon, his native place, nor any other conſideration whatever, had the leaſt competition in his mind, with the welfare and aggrandiſement of the Achæans. He was perſuaded, that all weak cities reſemble thoſe parts of the body which only thrive and exiſt by their mutual union; and muſt infallibly periſh when once they are ſeparated; as the ſuſtenance by which they ſubſiſt will be diſcontinued from that moment. Cities ſoon ſink into ruin, when the ſocial bands which connect them are once diſſolved; but they are always ſeen to flouriſh, and improve in power and proſperity, when they become parts of a large body, and are aſſociated by an unity of intereſt. A common precaution then reigns through the whole, and is the happy ſource of life, from whence all the vigour that ſupports them is derived.

(f) All the views of Aratus, while he continued in his employment, tended entirely to the expulſion of the Macedonians out of Peloponneſus, and the abolition of all kinds of tyranny; the re-eſtabliſhment of the cities in their ancient liberty, and the exerciſe of their laws. Theſe were the only motives which prompted him to oppoſe the enterpriſes of Antigonus Gonatas, during the life of that prince.

A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242.

(g) He alſo purſued the ſame conduct with reſpect to Demetrius, who ſucceeded Antigonus, and reigned for the ſpace of ten years. The Ætolians had at firſt joined Antigonus Gonatas, with an intention to deſtroy the Achæan league; but embroiled themſelves with

(f) Polyb. l. ii. p. 130.

(g) Polyb. l. ii. p. 91—101. Appian. de bellis Illyr. p. 760.

with Demetrius his ſucceſſor, who declared war againſt them. The Achæans, forgetting on this occaſion the ill treatment they had received from that people, marched to their aſſiſtance, by which means a ſtrict union was re-eſtabliſhed between them, and became very advantageous to all the neighbouring cities. A. M. 3770. Ant. J. C. 234.

Illyrium was then governed by ſeveral petty kings, who ſubſiſted chiefly by rapine, and exerciſed a ſort of piracy againſt all the neighbouring countries. Agron, the ſon of Pleurates, Scerdiledes, Demetrius of Pharus, ſo called from a city of Illyrium, ſubject to him, were the petty princes who infeſted all the neighbouring parts; and attacked Corcyra, and the Acarnanians in particular. Teuta reigned after the death of her huſband Agron, who ended his days by intemperance, and left a young ſon, named Pinæus. Theſe people, harraſſed in the manner I have mentioned, had recourſe to the Ætolians and Achæans, who readily undertook their defence; and their good ſervices were not repaid with ingratitude. The people of Corcyra made an alliance with the Illyrians, ſoon after this event, and received Demetrius of Pharus, with his garriſon, into their city. A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232. A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 228.

The Romans were ſo offended at the piracies with which this people infeſted their citizens and merchants, that they ſent an embaſſy to Teuta, to complain of thoſe injurious proceedings. That princeſs cauſed one of the ambaſſadours to be ſlain, and the other to be thrown into priſon, which provoked the Romans to declare war againſt her, in revenge for ſo outrageous an inſult. The two conſuls, L. Poſthumus Albinus, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, ſet out with a commiſſion to invade Illyrium by land and ſea. The people of Corcyra, in concert with Demetrius of Pharus, delivered up to the conſul Fulvius the garriſon they had received into their city; and the Romans, after they had re-inſtated Corcyra in its former liberties, advanced into Illyrium, and conquered great part of the country; but conſigned ſeveral cities to A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226.

Demetrius, as a compenſation for his treacherous conduct in their favour.

A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225. Teuta, reduced to the utmoſt extremity, implored peace of the Romans, and obtained it, on her engagement to pay a yearly tribute, and deliver up all Illyrium, except a few places which ſhe was permitted to enjoy; but the moſt beneficial article for the Greeks was, her being reſtrained from ſailing beyond the city of Liſſus with more than two ſmall veſſels, and even thoſe were not to carry any arms. The other petty kings, who ſeemed to have been ſubordinate to Teuta, were comprehended in this treaty, though it expreſsly mentioned none but that princeſs.

The Romans then cauſed themſelves to be reſpected in Greece by a ſolemn embaſſy, and this was the firſt time that their power was known in that country. They alſo ſent ambaſſadours to the Ætolians and Achæans, to communicate to them the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. Others were alſo diſpatched to Corinth and Athens, and the Corinthians then declared for the firſt time, by a publick decree, that the Romans ſhould be admitted to celebrate the Iſthmian games, with the ſame privileges as the Greeks. The freedom of the city was alſo granted them at Athens, and they were permitted to be initiated into their ſolemn myſteries.

Aratus, after the death of Demetrius, who reigned only ten years, found the diſpoſitions of the people very favourable to his deſigns. Several tyrants, whom that prince had ſupported with all his credit, and to whom he paid large penſions, having loſt their ſupport by his death, made a voluntary reſignation of the authority they had uſurped over their citizens; others of them, either intimidated by the menaces of Aratus, or prevailed upon by his promiſes, followed their example; and he procured ſeveral advantages for them all, that they might have no temptation to repent their conduct.

(*b*) Aratus, who beheld with regret the ſubjection of

(*b*) Plut. in Arat. p. 1038—1041.

of the people of Argos to the tyrant Ariſtomachus, undertook their deliverance; and made it a point of honour to reſtore liberty to that city, as a recompence for the education he had received there; and he alſo conſidered the acceſſion of ſo potent a city to the Achæan league, as highly advantageous to the common cauſe: but his meaſures to this effect were rendered unſucceſsful at that time. Ariſtomachus was ſoon after ſlain by his domeſticks; and before there could be any opportunity to regulate affairs, Ariſtippus, a tyrant more deteſtable than his predeceſſor, ſeiſed the ſupreme power into his own hands, and had the dexterity to maintain himſelf in that uſurpation, even with the conſent of the Argives; but as he beheld a mortal enemy in Aratus, during whoſe life he imagined his own would always be in danger, he reſolved to deſtroy him by the aſſiſtance of king Antigonus Doſon, who agreed to be the miniſter of his vengeance. He had already prepared aſſaſſins in all parts, who watched an opportunity for executing their bloody commiſſion. No prince or commander can ever have a more effectual guard, than the firm and ſincere affection of thoſe they govern: For when once the nobility and people have been accuſtomed not to fear their prince, but to fear for him, innumerable eyes and ears are attentive to all that paſſes. This Aratus was ſo happy as to experience in the preſent conjuncture.

Plutarch, on this occaſion, draws a fine contraſt between the troubles and anxieties of Ariſtippus, and the peace and tranquillity of Aratus. That tyrant, ſays he, who maintained ſuch a body of troops for the ſecurity of his perſon, and who had ſhed the blood of all thoſe of whom he entertained any dread, was incapable of enjoying a moment's repoſe, either by night or day. Every circumſtance alarmed him; his ſoul was the ſeat of terrour and anxiety, that knew no intermiſſion; and he even trembled at his own ſhadow. A dreadful guard continually watched round his houſe with drawn ſwords; and as his life was perpetually in their power, he feared them more than all the reſt of

mankind. He never permitted them to enter his palace, but ordered them to be ſtationed in the porticoes, which entirely ſurrounded that ſtructure. He drove away all his domeſticks the moment he had ſupped; after which he ſhut the gate of his court with his own hands, and then retired with his concubine into an upper apartment, which he entered by a trap-door. When this was let down, he placed his bed upon it, and ſlept, as we may ſuppoſe a man to ſleep in his condition, whoſe ſoul is a perpetual prey to trouble, terrour, and apprehenſion. The mother of his concubine removed, each night, the ladder by which he aſcended into his chamber, and replaced it in its former ſituation the next morning. Aratus, on the other hand, who had acquired perpetual power, not by the force of arms, but merely by his virtue and in effect of the laws, appeared in publick with a plain robe and a mind void of fear: And whereas all thoſe who poſſeſs fortreſſes, and maintain guards, with the additional precaution of arms, gates, and traps, as ſo many ramparts for their ſafety, ſeldom eſcape a violent death; Aratus, on the contrary, who always ſhowed himſelf an implacable enemy to tyrants, left behind him a poſterity which ſubſiſts, ſays Plutarch, to this day, and is ſtill honoured and reſpected by all the world*.

Aratus attacked the tyrant with open force, but acted with no extraordinary reſolution in the firſt engagement, when even one of the wings of his army had defeated the enemy; for he cauſed a retreat to be ſounded very unſeaſonably, and reſigned the victory to the foe, which drew upon him a number of ſevere reproaches. He however made amends for his fault in a ſecond battle, wherein Ariſtippus, and above fifteen hundred of his men, loſt their lives. Aratus, though he had obtained ſo ſignal a victory, and without loſing one man, was however unable to make himſelf maſter of the city of Argos, and was equally incapable of reſtoring

* *Polycrates, to whom Plutarch addreſſes the life of Aratus, was one of his deſcendents, and had two ſons, by whom the race was ſtill continued, three hundred and fifty years after the death of Aratus.*

ſtoring liberty to the inhabitants; as Agias, and the young Ariſtomachus, had thrown a body of the king's troops into the place.

He ſucceeded better with reſpect to the city of Megalopolis, where Lyſiades had uſurped the ſupreme power. This perſon had nothing in his character of the violent and inhuman qualities of tyrants, and had ſeiſed the ſovereignty from no other inducement, than a falſe idea of the happineſs and glory which he imagined inſeparable from ſupreme power; but he reſigned the tyranny, either through fear, or a conviction of his error, upon the remonſtrances of Aratus, and cauſed his city to accede to the Achæan league. That league was affected to ſuch a degree by ſo generous an action, that they immediately choſe him for their general; and as he at firſt was emulous of ſurpaſſing Aratus, he engaged in ſeveral enterpriſes which ſeemed neceſſary at that juncture, and, among the reſt, declared war againſt the Lacedæmonians. Aratus employed his utmoſt credit to oppoſe him in thoſe meaſures, but his endeavours were miſinterpreted as the effects of envy. Lyſiades was elected general a ſecond time, and then a third, and each of them commanded alternately. But when he was obſerved to act in oppoſition to his rival on all occaſions, and without the leaſt regard to decency, was continually repeating his injurious treatment of a virtue ſo ſolid and ſincere as that of Aratus, it became evident that the zeal he affected was no more than a plauſible outſide, which concealed a dangerous ambition; and they deprived him of the command.

As the Lacedæmonians will, for the future, have a conſiderable ſhare in the war ſuſtained by the Acheans, it ſeems neceſſary to give a brief account of the condition of that people in this place.

SECT. III. AGIS *king of Sparta attempts to reform the ſtate, and endeavours to revive the ancient inſtitutions of* LYCURGUS *in which he partly ſucceeds: but finds an entire change in Sparta, at his return from a campaign in which he had joined* ARATUS *againſt the Etolians. He is at laſt condemned to die, and executed accordingly.*

(a) WHEN the love of wealth had crept into the city of Sparta, and had afterwards introduced luxury, avarice, ſloth, effeminacy, profuſion, and all thoſe pleaſures which are generally the inſeparable attendants of riches, and when theſe had broken down all the barriers which the wiſdom of Lycurgus had formed, with the view of excluding them for ever; Sparta beheld herſelf fallen from her ancient glory and power, and was reduced to an abject and humble ſtate which continued to the reign of Agis and Leonidas, of whom we are now to treat.

Agis, the ſon of Eudamidas, was of the houſe of the Eurytionidæ, and the ſixteenth deſcendent from Ageſilaus, who made an expedition into Aſia. Leonidas, the ſon of Cleonymus, was of the family of the Agidæ, and the eighth prince that reigned in Sparta, after Pauſanias, who defeated Mardonius in the battle of Platææ.

I have already related the diviſions, which aroſe in Sparta betwen Cleonymus * and Areus, in regard to the ſovereignty, which was obtained by the latter; and he afterwards cauſed Pyrrhus to raiſe the ſiege of Lacedæmon. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Acrotates, who reigned ſeven or eight years, and left a young ſon named Areus, from his grandfather. This prince was under the tuition of Leonidas, but died in a ſhort time

(a) Plut. in Agid. p. 796—801.

* *Joſephus relates, that Areus king of Lacedæmon ſent letters to Onias the high-prieſt of the Jews, in which he acknowledged an affinity between that people and the Lacedæmonians. The original of this relation is not eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed, nor is it leſs difficult to reconcile the time of Areus with that of Onias.*

time; upon which Leonidas roſe from the regency to the throne.

Though all the Spartans had been depraved and perverted by the general corruption into which the government was fallen, this depravity and remoteneſs from the ancient manners of that people was moſt conſpicuous in the conduct of Leonidas; who had reſided for ſeveral years in the palaces of the Satrapæ, and had for many years made his court to Seleucus: He had even eſpouſed a wife in Aſia, contrary to the laws of his country, and had afterwards employed his utmoſt endeavours to introduce all the pomp and pride of princes into a free country, and a government founded on moderation and juſtice.

Agis was the reverſe of this character. He was then in the twentieth year of his age, and though he had been educated amidſt riches*, and the luxury of a houſe remarkable for being equally voluptuous and haughty, he, from the firſt, renounced all thoſe enſnaring pleaſures; and inſtead of teſtifying the leaſt regard for the ſplendid vanities of dreſs, he made it his glory to appear in a plain habit, and to re-eſtabliſh the ancient form of publick meals, baths, and all the ancient diſcipline of Sparta. He even declared openly, *That he ſhould not value being king, if it were not for the hopes of reviving the ancient laws and diſcipline of Sparta.* Theſe noble ſentiments were a demonſtration, that Agis had formed a ſolid judgement of regal power; the moſt eſſential duty and true glory of which are derived from the eſtabliſhment of good order in all the branches of a ſtate, by giving due force to cuſtoms eſtabliſhed by wiſe laws.

This diſcipline began to be diſregarded the moment Sparta had ruined the Athenian government, and began to abound in gold. The ſame partition, however, of lands, which had been made by Lycurgus, and the number of hereditary poſſeſſions eſtabliſhed by him, having

* *Plutarch informs us, that his mother Ageſiſtrate, and his grandmother Archidamia, poſſeſſed more gold and ſilver than all the other Lacedæmonians together.*

having been preſerved through all ſucceſſions of deſcent, and each father tranſmitting his part in the ſame manner as he had received it himſelf; this order and equality, which had been preſerved without interruption, ſuſpended, in ſome meaſure, the ill effects of thoſe abuſes which then prevailed. But as ſoon as this prudent inſtitution began to be ſtruck at, by a law which permitted every man to diſpoſe of his houſe and patrimony, in his own life-time, or to make a teſtamentary donation of them to whom he pleaſed; this new law effectually ſapped the beſt foundation of the Spartan polity. Epitades, one of the Ephori, introduced this law, to avenge himſelf on one of his ſons, whoſe conduct had diſpleaſed him.

It is indeed ſurpriſing, that a whole ſtate ſhould ſo eaſily be induced to change ſuch an ancient and fundamental cuſtom as this, merely to gratify the paſſion of one man. The pretext for this change was undoubtedly the augmentation of paternal authority, in their ſeveral families; ſince it was not then poſſeſſed of any motives for filial reſpect; the children of that community having nothing to hope or fear, as they received alike all the fortune they could expect, immediately from the ſtate, and with an abſolute independency on their parents. This domeſtick inconvenience, in which every father thought himſelf concerned, and which ſeemed to regard all good order in families, created ſtrong impreſſions in thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in the adminiſtration, and rendered them incapable of conſidering the much greater inconveniencies, which would inevitably reſult from this change, and whoſe pernicious effects would be ſoon felt by the ſtate.

This proceeding is ſufficient to convince us how dangerous it is to change the ancient laws *, on which baſis a ſtate, or community, has long ſubſiſted; and what precautions ought to be taken againſt bad impreſſions which may ariſe through particular inconveniencies, from which the wiſeſt inſtitutions cannot be exempted.

* Adeo nihil motum ex anti- quæ uſus evidentur arguit, ſtari quo probabile eſt; veteribus, niſi malunt. *Liv.* l. xxxiv. n. 54.

exempted. What a depth of prudence, penetration into future events, and experience, are neceſſary to thoſe who take upon them to balance and compare the advantages and defects of ancient cuſtoms, with any new regulations which are propoſed to be ſubſtituted in their ſtead.

It may be juſtly affirmed, that the ruin of Sparta was occaſioned by the new law, which authoriſed the alienation of hereditary eſtates. The great men were daily enlarging their fortunes, by diſpoſſeſſing the heirs to whom they belonged; in conſequence of which, all patrimonial poſſeſſions were ſoon engroſſed by a very inconſiderable number of perſons; the poverty, which then prevailed through the whole city, ſunk the people into a mean indolence of mind; by extinguiſhing thoſe ardours for virtue and glory, which, till then, had rendered the Spartans ſuperior to all the other ſtates of Greece, and by infuſing into the hearts of the people an implacable envy and averſion for thoſe who had unjuſtly diveſted them of all their poſſeſſions.

The number of native Spartans in that city was reduced to about ſeven hundred; and not many more than a hundred of theſe had preſerved their family eſtates. All the reſt were a ſtarving populace, deſtitute of revenues, and excluded from a participation in honours and dignities: theſe acted with reluctance and indifference in wars againſt a foreign enemy, becauſe they were ſenſible the rich would be the only gainers by their victories; in a word, they were conſtantly waiting for an opportunity to change the preſent ſituation of affairs, and withdraw themſelves from the oppreſſions they ſuſtained.

Such was the ſtate of Sparta when Agis entertained the deſign of redreſſing the abuſes which then prevailed; at the ſame time that Aratus was employing his endeavours for the deliverance of his country. The enterpriſe was noble, but extremely hazardous. He obſerved, contrary to his expectation, that all the young men were diſpoſed to enter into his views, while

while the generality of thoſe in years, in whoſe minds corruption had taken the deepeſt root, trembled at the very name of Lycurgus, and Reformation. He began by conciliating his uncle Ageſilaus, a man of great eloquence and reputation, but ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a paſſion for riches; which was the very circumſtance that rendered him the more favourable to the deſigns of Agis. He was ready to ſink under a load of debts, and hoped to diſcharge them without any expence to himſelf, by changing the form of government.

Agis then endeavoured, by his means, to bring over his own mother, who was the ſiſter of Ageſilaus. Her power was very great in the city, by a large party of friends, and the vaſt number of her ſlaves and debtors; and her credit gave her an extraordinary influence in the moſt important affairs: when Agis had opened his deſign to her, ſhe was ſtruck with conſternation, on the firſt ideas it preſented to her mind, and employed all the arguments ſhe could invent to diſſuade him from it; but when Ageſilaus joined his own reflexions with thoſe of the king, and had made his ſiſter comprehend the advantages that would accrue to Sparta from the execution of ſuch a deſign, and repreſented to her the glory which her family would for ever derive from it, this lady, as well as thoſe of her ſex with whom ſhe was moſt intimate, being then animated by the noble ambition of the young prince, immediately changed their ſentiments, and were ſo affected with the beauty of the project, that they themſelves preſſed Agis to enter upon the execution of it as ſoon as poſſible. They likewiſe ſent to all their friends, and exhorted them to concur with him in that affair.

Application was alſo made by them to the other ladies of that city, as they were very ſenſible that the Lacedæmonians had always expreſſed the greateſt deference to their wives, whom they allowed to exerciſe more authority in all tranſactions of ſtate, than they themſelves aſſumed in their private and domeſtick affairs

fairs. Moſt of the riches of Sparta were at that time in the hands of women, which proved a great obſtruction to the deſigns of Agis. They unanimouſly oppoſed his ſcheme, rightly foreſeeing, that the plain manner of life he was endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh, and on which ſo many commendations were beſtowed, would not only be deſtructive to all their luxurious pleaſures, but diveſt them of all the honours and power they derived from their riches.

Amidſt the conſternation this propoſal gave them, they addreſſed themſelves to Leonidas, and conjured him, as his age gave him an aſcendant over Agis, to employ his whole authority in diſſuading his colleague from the accompliſhment of his plan. Leonidas was very inclinable to ſupport the rich, but as he dreaded the indignation of the people, who were deſirous of this change, he could not preſume to oppoſe Agis in an open manner, but contented himſelf with croſſing his deſigns by indirect meaſures. He had a private conference with the magiſtrates, wherein he took the liberty to calumniate Agis, as a perſon who was offering to the poor the properties of the rich, with a partition of lands, and a general abolition of debts, as a compenſation to them for the tyranny he was preparing to uſurp; in conſequence of which proceedings, inſtead of forming citizens for Sparta, he was only raiſing a body of guards for the ſecurity of his own perſon.

Agis, in the mean time, having ſucceeded ſo far as to cauſe Lyſander, who concurred with him in his views, to be elected one of the Ephori, brought into the council a decree which he himſelf had drawn up, the principal articles of which were theſe. 1. All debtors were to be diſcharged from their debts. 2. All the lands which extended from the valley of Pellene to mount Taygetus, and the promontory of Malea, and likewiſe to Selaſia, ſhould be parcelled out into four thouſand five hundred lots. 3. The lands which lay beyond thoſe limits ſhould be comprehended in fifteen thouſand lots. 4. The laſt portions were to be diſtributed

diſtributed to thoſe inhabitants of the adjacent parts, who were in a condition to bear arms. 5. Thoſe lands, which lay within the limits already mentioned, ſhould be reſerved for the Spartans, whoſe due number, which was then conſiderably diminiſhed, ſhould be recruited out of ſuch of the neighbouring people, and ſtrangers, as had received an honeſt and generous education, and were then in the flower of their age, and not diſqualified for that claſs by any bodily defect. 6. All theſe ſhould, at the times of repaſt, be diſpoſed into fifty halls, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Phidicies*; the leaſt of which ſhould contain two hundred, and the largeſt four hundred: And, laſtly, they were all to obſerve the ſame manner of life and diſcipline as their anceſtors.

This decree being oppoſed by the ſenators whoſe ſentiments differed from thoſe of Agis, Lyſander cauſed the people to be aſſembled, and in the ſtrongeſt terms exhorted the citizens to conſent to it. He was ſeconded by Mandroclides, a young Spartan, whoſe heart glowed with zeal for the publick welfare; and he repreſented to the people, with all the energy he could poſſibly expreſs, every motive that could moſt affect them. Particularly the reſpect they owed to the memory of their illuſtrious legiſlator Lycurgus; the oath their anceſtors had taken, in the names of themſelves and all their poſterity, to preſerve thoſe ſacred inſtitutions in the moſt inviolable manner; the glory and honour Sparta had enjoyed, during the time ſhe ſtrictly adhered to them; and the infamous degeneracy into which ſhe had ſunk, ever ſince they had been diſregarded by her: He then ſet forth the miſerable condition of the Spartans, thoſe ancient maſters of Greece, thoſe triumphant conquerors of Aſia, thoſe mighty ſovereigns by ſea and land, who once could make the Great King * tremble on his throne, but were now diveſted of their cities and houſes by the inſatiable avarice of their own citizens, who had reduced them to the loweſt extremes of poverty and ſhameful indigence;

* *This was the uſual appellation of the Perſian monarchs.*

gence; which might be conſidered as the completion of all their calamities, as, by theſe means, they were expoſed to the inſult and contempt of thoſe to whom it was their right to preſcribe laws. He then concluded, with intreating them not to be ſo far influenced by their obſequiouſneſs to a handful of men, who even trampled them under their feet like ſo many deſpicable ſlaves, as to behold, with eyes of indifference, the dignity of their city entirely degraded and loſt, but that they would recall to their remembrance thoſe ancient oracles, which had more than once declared, that the love of riches would prove fatal to Sparta, and occaſion its total ruin.

King Agis then advanced into the middle of the aſſembly, and declared, after a conciſe diſcourſe (for he thought his example would have more efficacy than any words he could utter) that he was determined to deliver up for the common welfare, all his effects and eſtate, which were very conſiderable; conſiſting of large tracts of arable and paſture lands, beſide ſix hundred talents of current money *; and that his mother and grandmother, together with the reſt of his relations and friends, who were the richeſt perſons in Sparta, would do the ſame.

The magnanimity of their young prince aſtoniſhed all the people, who, at the ſame time, were tranſported with joy that they at laſt were ſo happy as to behold a king worthy of Sparta. Leonidas then took off the maſk, and oppoſed him to the utmoſt of his power: For as he knew it would otherwiſe be neceſſary for him to make the ſame offer they had heard from Agis, ſo he was ſenſible, that his citizens would not think themſelves under the ſame obligations to him as they were to his colleague, who when each of their eſtates ſhould be appropriated to the publick, would engroſs all the honour of that action, by rendering it the effect of his own example. He therefore demanded aloud of Agis whether he did not think that Lycurgus was a juſt and able man, and one who had

* *Equal to ſix hundred thouſand French crowns.*

had zealouſly conſulted the welfare of his country? Agis then replied, that he had always conſidered him as ſuch. "Where do you find then," retorted Leonidas, "that Lycurgus ever ordained an abolition of "debts, or gave the freedom of Sparta to ſtrangers? "Since, on the contrary, it was his firm perſuaſion, "that the city would never be ſafe till all ſtrangers "were expelled from its walls." Agis anſwered, "That he was not ſupriſed that ſuch a perſon as "Leonidas, who had been brought up in foreign "countries, and had married into the houſe of a "Perſian grandee, ſhould be ſo little acquainted with "Lycurgus, as not to know that he had ſwept away "all actual and poſſible debts, by baniſhing gold and "ſilver from the city. That, with reſpect to ſtrangers, his precautions were intended againſt none "but thoſe who could not accommodate themſelves "to the manners and diſcipline he had eſtabliſhed: "that theſe were the only perſons he expelled from "the city, not by any hoſtilities againſt their perſons, "but from a mere apprehenſion, that their method "of life, and corruption of manners, might inſenſibly inſpire the Spartans with the love of luxury and ſoftneſs, and immoderate paſſion for "riches."

He then produced ſeveral examples of poets and philoſophers, particularly Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, who had been highly eſteemed and honoured at Sparta, becauſe they taught the ſame maxims as Lycurgus had eſtabliſhed.

This diſcourſe won all the common people over to the party of Agis, but the rich men ranged themſelves under Leonidas, and intreated him not to abandon them: they likewiſe addreſſed themſelves to the ſenators, who had the principal power in this affair, as they alone were qualified to examine all propoſals, before they could be received and confirmed by the people; and their ſollicitations were ſo effectual, that thoſe who had oppoſed the decree of Agis, carried their point by an unanimous concurrence of voices; upon

Upon which Lyſander, who ſtill continued in his employment, immediately determined to proceed againſt Leonidas, in virtue of an ancient law, by which "each deſcendant from Hercules was prohibited from "eſpouſing any foreign woman; and which made it "death for any Spartan to ſettle among ſtrangers." Sufficient proofs of delinquency in theſe particulars were produced againſt Leonidas, and Cleombrotus was prevailed upon, at the ſame time, to aſſiſt in the proſecution, and demand the crown, as being himſelf of the royal race, and the ſon-in-law of Leonidas.

Leonidas was ſo confounded at this proceeding, and ſo apprehenſive of the event, that he took ſanctuary in the temple of Minerva called *Chalcioicos*; upon which the wife of Cleombrotus ſeparated herſelf from her huſband, and became a ſupplicant for her father. Leonidas was ſummoned to appear; but as he refuſed to render obedience in that particular, he was diveſted of his royalty, and it was then transferred to his ſon-in-law Cleombrotus.

Lyſander quitted his employment about the cloſe of theſe tranſactions, the uſual time for holding it being then expired. The new Ephori took this opportunity to commence a proſecution againſt him, and Mandroclides, for having voted for the abolition of debts, and a new diſtribution of lands, contrary to the laws. Lyſander and Mandroclides, finding themſelves in danger of being condemned, perſuaded the two kings, that if they would only be united with each other, they would have no cauſe to be diſquieted by any decrees of the Ephori, who were privileged indeed to decide between them, when they were divided in their ſentiments, but had no right to interpoſe in their affairs, when they concurred in the ſame opinions.

The two kings, in order to improve this remonſtrance, entered the aſſembly, where they compelled the Ephori to quit their ſeats, and ſubſtituted others in their ſtead, one of whom was Ageſilaus. They then cauſed a band of young men to arm themſelves, and gave orders for the releaſing the priſoners; in a word,

they rendered themſelves very formidable to their enemies, who now expected to be put to the ſword: but not one perſon was killed on this occaſion; and when Agis even knew that Ageſilaus intended to cauſe Leonidas to be aſſaſſinated, in his retreat to Tegæa, he ordered him to be ſafely conducted thither by a ſufficient guard.

When the affair was on the point of being abſolutely concluded without any oppoſition, ſo great was the terrour which then prevailed, it was ſuddenly obſtructed by a ſingle man. Ageſilaus had one of the largeſt and beſt eſtates in the whole country, and at the ſame time was deeply involved in debt: but as he was incapable of paying his creditors, and had no inclination to incorporate his eſtate into the common property, he repreſented to Agis, that the change would be too great and violent, and even too dangerous, ſhould they attempt to carry their two points at the ſame time; namely, the abolition of debts, and the diſtribution of lands; whereas, if they began with gaining over the landed proprietors, by the annihilation of debts, it would be eaſy for them to accompliſh the partition of lands. The ſpecious turn of this reaſoning enſnared Agis, and even Lyſander himſelf was won over to this expedient by the artifice of Ageſilaus: In conſequence of which all contracts and obligations were taken from the ſeveral creditors, and carred into the publick place, where they were piled into a large heap, and burned to aſhes. As ſoon as the flames mounted into the air, the rich men and brokers, who had lent their money, returned home extremely dejected, and Ageſilaus cried with an inſulting air, *That he had never ſeen ſo fine and clear a fire before.*

The people, immediately after this tranſaction, demanded a diſtribution of the lands, and each of the kings gave orders for its accompliſhment; but Ageſilaus ſtill continued to ſtart freſh difficulties, and found out a variety of new pretexts, to prevent the execution of that affair; by which means he gained time, till

Agis

Agis was obliged to take the field at the head of an army. For the Achæans, who were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, had ſent to demand their aſſiſtance againſt the Ætolians, who threatened an irruption into the territories of the Megareans in Peloponneſus.

Aratus, who was then general of the Achæans, had already aſſembled his troops to oppoſe the enemy, and had alſo written to the Ephori, who, upon the receipt of his letters, immediately ſent Agis to their aſſiſtance. This prince ſet out with all poſſible expedition, and the ſoldiers teſtified an incredible joy, at their marching under his command. The generality of them were young men, in very low circumſtances of life, who now ſaw themſelves diſcharged from all their debts, and free, and alſo in expectation of ſharing the lands, at their return from this expedition; for which reaſons they teſtified the utmoſt affection for Agis. The cities were charmed to ſee theſe troops paſs through Peloponneſus, without committing the leaſt diſorder; and ſo quietly, that the ſound of their march was hardly to be diſtinguiſhed. The Greeks were entirely ſurpriſed, and made the following reflexion: *What admirable diſcipline and order muſt formerly have been obſerved by the armies of Lacedæmon, when they were commanded by Ageſilaus, Lyſander, or the ancient Leonidas; as they even diſcover at this time ſo much awe and reſpect for their general, though younger than any ſoldier in his camp!*

Agis joined Aratus, near Corinth, at the very time when he was deliberating in a council of war, whether he ſhould hazard a battle, and in what manner he ſhould diſpoſe his troops. Agis declared for a battle, and thought it not adviſeable to allow the enemies a paſſage into Peloponneſus; but added at the ſame time, that he intended to act as Aratus ſhould judge proper, as he was the older officer of the two, and general of the Achæans, whereas he himſelf was only general of the auxiliary troops; and was not come thither to exerciſe any command over the league, but

only to engage the enemy in conjunction with them, for whoſe aſſiſtance he had been ſent. The officers of Aratus, inſtead of treating him with ſo much deference as Agis had expreſſed, took the liberty to reproach him in ſharp terms, for his diſinclination to a battle; aſcribing that to timidity, which, in reality, was the effect of prudence. But the vain fear of falſe infamy did not make him abandon his wiſe view for the publick good. He juſtified his conduct by the memoirs he writ on that occaſion; wherein he obſerves, that as the huſbandmen had already carried in their harveſt, and gathered in all the fruits of the ſeaſon, he judged it more adviſeable to let the enemy advance into the country, than to hazard an unneceſſary battle at that juncture, when the welfare of the whole league lay at ſtake. When he had determined not to enter upon action, he diſmiſſed his allies, after he had beſtowed the greateſt commendations upon them; and Agis, who was aſtoniſhed at his conduct, ſet out for Sparta with his troops.

(*b*) The Ætolians entered Peloponneſus without any obſtruction, and in their march ſeiſed the city of Pellene, where their troops, who were intent on nothing but plunder, immediately diſperſed themſelves up and down, without the leaſt order, and began to contend with each other for the ſpoils. Aratus, informed of theſe proceedings, would not ſuffer ſo favourable an opportunity to eſcape him. He then ceaſed to be the ſame man, and, without loſing a moment's time, or waiting till all his troops had joined him, advanced with thoſe he then had againſt the enemy, who were become weak even by their victory: He attacked them in the very place they had ſo lately taken, and forced them to abandon it, after having loſt ſeven hundred men. This action did him great honour, and changed the injurious reproaches he had patiently ſuffered into the higheſt applauſes and panegyriek.

Several ſtates and princes having now entered into a confederacy againſt the Achæans, Aratus endeavoured

(*b*) Plut. in Arat. p. 1041.

ed to contract a friendſhip and alliance with the Ætolians, in which he eaſily ſucceeded; for a peace was not only concluded between them, but he alſo effectually negociated an offenſive and defenſive league, between the two nations of Ætolia and Achæa.

(c) Agis, when he arrived at Sparta, found a great change in the ſtate of affairs. Ageſilaus, who was one of the Ephori, being no longer reſtrained by fear as formerly, and entirely intent upon the gratification of his avarice, committed the greateſt violence and injuſtice. When he found himſelf univerſally deteſted, he raiſed and maintained a body of troops, who ſerved him as a guard when he went to the ſenate; and cauſed a report to be ſpread, that he intended to continue in his office the ſucceeding year. His enemies, in order to elude the calamities with which they were threatened, cauſed Leonidas to be ſent for in the moſt publick manner from Tegæa, and replaced him upon the throne, to the general ſatisfaction of the people, who were greatly irritated to ſee themſelves abuſed in the hopes they had entertained of the partition, which had never been carried into execution. A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244.

Ageſilaus ſaved himſelf by the aſſiſtance of his ſon, who was univerſally beloved; and the two kings took ſanctuary; Agis in the temple of Minerva, called Chalcioicos, and Cleombrotus in that of Neptune. As Leonidas ſeemed to be moſt exaſperated againſt the latter, he left Agis, and advanced at the head of a band of ſoldiers into the temple, where Cleombrotus had fled for refuge. He then reproached him with great warmth for aſſuming the regal power, in violation of the ties of affinity between them, and for expelling him from his own country in ſo ignominious a manner. Cleombrotus, who had nothing to anſwer to theſe reproaches, continued ſeated in a profound ſilence, and with an aſpect that ſufficiently teſtified his confuſion. His wife Chelonida ſtood near, with her two children at her feet. She had been equally unfortunate, as a wife and daughter, but was equally faithful in each

(c) Plut. in Agid. p. 802—804.

of thoſe capacities, and had always adhered to the unfortunate. She had accompanied her father Leonidas during his exile, and now returned to her huſband, whom ſhe tenderly embraced, and at the ſame time became a ſupplicant for him with her father.

All thoſe who were then preſent, melted into tears at ſo moving a ſight, and were ſtruck with admiration at the virtue and tenderneſs of Chelonida, and the amiable force of conjugal love. This unfortunate princeſs pointing to her mourning habit and diſhevelled treſſes, *Believe me, O my father*, ſaid ſhe, *this habit of woe which I now wear, this dejection which appears in my countenance, and theſe ſorrows into which you ſee me ſunk, are not the effects of that compaſſion I entertain for Cleombrotus; but the ſad remains of my affliction for the calamities you have ſuſtained, in your flight from Sparta. On what, alas! ſhall I now reſolve? While you reign for the future in Sparta, and triumph over the enemies who oppoſed you, ſhall I continue to live in the deſolate ſtate to which you now ſee me reduced? Or is it my duty to array myſelf in robes of royalty and magnificence, when I behold the huſband I received from you in the flower of my youth, on the point of periſhing by your dagger? Should he be unable to diſarm your reſentment, and move your ſoul to compaſſion, by the tears of his wife and children, permit me to aſſure you, that he will be puniſhed with more ſeverity for his imprudence, than was even intended by yourſelf; when he ſhall ſee a wife who is ſo dear to him expiring at his feet; for you are not to think, that in my preſent condition I will ever conſent to ſurvive him. What appearance ſhall I make among the Spartan ladies, after my inability to inſpire my huſband with compaſſion for my father, and to ſoften my father into pity for my huſband? What indeed ſhall I appear to them, but a daughter and a wife, always afflicted and contemned by her neareſt relations!* Chelonida, at the concluſion of theſe expreſſions, reclined her cheek on that of Cleombrotus, while with her eyes, that ſpoke her ſorrow in their tears, ſhe caſt a languid look on thoſe who were preſent.

Leonidas

Leonidas, after a few moments diſcourſe with his friends, ordered Cleombrotus to riſe, and immediately quit Sparta; but earneſtly importuned his daughter to continue there, and not forſake a father, who gave her ſuch a peculiar proof of tenderneſs, as to ſpare the life of her huſband. His ſollicitations were however ineffectual, and the moment Cleombrotus roſe from his ſeat, ſhe placed one of her children in his arms, and claſped the other in her own; and when ſhe had offered up her prayers to the goddeſs, and kiſſed her altar, ſhe became a voluntary exile with her huſband. How extremely affecting was this ſpectacle; and how worthy the admiration of all ages is ſuch a model of conjugal love! If the heart of Cleombrotus, ſays Plutarch, had not been entirely depraved by vain-glory, and a boundleſs ambition to reign, he would have been ſenſible, that even baniſhment itſelf with ſo virtuous a companion, was a felicity preferable to the condition of a ſovereign.

When Leonidas had expelled Cleombrotus from Sparta, and ſubſtituted new Ephori inſtead of the former, whom he had depoſed, he bent all his endeavours to enſnare Agis; and began with perſuading him to quit the aſylum to which he had retired, and reign in conjunction with himſelf. In order to which he aſſured him, that his citizens had pardoned all paſt proceedings, becauſe they were ſenſible that his youth and inexperience, with his predominant paſſion for glory, had laid him open to the inſinuations of Ageſilaus. But as Agis ſuſpected the ſincerity of thoſe expreſſions, and perſiſted in his reſolution to continue in the temple, Leonidas no longer attempted to deceive him with plauſible pretences. Amphares, Democharés, and Arceſilaus, who had frequently viſited the young prince, continued their aſſiduities to him, and ſometimes conducted him from the temple to the baths, and from thence conveyed him in ſafety to the temple; for each of them was his intimate friend.

This fidelity, however, was of no longer continuance. Amphares had lately borrowed of Ageſiſtrata, the mo-

ther of Agis, ſeveral rich ſuits of tapeſtry, and a magnificent ſet of ſilver plate. Theſe coſtly ornaments tempted him to betray the king, with his mother and grandmother. It was even ſaid, that he was much more inclinable, than either of his two companions, to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of Leonidas; and that no one was ſo induſtrious as himſelf to ſpirit up the Ephori (of whoſe number he was one) againſt Agis. As this prince went ſometimes from the temple to the bath, they reſolved to take that opportunity to ſurpriſe him; and when he was one day returning from thence, they advanced up to him, and after they had embraced him with an air of affection, they attended him in his way, and entertained him with their uſual familiarity of converſation. One of the ſtreets, through which they paſſed, turned off, in one quarter, to the priſon, and as ſoon as they arrived at that paſſage, Amphares ſeiſed Agis with an air of authority, and cried, *Agis, I muſt conduct you to the Ephori, to whom you are to be accountable for your behaviour.* At the ſame inſtant Demochares, who was tall and ſtrong, threw his mantle round his neck, and dragged him along, while the others puſhed him forward, as they had previouſly agreed: And as no perſon came to aſſiſt him, becauſe there was nobody in the ſtreet at that time, they accompliſhed their deſign, and threw him into priſon.

Leonidas arrived at the ſame time with a great number of foreign ſoldiers, and ſurrounded the priſon; the Ephori likewiſe came thither, and when they had ſent for ſuch of the ſenators as concurred with their opinion, they proceeded to examine Agis, as if he had been arraigned at a competent tribunal, and ordered him to juſtify himſelf, with reſpect to his intended innovations in the republick. One of the Ephori, pretending to have diſcovered an expedient for diſengaging him from this criminal affair, aſked him, whether Lyſander and Ageſilaus had not compelled him to have recourſe to thoſe meaſures? To which Agis replied, That he had not acted in conſequence of any compulſion; but that his admiration of Lycurgus, and a ſincere deſire to imitate

imitate his conduct, were his only motives for attempting to reſtore the city to the ſame condition in which that legiſlator had left it. The ſame officer then demanding of him, if he repented of that proceeding? The young prince anſwered with an air of ſteadineſs, *That he never ſhould repent of ſo virtuous, ſo noble, and glorious an undertaking, though death itſelf were preſented to his view in all its terrours.* His pretended judges then condemned him to die, and immediately commanded the publick officers to carry him to that part of the priſon, where thoſe, on whom the ſentence of condemnation had paſſed, were uſually ſtrangled.

When Demochares ſaw that the officers of juſtice did not dare to lay their hands on Agis, and that even the foreign ſoldiers turned their eyes from ſuch a ſpectacle of horrour, and refuſed to be aſſiſtant at ſo inhuman an execution, he loaded them with threats and reproaches, and with his own hands dragged Agis to the dungeon. The people, who, by this time, were informed of the manner in which he had been ſeiſed, crowded to the gates of the priſon, and began to be very tumultuous. The whole ſtreet was already illuminated with innumerable tapers; and the mother and grandmother of Agis ran from place to place, filling the air with their cries, and intreating the people that the king of Sparta might at leaſt have an opportunity to defend himſelf, and be judged by his own citizens. The zeal of the people did but animate the murtherers the more to haſten the execution of Agis, leſt he ſhould be releaſed by force that very night, if the people ſhould have ſufficient time allowed them for aſſembling together.

As the executioners were leading him to the place where they intended to ſtrangle him, he beheld tears flowing from the eyes of one of them who was touched with his misfortune; upon which he turned to him, and ſaid, *Weep not for me, my friend, for, as I am cut off in this manner contrary to all laws and juſtice, I am much happier, and more to be envied, than thoſe who have condemned me.* When he had ſaid theſe words, he offered

offered his neck to the fatal cord, without the leaſt air of reluctance.

As Amphares came from the priſon, at the cloſe of this tragick ſcene, the firſt object he beheld was the deſolate mother of Agis, who threw herſelf at his feet: He raiſed her from the earth, and aſſured her, that Agis had nothing to fear; intreating her, at the ſame time, as a proof of his ſincerity, to enter the priſon, and ſee her ſon. She then deſired him to permit her aged mother to attend her in that mournful viſit. *Your requeſt*, ſaid he, *is reaſonable*; and he immediately conducted them into the priſon, but ordered the door to be ſhut the moment they entered it. He then commanded the executioner to ſeiſe Archidamia, the grandmother of Agis, who had lived to a venerable old age among her citizens, with as much dignity and reputation as any lady of her time. When the executioner had performed this fatal office, the inhuman Amphares ordered the mother of Agis to enter the dungeon. This unhappy princeſs was obliged to obey him, and the moment ſhe came into that diſmal place, ſhe beheld her ſon lying dead on the ground, and, at a little diſtance from him, her dead mother, with the fatal cord ſtill twiſted about her neck. She aſſiſted the executioners in diſengaging her parent from that inſtrument of cruelty, after which ſhe laid the corpſe by her ſon, and decently covered it with linen. When this pious office was completed, ſhe caſt herſelf upon the body of Agis, and after ſhe had tenderly kiſſed his cold lips, *O my ſon*, ſaid ſhe, *the exceſs of thy humanity and ſweet diſpoſition, and thy too great circumſpection and lenity, have undone thee, and been fatal to us!*

Amphares, who from the door had beheld and heard all that paſſed, entered that moment, and addreſſing himſelf with a ſavage air to the mother of Agis, *Since you knew*, ſaid he, *and approved the deſigns of your ſon, you ſhall ſhare in his puniſhment.* Ageſiſtrata roſe at thoſe words, and running at the fatal cord, *May this*, cried ſhe, *at leaſt be uſeful to Sparta.*

When

When the report of these executions was dispersed through the city, and the inhabitants beheld the bodies brought out of the prison, the indignation occasioned by this barbarity was universal, and every one declared, that from the time the Dorians had first established themselves in Peloponnesus, so horrible an action had never been committed. It must indeed be acknowledged, that all the blackest crimes in nature united in the circumstances which aggravated this; and we may even add too, that the murther of the king included and surpassed them all: So barbarous an execution, in opposition to that respect with which nature inspires the most savage people for the sacred person of their sovereign, is such a blemish on a nation, as all succeeding ages can never obliterate.

(*d*) Agis having been destroyed in this manner, Leonidas was not expeditious enough in seising his brother Archidamus, who saved himself by flight; but he secured Agiatis, the consort of that unhappy king, forcing her to reside in his own house, with the young child she had by him, and then compelled her to espouse his son Cleomenes, who was not marriageable at that time; but Leonidas was determined that the widow of Agis should not be disposed of to any other person, as she inherited a very large estate from her father Gylippus, and likewise excelled all the Grecian ladies in beauty, as well as wisdom and virtue. She endeavoured to avoid this marriage by all means in her power, but to no effect. And when she at last was obliged to consent to her nuptials with Cleomenes, she always retained a mortal aversion for Leonidas, but behaved with the utmost complacency and softness to her young spouse, who, from the first day of his marriage, conceived a most sincere and passionate esteem and affection for her; and even sympathised with her in the tenderness she preserved for Agis, and the regard she expressed for his memory, and that too in such a degree, that he would frequently listen to her with the greatest attention, while she related to him

(*d*) Plut. in Cleom. p. 805.

him the great deſigns he had formed for the regulation of the government.

SECT. IV. CLEOMENES *aſcends the throne of Sparta, and engages in a war againſt the Achæans, over whom he obtains ſeveral advantages. He reforms the government of Sparta, and re-eſtabliſhes the ancient diſcipline. Acquires new advantages over* ARATUS *and the Achæans.* ARATUS *applies for ſuccour to* ANTIGONUS *king of Macedonia, by whoſe aid the Achæans obtain repeated victories, and take ſeveral places from the enemy.*

(a) CLEOMENES had a noble ſoul, and an ardent paſſion for glory, joined with the ſame inclination for temperance and ſimplicity of manners as Agis had always expreſſed; but had not that exceſſive ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, attended with the timidity and precaution of that prince. Nature, on the contrary, had infuſed into him a vigour and vivacity of mind, which ardently prompted him on to whatever appeared great and noble. Nothing ſeemed ſo amiable to him, as the government of his citizens agreeably to their own inclinations; but, at the ſame time, he did not think it inconſiſtent with the glory of a wiſe adminiſtration, to employ ſome violence in reducing to the publick utility an inconſiderable number of obſtinate and unjuſt perſons, who oppoſed it merely from the view of private intereſt.

He was far from being ſatisfied with the ſtate of affairs which then prevailed in Sparta. All the citizens had long been ſoftened by indolence and a voluptuous life; and the king himſelf, who was fond of tranquillity, had entirely neglected publick affairs. No perſon whatever had teſtified any regard for the publick good, every individual being ſolely intent upon his particular intereſt, and the aggrandizement of his family at the publick expence. Inſtead of any care in diſciplining the young people, and forming their temperance, patience, and the equality of freemen, it was even

(a) Plut. in Cleom. p. 805—811.

even dangerous to mention any thing of that nature, as Agis himſelf had periſhed by attempting to introduce it among them.

It is alſo ſaid, that Cleomenes, who was ſtill very young, had heard ſome philoſophical lectures at the time when Spherus, who came from the banks of the Boriſthenes, ſettled in Lacedæmon, and applied himſelf, in a very ſucceſsful manner, to the inſtruction of youth. This perſon was one of the principal diſciples of Zeno the Citian *. The ſtoick philoſophy, which he then profeſſed, was exceedingly proper to infuſe courage and noble ſentiments in the mind; but, at the ſame time, was capable of dangerous effects in a diſpoſition naturally warm and impetuous; and, on the other hand, might be rendered very beneficial by being grafted on a mild and moderate character.

After the death of Leonidas, who did not long ſurvive the condemnation and murther of Agis, his ſon Cleomenes ſucceeded him in the throne; and though he was then very young, it gave him pain to conſider that he had only the empty title of king, while the whole authority was engroſſed by the Ephori, who ſhamefully abuſed their power. He then grew ſollicitous to change the form of government; and as he was ſenſible that few perſons were diſpoſed to concur with him in that view, he imagined the accompliſhment of it would be facilitated by a war, and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the Achæans, who, very fortunately for his purpoſe, had given Sparta ſome occaſions of complaint againſt them. A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 248.

Aratus, from the firſt moments of his adminiſtration, had been induſtrious to negotiate a league between all the ſtates of Peloponneſus, through a perſuaſion, that if he ſucceeded in that attempt, they would have nothing to fear for the future from a foreign enemy; and this was the only point to which all his meaſures tended. All the other ſtates, except the Lacedæmonians, the people of Elis, and thoſe of Arcadia, who had eſpouſed the party of the Lacedæmonians,

* *So called from Citium, a city of Cyprus.*

nians, had acceded to this league. Aratus, ſoon after the death of Leonidas, began to harraſs the Arcadians, in order to make an experiment of the Spartan courage, and at the ſame time to make it evident, that he deſpiſed Cleomenes, as a young man without the leaſt experience.

When the Ephori received intelligence of this act of hoſtility, they cauſed their troops to take the field, under the command of Cleomenes; they indeed were not numerous, but the conſideration of the general by whom they were commanded, inſpired them with all imaginable ardour for the war. The Achæans marched againſt him with twenty thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, under the command of Ariſtomachus. Cleomenes came up with them near Pallantium, a city of Arcadia, and offered them battle; but Aratus was ſo intimidated with the bravery of this proceeding, that he prevailed upon the general not to hazard an engagement, and then made a retreat; which drew upon him very ſevere reproaches from his own troops, and ſharp raillery from the enemy, whoſe numbers did not amount to five thouſand men in the whole. The courage of Cleomenes was ſo much raiſed by this retreat, that he aſſumed a loftier air amongſt his citizens, and reminded them of an expreſſion uſed by one of their ancient kings, who ſaid, *That the Lacedæmonians never enquired after the numbers of their enemies, but where they were.* He afterwards defeated the Achæans in a ſecond encounter; but Aratus taking the advantage even of his defeat, like an experienced general, turned his arms immediately againſt Mantinæa, and before the enemy could have any ſuſpicion of his deſign, made himſelf maſter of that city, and put a garriſon into it.

Cleomenes, after his return to Sparta, began to think ſeriouſly on the execution of his former deſign, and had credit enough to cauſe Archidamus, the brother of Agis to be recalled from Meſſene. As that prince was deſcended from the other royal houſe of Sparta, he had an inconteſtable right to the crown; and

and Cleomenes was perſuaded, that the authority of the Ephori would receive a much greater diminution, when the throne of Sparta ſhould be filled by its two kings, whoſe union would enable them to counterbalance their power. But, unhappily for his purpoſe, the ſame perſons, who had been guilty of the death of Agis, found means to aſſaſſinate his brother Archidamus *.

Cleomenes, ſoon after this event, gained a new advantage over the Achæans, in an action near Megalopolis, wherein Lyſiades was ſlain, in conſequence of engaging too far in the purſuit of the Lacedæmonians, who had been repulſed when the encounter firſt began. This victory was very honourable to the young king, and increaſed his reputation to a great degree. He then imparted his deſign to a ſmall number of ſelect and faithful friends, who ſerved him in a very ſeaſonable manner. When he returned to Sparta, he concerted his march ſo as to enter the city when the Ephori were at ſupper; at which time, a ſet of perſons who had been choſen for that action entered the hall with their drawn ſwords, and killed four of theſe magiſtrates †, with ten of thoſe who had taken arms for their defence. Ageſilaus, who had been left for dead on the ſpot, found means to ſave himſelf; after which no other perſon whatever ſuſtained any violence; and, indeed, what had been already committed was ſufficient.

The next day, Cleomenes cauſed the names of fourſcore citizens, whom he intended to baniſh, to be fixed up in places of publick reſort. He alſo removed from the hall of audience all the ſeats of the Ephori, except one, where he determined to place himſelf, in order to render juſtice; and after he had convoked an aſſembly of the people, he explained to them his reaſons for the conduct he had purſued; repreſenting to them, in what an enormous manner the Ephori

* *Polybius declares, that Cleomenes himſelf cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated,* l. v. p. 383. & l. viii. p. 511.

† *This magiſtracy was compoſed of five Ephori.*

Ephori had abuſed their power, by ſuppreſſing all lawful authority, and not only baniſhing their kings, but even in cauſing them to be deſtroyed without the leaſt form of juſtice; and menacing thoſe who were deſirous of beholding Sparta happy in the moſt excellent and moſt divine form of government. He then added, that the conduct he purſued rendered it ſufficiently evident, that, inſtead of conſulting his own particular intereſt, his whole endeavours were employed to promote that of the citizens, and revive among them the diſcipline and equality which the wiſe Lycurgus had formerly eſtabliſhed, and from whence Sparta had derived all her glory and reputation.

When he had expreſſed himſelf in this manner, he immediately conſigned his whole eſtate to the people as their common property, and was ſeconded in that action by Megiſtones, his father-in-law, who was very rich. The reſt of his friends, in conjunction with all the other citizens, then complied with this example, and the lands were diſtributed agreeably to the intended plan. He even aſſigned a portion to each of thoſe who had been baniſhed, and promiſed to recall them as ſoon as affairs could be ſettled in a ſtate of tranquillity. He then filled up the proper number of citizens with perſons of the beſt character in all the adjacent parts, and raiſed four thouſand foot, whom he taught to uſe lances inſtead of javelins, and to wear bucklers with good handles, and not with leather ſtraps buckled on, as had before been the cuſtom.

His next cares were devoted to the education of children; in order to which he endeavoured to reeſtabliſh the Laconick diſcipline, wherein the philoſopher Spherus was very aſſiſtant to him. The exerciſes and publick meals ſoon reſumed their ancient order and gravity; moſt of the citizens voluntarily embracing this wiſe, noble, and regular method of life, to which the reſt, whoſe number was very inconſiderable, were ſoon obliged to conform. In order alſo

to ſoften the name of monarch, and to avoid exaſperating the citizens, he appointed his brother Euclidas king with him; which is the firſt inſtance of the adminiſtration of the Spartan government by two kings of the ſame houſe at one time.

Cleomenes, believing that Aratus and the Achæans were perſuaded he would not preſume to quit Sparta, amidſt the diſſatisfactions occaſioned by the novelties he had introduced in the government, thought nothing could be more honourable and advantageous to him, than to let them ſee how much he was eſteemed by his troops, and beloved by his citizens, and what confidence he entertained, that the new changes had not alienated the minds of the people from him. He firſt advanced into the territories of Megalopolis; where his troops committed great devaſtations, and gained a very conſiderable booty. To theſe ravages he added inſults, cauſing publick games and ſhows to be exhibited for the ſpace of a whole day, in the ſight of the enemy; not that he had any ſatisfaction in ſuch a conduct, but only intended to convince them, by this contemptuous bravado, how much he aſſured himſelf of being victorious over them.

Though it was very cuſtomary, in thoſe times, to ſee troops of comedians and dancers in the train of other armies, his camp was perfectly free from all ſuch diſſolute proceedings. The youths of his army paſſed the greateſt part of their time in exerciſing themſelves, and the old men were induſtrious to form and inſtruct them. Their very relaxations from thoſe employments were devoted to inſtructive and familiar converſations, ſeaſoned with fine and delicate raileries, which were always modeſt, and never rendered offenſive by injurious reflexions. In a word, they were entirely conformable to the laws by which the wiſe legiſlator of Sparta had been careful to regulate converſations.

Cleomenes himſelf appeared like the maſter who thus formed the citizens, not ſo much by his diſcourſe, as his example in leading a frugal life, which had nothing in it ſuperior to that of the meaneſt of his ſub-

jects, an affecting model of wiſdom and abſtinence, which facilitated beyond expreſſion his accompliſhment of the great things he performed in Greece. For thoſe whoſe affairs carried them to the courts of other kings, did not admire their riches and magnificence, ſo much as they deteſted their imperious pride, and the haughtineſs with which they treated thoſe who approached them. On the contrary, no ſuch offenſive manners were ever experienced in the court of Cleomenes. He appeared in a very plain habit, and almoſt without officers: the audiences he gave were as long as the people who applied to him could deſire: He gave all manner of perſons a very agreeable reception, without treating any body with an air of auſterity. This affable and engaging behaviour gained him the univerſal love and veneration of his people, in which the true grandeur and merit of a king undoubtedly conſiſt.

His table was extremely ſimple and frugal, and truely laconick. No muſick was ever introduced there; nor did any one deſire it, as his converſation well ſupplied its place; and it is certain that thoſe who are capable of diſcourſing well, may paſs their time very agreeably without hearing ſongs. Cleomenes never failed to enliven thoſe repaſts, either by propoſing curious and important queſtions, or relating ſome uſeful and agreeable piece of hiſtory; ſeaſoning the whole with a delicate vein of wit and gaiety. He thought it neither an argument of a prince's merit or glory to attach men to his intereſt by the attractions of riches, and ſplendid tables; whereas the ability of gaining their hearts by the amiable power of diſcourſe, and the charms of a commerce, in which freedom of thought, and ſincerity of manners, always prevailed, was conſidered by him as a truely royal quality.

A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 228. This affable and engaging diſpoſition of Cleomenes ſecured him the affection of all the troops, and inſpired them with ſuch an ardour for his ſervice, as ſeemed to have rendered them invincible. He took ſeveral places from the Achæans, ravaged the territories

ries of their allies, and advanced almoſt as far as Pheræ, with intention either to give them battle, or diſcredit Aratus as a puſillanimous leader, who had fled from his enemy, and abandoned all their flat country to be plundered. The Achæans having taken the field with all their troops, and encamped in the territories of Dymæ, Cleomenes followed them thither, and harraſſed them perpetually with ſo much intrepidity, as at laſt compelled them to come to a battle, wherein he obtained a complete victory; for he put their army to flight, killed abundance of men, and took a great number of priſoners.

(*b*) The Achæans were extremely dejected at theſe ſevere loſſes, and began to be apprehenſive of the greateſt calamities from Sparta, eſpecially if ſhe ſhould happen to be ſupported by the Ætolians, according to the rumour which then prevailed. Aratus, who had uſually been elected general every other year, refuſed to charge himſelf with that commiſſion when he was choſen again, and Timoxenes was ſubſtituted in his ſtead. The Achæans ſeverely cenſured the conduct of Aratus on this occaſion, and with great juſtice, as he, who was conſidered by them as their pilot, had now abandoned the helm of his veſſel amidſt a threatening tempeſt, wherein it would have been proper and glorious for him to have ſeiſed it into his own hands, even by force, in imitation of ſeveral great examples related in hiſtory, and when he ought to have been ſolely ſollicitous to ſave the ſtate at the expence of his own life. If he had even deſpaired of retrieving the affairs of the Achæans, he ought rather to have ſubmitted to Cleomenes, who was a Grecian by birth, and king of Sparta, than to call in the aſſiſtance of foreigners, and make them maſters of Peloponneſus, as will ſoon appear to have been the event: jealouſy, however, extinguiſhes all prudent reflexions, and is a malady not to be cured by reaſon alone.

The Achæans being reduced to the laſt extremi-

(*b*) Plut. in Cleom. p. 811. Idem, in Arat. p. 1044.

A. M. 3777. Ant. J. C. 227. ties, and eſpecially after the loſs of the firſt battle, ſent ambaſſadors to Cleomenes to negociate a peace. The king ſeemed at firſt determined to impoſe very rigid terms upon them; but afterwards diſpatched an embaſſy on his part, and only demanded to be appointed general of the Achæan league, promiſing on that condition to accommodate all differences between them, and reſtore the priſoners and places he had taken from them. The Achæans, who were very inclinable to accept of peace on thoſe terms, deſired Cleomenes to be preſent at Lerna, where they were to hold a general aſſembly, in order to conclude the treaty. The king ſet out accordingly for that place, but an unexpected accident, which happened to him, prevented the interview; and Aratus endeavoured to improve it in ſuch a manner as to hinder the negociation from being renewed. He imagined, that as he had poſſeſſed the chief authority in the Achæan league for the ſpace of thirty-three years, it would be very diſhonourable in him to ſuffer a young man to graft himſelf upon him, and diveſt him of all his glory and power, by ſupplanting him in a command he had acquired, augmented, and retained for ſo many years. Theſe conſiderations induced him to uſe all his efforts to diſſuade the Achæans from the conditions propoſed to them by Cleomenes: but as he had the mortification to find himſelf incapable of conciliating them with this view, becauſe they dreaded the bravery and uncommon ſucceſs of Cleomenes, and likewiſe thought the Lacedæmonians were very reaſonable in their intentions to reſtore Peloponneſus to its ancient ſtate, he had recourſe to an expedient which no Grecian ought to have approved, and was extremely diſhonourable in a man of his rank and character. His deſign was to call in the aſſiſtance of Antigonus king of Macedonia, and by inevitable conſequence make him maſter of Greece.

(c) He had not forgotten that Antigonus had great cauſe to be diſſatisfied with his former proceedings: but

(c) Polyb. l. ii. p. 133—140.

but he was ſenſible, that princes may be properly ſaid to have neither friends nor enemies, and that they form their ſentiments of things by the ſtandard of their own intereſt. He, however, would not openly enter into a negociation of this nature, nor propoſe it as from himſelf; becauſe he knew that if it ſhould happen to prove unſucceſsful, he muſt inevitably incur all the odium; and beſides, it would be making a plain declaration to the Achæans, that if he had not abſolutely deſpaired of retrieving their affairs, he would not adviſe them to have recourſe to their profeſſed enemy. He therefore concealed his real views, like an artful and experienced politician, and proceeded by indirect and ſecret methods. As the city of Megalopolis was neareſt in ſituation to Sparta, it lay moſt expoſed to the incurſions of the enemy, and the inhabitants began to think themſelves ſufficient ſufferers by the war, as the Achæans were ſo far from being in a condition to ſupport them, that they were unable to defend themſelves. Nicophanes and Cercides, two citizens of Megalopolis, whom Aratus had brought over to his ſcheme, made a propoſal in the council of that city, for demanding permiſſion of the Achæans, to implore the aſſiſtance of Antigonus. This motion was immediately aſſented to, and the Achæans granted them the permiſſion they deſired. Theſe two citizens were then deputed to be the meſſengers of that propoſal, and Aratus had been careful to furniſh them with ſufficient inſtructions beforehand. When they received audience of Antigonus, they lightly touched upon the particulars which related to their city, and then ſtrongly inſiſted, in conformity to their inſtructions, on the imminent danger to which the king himſelf would be expoſed, ſhould the alliance, which was then talked of between the Ætolians and Cleomenes, take effect. They then repreſented to him, that if the united forces of thoſe two ſtates ſhould have thoſe advantages over the Achæans, which they expected to obtain, the towering ambition of Cleomenes would never be ſatisfied with the mere conqueſt of Peloponneſus,

neſus, as it was evident that he aſpired at the empire of all Greece, which it would be impoſſible for him to ſeiſe, without entirely deſtroying the authority of the Macedonians. To theſe remonſtrances they added, that if the Ætolians ſhould not happen to join Cleomenes, the Achæans would be capable of ſupporting themſelves with their own forces, and ſhould have no cauſe to trouble the king with their importunities for his aſſiſtance; but if, on the other hand, fortune ſhould prove averſe to them, and permit the confederacy between thoſe two ſtates to take effect, they muſt then intreat him not to be an unconcerned ſpectator of the ruin of Peloponneſus, which might even be attended with fatal conſequences to himſelf. They alſo took care to inſinuate to the king, that Aratus would enter into all his meaſures, and give him, in due time, ſufficient ſecurity for his own fidelity and good intentions.

Antigonus highly approved all theſe repreſentations, and ſeiſed with pleaſure the opportunity that was now offered him, for engaging in the affairs of Greece. This had always been the policy of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, who, by declaring themſelves kings, had converted the frame of their reſpective governments into monarchy. They were ſenſible that it nearly concerned them to oppoſe all ſuch ſtates as had any inclination to retain their liberty, and the form of popular government; and wherever they found themſelves in no condition to extinguiſh theſe, they attempted to weaken them at leaſt, and to render the people incapable of forming any conſiderable enterpriſes, by ſowing the ſeeds of diviſion between republicks and free ſtates, and engaging them in wars againſt each other, in order to render themſelves neceſſary to them, and prevent their ſhaking off the Macedonian yoke, by uniting their forces. (*d*) Polybius, ſpeaking of one of theſe princes, declares in expreſs terms, that he paid large penſions to ſeveral tyrants

(*d*) Lib. ii. p. 131.

rants in Greece, who were profeſſed enemies to liberty *.

It cannot therefore be thought ſurpriſing, that Antigonus ſhould prove ſo tractable to the ſollicitations and demands of the Megalopolitans. He wrote them an obliging letter, wherein he promiſed to aſſiſt them, provided the Achæans would conſent to that proceeding. The inhabitants of Megalopolis were tranſported at the happy reſult of their negociation, and immediately diſpatched the ſame deputies to the general aſſembly of the Achæans, in order to inform that people of the good intentions of Antigonus, and to preſs them to put their intereſts immediately into his hands.

Aratus did not fail to congratulate himſelf in private, for the maſterly ſtroke by which he had ſucceeded in his intrigue, and to find Antigonus not poſſeſſed with any impreſſions to his prejudice, as he had reaſon to apprehend. He wiſhed, indeed, to have had no occaſion for his aſſiſtance; and though neceſſity obliged him to have recourſe to that prince, he was willing to guard againſt the imputation of thoſe meaſures, and for having them ſeem to have been concerted by the Achæans without any privity of his.

When the deputies from Megalopolis were introduced into the aſſembly, they read the letter of Antigonus, and related all the particulars of the obliging reception he had given them; with the affection and eſteem he had expreſſed for the Achæans, and the advantageous offers he made them. They concluded with deſiring, in the name of their city, that the Achæans would invite Antigonus to be preſent as ſoon as poſſible in their aſſembly; and every one ſeemed to approve of that motion. Aratus then roſe up, and after he had repreſented the voluntary goodneſs of the king in the ſtrongeſt light, and commended the ſentiments that prevailed in the aſſembly, he intimated to them, that there was no neceſſity for precipitating any thing; that it would be very honourable

* Δημήτριος ἵν' αὐτοῖς (μισάρχοις) εἶναι χρηστὸς καὶ μισθοδότης.

for the republick to endeavour to terminate her wars by her own forces; and that if any calamitous accident ſhould render her incapable of doing ſo, it would then be time enough to have recourſe to her friends. This advice was generally approved; and it was concluded, that the Achæans ſhould employ only their own forces in ſupporting the preſent war.

A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

(*e*) The events of it were, however, very unfavourable to them; for Cleomenes made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities * of Peloponneſus, of which Argos was the moſt conſiderable, and at laſt ſeiſed Corinth, but not the citadel. The Achæans had then no longer time for deliberation; Antigonus was called in to their aſſiſtance, and they came to a reſolution to deliver up the citadel to him, without which he would never have engaged in that expedition; for he wanted a place of ſtrength, and there was none which ſuited him ſo effectually as that, as well on account of its advantageous ſituation between two ſeas, as its fortifications, which rendered it almoſt impregnable. Aratus ſent his ſon to Antigonus among the other hoſtages. That prince advanced by long marches with an army of twenty thouſand foot, and fourteen hundred horſe. Aratus ſet out by ſea with the principal officers of the league, to meet Antigonus at the city of Pegæ, unknown to the enemy; and when that prince was informed of his arrival in perſon, he advanced to him, and rendered him all the honours due to a general of diſtinguiſhed rank and merit.

Cleomenes, inſtead of attempting to defend the paſſage of the Iſthmus, thought it more adviſeable to throw up trenches, and raiſe ſtrong walls to fortify the paſſes of the Onian mountains †, and to harraſs the enemy by frequent attacks, rather than hazard a battle with ſuch well-diſciplined and warlike troops. This conduct of the king of Sparta reduced Antigonus to great

(*e*) Plut. in Cleom. p. 814, 815. Plut. in Arat. p. 1047.

* *Caphyes, Pellene, Pheneus, Phlionte, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Hermione, Trœzene.*

† *Theſe were a ridge of mountains which extended from the rocks of Sciron, in the road to Attica, as far as Bœotia, and mount Citheron.* Strab. l. viii.

great extremities, for he had not provided himſelf with any conſiderable quantity of proviſions, and found it not very practicable to force the paſſes defended by Cleomenes: The only expedient, therefore, to which Antigonus could have recourſe in this perplexity, was to advance to the promontory of Heræa, and from thence to tranſport his army by ſea to Sicyon, which would require a conſiderable ſpace of time, as well as great preparations, which could not eaſily be made.

While Antigonus was embarraſſed in this manner, ſome friend of Aratus arrived at his camp, one night, by ſea, and informed him, that the people of Argos had revolted againſt Cleomenes, and were then beſieging the citadel. Aratus having likewiſe received fifteen hundred men from Antigonus, ſet out by ſea and arrived at Epidaurus. A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224.

Cleomenes, receiving intelligence of theſe proceedings about nine or ten in the evening, immediately detached Megiſtones with two thouſand men, to ſuccour his party at Argos as ſoon as poſſible; after which he induſtriouſly watched the motions of Antigonus; and to animate the Corinthians, aſſured them, that the diſorders, which had lately happened at Argos, were no more than a ſlight commotion, excited by a few mutinous perſons, which would eaſily be ſuppreſſed. In this however he was deceived, for Megiſtones having been ſlain in a ſkirmiſh, as ſoon as he entered Argos, the Lacedæmonian garriſon was reduced to the laſt extremity, and ſeveral couriers had been ſent from thoſe troops to demand immediate aſſiſtance from the Spartan army. Cleomenes being then apprehenſive that the enemies, if they ſhould happen to make themſelves maſters of Argos, would ſhut up all the paſſes againſt him; by which means they would be in a condition to ravage all Laconia with impunity, and even to form the ſiege of Sparta, which would then be without defence; he therefore thought it adviſeable to decamp, and marched with all his army from Corinth.

Antigonus,

Antigonus, ſoon after this retreat of the Lacedæmonians, entered the place, and ſecured it to himſelf with a good garriſon. Cleomenes in the mean time arrived at Argos, before the revolters had any ſuſpicion of his approach, and at firſt ſucceeded ſo far, as to ſcale ſeveral parts of the town, where he forced ſome of the enemies troops to ſave themſelves by flight; but Aratus having entered the city on one ſide, and king Antigonus appearing with all his troops on the other, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

During the continuance of his march, he received advice in the evening from couriers at Tegea, which affected him as much as all his former misfortunes. They acquainted him with the death of his conſort Agiatis, from whom he had never been able to abſent himſelf a whole campaign, even when his expeditions were moſt ſucceſsful; and ſuch was his tenderneſs and eſteem for her, that it had always been cuſtomary for him to make frequent returns to Sparta to enjoy the pleaſure of her company. The next morning he renewed his march by dawn, and arrived early at Sparta, where, after he had devoted ſome moments in pouring out his ſorrows to his mother and children in his own houſe, he reſumed the management of publick affairs.

Much about the ſame time, Ptolemy, who had promiſed to aſſiſt him in the war, ſent to him to demand his mother and children as hoſtages. It was a long time before Cleomenes could preſume to acquaint his parent with the king of Egypt's demand, and though he frequently went to viſit her, with an intention to explain himſelf to her, he never had reſolution enough to enter upon the ſubject. His mother obſerving the perplexity in which he appeared, began to entertain ſome ſuſpicion of the cauſe: For mothers have uſually a great ſhare of penetration, with reference to their children. She enquired of thoſe who were moſt intimate with him, whether her ſon did not deſire ſomething from her, which he could not prevail upon himſelf to communicate to her? And

when

when Cleomenes had at laſt the reſolution to open the affair to her; *How, my ſon*, ſaid ſhe with a ſmile, *is this the ſecret you wanted courage to diſcloſe to me? Why, in the name of heaven, did you not immediately cauſe me to be put on board ſome veſſel, and ſent, without a moment's delay, to any part of the world, where my perſon may be uſeful to Sparta, before old age conſumes and deſtroys it in languor and inaction!*

When the preparations for her voyage were completed, Crateſiclea (for ſo the mother of Cleomenes was called) took her ſon apart, a few moments before ſhe entered the veſſel, and led him into the temple of Neptune. There ſhe held him a great while claſped in her arms, and after ſhe had bathed his face with a tender flow of tears, ſhe recommended the liberty and honour of his country to his care. When ſhe ſaw him weep in the exceſs of his anguiſh at that melancholy parting; *King of Lacedæmon*, ſaid ſhe, *let us dry our tears, that no perſon, when we quit the temple, may ſee us weep, or do any thing unworthy of Sparta. For this is in our power; events are in the hands of God.* When ſhe had expreſſed herſelf to this effect, ſhe compoſed her countenance, led her infant grandſon to the ſhip, and commanded the pilot to ſail that moment from the port.

As ſoon as ſhe arrived at Egypt, ſhe was informed that Ptolemy, having received an embaſſy from Antigonus was ſatisfied with the propoſals made by that prince; and ſhe had likewiſe intelligence, that her ſon Cleomenes was ſollicited by the Achæans to conclude a treaty between them and Sparta, but that he durſt not put an end to the war, without the conſent of Ptolemy, becauſe he was apprehenſive for his mother, who was then in the power of that king. When ſhe had been fully inſtructed in theſe particulars, ſhe ſent expreſs orders to her ſon, to tranſact, without the leaſt fear or heſitation, whatever he imagined would prove beneficial and glorious to Sparta, and not to ſuffer himſelf to be diſconcerted by his apprehenſions of the treatment an ancient woman and a little infant might

might ſuſtain from Ptolemy. Such were the ſentiments which even the women of Sparta thought it their glory to cheriſh.

A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. (f) Antigonus, in the mean time, having made himſelf maſter of Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomene, and ſeveral other cities; Cleomenes, who was then reduced to the neceſſity of defending Laconia permitted all the Helots who were capable of paying five minæ (about ten pounds ſterling) to purchaſe their freedom. From this contribution he raiſed five hundred talents (about one hundred twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling) and armed two thouſand of theſe Helots after the Macedonian manner, in order to oppoſe them to the Leucaſpides of Antigonus; he then formed an enterpriſe, which certainly no one could have expected from him. The city of Megalopolis was very conſiderable at that time, and even not inferior to Sparta in power and extent. Cleomenes concerted meaſures for ſurpriſing this city, and to take it without any oppoſition; and as Antigonus had ſent moſt of his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia, while he himſelf continued at Ægium, to aſſiſt in the aſſembly of the Achæans, the king of Sparta juſtly ſuppoſed, that the garriſon of the city could not be very ſtrong at that time, nor their guards very ſtrict in their duty, as they were not apprehenſive of any inſult from an enemy ſo weak as himſelf; and, conſequently, that if he proceeded with expedition in his deſign, Antigonus, who was then at the diſtance of three days march from the place, would be incapable of affording it any aſſiſtance. The event ſucceeded according to the plan he had projected; for as he arrived at the city by night, he ſcaled the walls, and made himſelf maſter of the place without any oppoſition. Moſt of the inhabitants retired to Meſſene, with their wives and children, before their enemies had any thoughts of purſuing them; and Antigonus was not

(f) Polyb. l. ii. p. 1149. Plut. in Cleom. p. 815—817. Id. in Arato. p. 1048.

not informed of this accident, till it was too late to retrieve it.

Cleomenes, out of a generoſity of mind which has few examples in hiſtory, ſent a herald to acquaint the people of Megalopolis, that he would reſtore them the poſſeſſion of their city, provided they would renounce the Achæan league, and enter into a friendſhip and confederacy with Sparta; but as advantageous as this offer ſeemed, they could not prevail on themſelves to accept it, but rather choſe to be deprived of their eſtates, as well as of the monuments of their anceſtors, and the temples of their gods; in a word, to ſee themſelves diveſted of all that was moſt dear and valuable to them, than to violate the faith they had ſworn to their allies. The famous Philopœmen, whom we ſhall frequently have occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this hiſtory, and who was then at Meſſene, contributed not a little to this generous reſolution. Who could ever expect to diſcover ſo much greatneſs of ſoul, and ſuch a noble caſt of thought, from the very dregs of Greece, for by that name the times of which we now treat may juſtly be deſcribed, when we compare them with the glorious ages of Greece united and triumphant, when even the luſtre of its victories was loſt in the ſplendour of its virtues!

This refuſal of the Megalopolitans highly enraged Cleomenes, who, till the moment he received their anſwer, had not only ſpared the city, but had even been careful to prevent the ſoldiers from committing the leaſt diſorder; but his anger was then inflamed to ſuch a degree, that he abandoned the place to pillage, and ſent all the ſtatues and pictures to his own city. He alſo demoliſhed the greateſt part of the walls, with the ſtrongeſt quarters, and then marched his troops back to Sparta. The deſolation of the city extremely afflicted the Achæans, who conſidered their inability to aſſiſt ſuch faithful allies, as a crime for which they ought to reproach themſelves.

This people were ſoon ſenſible, that by imploring the aid of Antigonus, they had ſubjected themſelves

to an imperious maſter, who made their liberties the price of his aid. He compelled them to paſs a decree, which prohibited them from writing to any king, or ſending an embaſſy without his permiſſion; and he obliged them to furniſh proviſions and pay for the garriſon he had put into the citadel of Corinth, which, in reality, was making them pay for their own chains, for this citadel was the very place which kept them in ſubjection. They had abandoned themſelves to ſlavery in ſo abject a manner, as even to offer ſacrifices and libations, and exhibit publick games in honour of Antigonus; and Aratus was no longer regarded by them. Antigonus ſet up in Argos all the ſtatues of thoſe tyrants which Aratus had thrown down, and deſtroyed all thoſe which had been erected in honour of the perſons who ſurpriſed the citadel of Corinth, except one, which was that of Aratus himſelf; and all the intreaties of this general could not prevail upon the king to deſiſt from ſuch a proceeding. The ſight of theſe tranſactions gave him the utmoſt anxiety; but he was no longer maſter of affairs, and ſuffered a juſt puniſhment for ſubjecting himſelf and his country to a foreign yoke. Antigonus alſo took the city of Mantinea, and when he had moſt inhumanly murthered a great number of the citizens, and ſold the reſt into captivity, he abandoned the place to the Argives, in order to its being repeopled by them, and even charged Aratus with that commiſſion, who had the meanneſs to call this new inhabited city * by the name of him who had ſhown himſelf its moſt cruel enemy. A ſad, and, at the ſame time, a ſalutary example, which ſhows that when once a perſon has conſented to ſtoop to a ſtate of ſervitude, he ſees himſelf daily compelled to deſcend lower, without knowing where or how to ſtop.

Aratus, by employing his own endeavours to load his republick with ſhackles, was guilty of an unpardonable crime, the enormity of which no great quality, nor any ſhining action, can ever extenuate. He acted

* Antigonus.

acted thus merely through jealouſy of his rival Cleomenes, whoſe glory, and the ſuperiority that young prince had obtained over him by the ſucceſs of his arms, were inſupportable to him. What, ſays Plutarch, did Cleomenes demand of the Achæans, as the ſole preliminary to the peace he offered them? Was it not their election of him for their general? And did he not demand that with a view to complete the welfare of their cities, and ſecure to them the enjoyment of their liberties, as a teſtimony of his gratitude for ſo ſignal an honour, and ſo glorious a title? If, therefore, continues Plutarch, it had been abſolutely neceſſary for them to have choſen either Cleomenes or Antigonus, or, in other words, a Greek or a Barbarian, for the Macedonians were conſidered as ſuch; in a word, if they were obliged to have a maſter, would not the meaneſt citizen of Sparta have been preferable to the greateſt of the Macedonians; at leaſt, in the opinion of thoſe who had any regard to the honour and reputation of Greece? Jealouſy, however, extinguiſhed all thoſe ſentiments in the mind of Aratus; ſo difficult is it to behold ſuperior merit with an eye of ſatisfaction and tranquillity.

Aratus, therefore, that he might not ſeem to ſubmit to Cleomenes, nor conſent that a king of Sparta, deſcended from Hercules, and a king who had lately re-eſtabliſhed the ancient diſcipline of that city, ſhould add to his other titles, that of captain-general of the Achæans, called in a ſtranger, to whom he had formerly profeſſed himſelf a mortal enemy; in conſequence of which he filled Peloponneſus with thoſe very Macedonians whom he had made it his glory to expel from thence in his youth. He even threw himſelf at their feet, and all Achaia, by his example, fell proſtrate before them, as an indication of their promptitude to accompliſh the commands of their imperious maſters. In a word, from a man accuſtomed to liberty, he became an abject and ſervile flatterer; he had the baſeneſs to offer ſacrifices to Antigonus, and placed himſelf at the head of a proceſſion crown-

ed

ed with chaplets of flowers, joining at the ſame time in hymns to the honour of that prince, and rendering by theſe low adulations that homage to a mortal man, which none but the divinity can claim, and even to a man who then carried death in his boſom, and was ready to ſink into putrefaction; for he at that time was reduced to the laſt extremity by a ſlow conſumption. Aratus was, however, a man of great merit in other reſpects, and had ſhown himſelf to be an extraordinary perſon, altogether worthy of Greece. In him, ſays Plutarch, we ſee a deplorable inſtance of human frailty; which, amidſt the luſtre of ſo many rare and excellent qualities could not form the plan of a virtue exempt from blame.

(g) We have already obſerved, that Antigonus had ſent his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia. Cleomenes, at the return of ſpring, formed an enterpriſe, which, in the opinion of the vulgar, was the reſult of temerity and folly; but, according to Polybius, a competent judge in affairs of that nature, it was concerted with all imaginable prudence and ſagacity. As he was ſenſible that the Macedonians were diſperſed in their quarters, and that Antigonus paſſed the winter ſeaſon with his friends at Argos, without any other guard than an inconſiderable number of foreign troops; he made an irruption into the territories of Argos, in order to lay them waſte. He conceived, at the ſame time, that if Antigonus ſhould be ſo much affected with the apprehenſions of ignominy as to hazard a battle, he would certainly be defeated; and that, on the other hand, if he ſhould decline fighting, he would loſe all his reputation with the Achæans, while the Spartans, on the contrary, would be rendered more daring and intrepid. The event ſucceeded according to his expectations; for as the whole country was ruined by the devaſtations of his troops, the people of Argos, in their rage and impatience, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gate, and with a murmuring tone preſſed the king

(g) Plut. in Cleom. p. 816, 817. Polyb. l. ii. p. 149.

king either to give their enemies battle, or reſign the command of his troops to thoſe who were leſs timorous than himſelf. Antigonus, on the other hand, who had ſo much of the prudence and preſence of mind eſſential to a great general, as to be ſenſible that the diſhonourable part of one in his ſtation, did not conſiſt in hearing himſelf reproached, but in expoſing himſelf raſhly, and without reaſon, and in quitting certainties for chance, refuſed to take the field, and perſiſted in his reſolution not to fight. Cleomenes therefore led up his troops to the walls of Argos, and when he had laid the flat country waſte, marched his army back to Sparta.

This expedition redounded very much to his honour, and even obliged his enemies to confeſs that he was an excellent general, and a perſon of the higheſt merit and capacity in the conduct of the moſt arduous affairs. In a word, they could never ſufficiently admire his manner of oppoſing the forces of a ſingle city to the whole power of the Macedonians, united with that of Peloponneſus, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſupplies which had been furniſhed by the king; and eſpecially when they conſidered that he had not only preſerved Laconia free from all inſults, but had even penetrated into the territories of his enemies, where he ravaged the country, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral great cities. This they were perſuaded could not be the effect of any ordinary abilities in the art of war, nor of any common magnanimity of ſoul. A misfortune however unhappily prevented him from re-inſtating Sparta in her ancient power, as will be evident in the ſequel.

SECT. V. *The celebrated battle of Selaſia, wherein* ANTIGONUS *defeats* CLEOMENES, *who retires into Egypt.* ANTIGONUS *makes himſelf maſter of Sparta, and treats that city with great humanity. The death of that prince, who is ſucceeded by* PHILIP, *the ſon of* DEMETRIUS. *The death of* PTOLEMY EVERGETES, *to whoſe throne* PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR *ſucceeds. A great earthquake at Rhodes. The noble generoſity of thoſe princes and cities who contributed to the reparation of the loſſes the Rhodians had ſuſtained by that calamity. The fate of the famous Coluſſus.*

A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223.

(*a*) THE Macedonians and Achæans having quitted their quarters in the ſummer ſeaſon, Antigonus put himſelf at the head of them, and advanced into Laconia. His army was compoſed of twenty-eight thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe; but that of Cleomenes did not amount to more than twenty thouſand men. As the latter of theſe two princes expected an irruption from the enemy, he had fortified all the paſſes, by poſting detachments of his troops in them, and by throwing up intrenchments, and cutting down trees, after which he formed his camp at Selaſia. He imagined, and with good reaſon too, that the enemies would endeavour to force a paſſage into that country through this avenue, in which he was not deceived. This defile was formed by two mountains, one of which had the name of Eva, and the other that of Olympus. The river Oeneus ran between them, on the banks of which was the road to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of theſe mountains, poſted his brother Euclidas on the eminence of Eva, at the head of the allies, and planted himſelf on Olympus, with the Lacedæmonians, and a party of the foreign troops, placing, at the ſame time, along each bank of the river, a detachment of the cavalry, and foreign auxiliaries.

Antigonus,

(*a*) Polyb. l. ii. p. 150—154. Plut. in Cleom. p. 818, 819. Ibid. in Philop. p. 358.

Antigonus, when he arrived there, ſaw all the paſſes fortified, and was ſenſible, by the manner in which Cleomenes had poſted his troops, that he had neglected no precaution for defending himſelf and attacking his enemies, and that he had formed his camp into ſuch an advantageous diſpoſition, as rendered all approaches to it extremely difficult. All this abated his ardour for a battle, and cauſed him to encamp at a ſmall diſtance, where he had an opportunity of covering his troops with a rivulet. He continued there for ſeveral days, in order to view the ſituation of the different poſts, and ſound the diſpoſition of the people who compoſed the enemy's army. Sometimes he ſeemed to be forming deſigns, which kept the enemy in ſuſpence how to act. They however were always upon their guard, and the ſituation of each army equally ſecured them from inſults. At laſt both ſides reſolved upon a deciſive battle.

It is not eaſy to comprehend why Cleomenes, who was poſted ſo advantageouſly at that time, and whoſe troops were inferior to thoſe of the enemy by one third, but were ſecure of a free communication in their rear with Sparta, from whence they might eaſily be ſupplied with proviſions, ſhould reſolve, without the leaſt apparent neceſſity, to hazard a battle, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon.

Polybius indeed ſeems to intimate the cauſe of this proceeding, when he obſerves, that Ptolemy cauſed Cleomenes to be acquainted, that he no longer would ſupply him with money, and exhorted him at the ſame time to come to an accommodation with Antigonus. As Cleomenes therefore was incapable of defraying the expence of this war, and was not only in arrear with his foreign troops to the amount of a very conſiderable ſum, but found it extremely difficult to maintain his Spartan forces, we may conſequently ſuppoſe that this ſituation of his affairs was his inducement to venture a battle.

When the ſignals were given on each ſide, Antigonus detached a body of troops, conſiſting of Macedonian

donian and Illyrian battalions alternately diſpoſed, againſt thoſe of the enemy poſted on mount Eva. His ſecond line conſiſted of Acarnanians and Cretans, and in the rear of theſe, two thouſand Achæans were drawn up as a body of reſerve. He drew up his cavalry along the bank of the river, in order to confront thoſe of the enemy, and cauſed them to be ſupported by a thouſand of the Achæan foot, and the ſame number of Megalopolitans. He then placed himſelf at the head of the Macedonians, and the light-armed foreign troops, and advanced to mount Olympus to attack Cleomenes. The foreigners were diſpoſed into the firſt line; and marched immediately before the Macedonian phalanx, which was divided into two bodies, the one in the rear of the other, becauſe the ground would not admit their forming a larger front.

The action began at mount Eva, when the light-armed troops, who had been poſted with an intention to cover and ſupport the cavalry of Cleomenes, obſerving that the remoteſt cohorts of the Achæan forces were uncovered, immediately wheeled about and attacked them in the rear. Thoſe who endeavoured to gain the ſummit of the mountain, found themſelves vigorouſly preſſed by the enemy, and in great danger, being threatened in front by Euclidas, who was in a higher ſituation, at the ſame time that they were charged in their rear by the foreign troops, who aſſaulted them with the utmoſt impetuoſity. Philopœmen and his citizens were poſted among the cavalry of Antigonus, who were ſupported by the Illyrians, and had orders not to move from that poſt till a particular ſignal ſhould be given. Philopœmen obſerving that it would not be difficult to fall upon this light infantry of Euclidas, and rout them entirely, and that this was the critical moment for the charge, immediately communicated his opinion to ſuch of the king's officers as commanded the cavalry. They, however, would not ſo much as hear him, merely becauſe he had never commanded, and was then very young; and even treated

treated what he ſaid as a chimæra. Philopœmen was not diverted from his purpoſe by that uſage, but at the head of his own citizens, whom he prevailed upon to follow him, he attacked and repulſed that body of infantry with great ſlaughter.

The Macedonians and Illyrians, being diſengaged by this operation from what before had retarded their motions, boldly marched up the hill to their enemies. Euclidas was then to engage with a phalanx, whoſe whole force conſiſted in the ſtrict union of its parts, the cloſeneſs of its ranks, the ſteady and equal force of its numerous and pointed ſpears, and the uniform impetuoſity of that heavy body, that by its weight overthrew and bore down all before it.

In order to prevent this inconvenience, an able officer would have marched down the mountain with ſuch of his troops as were lighteſt armed and moſt active to have met the phalanx. He might eaſily have attacked thoſe troops as ſoon as they began to aſcend, and would then have harraſſed them on every ſide. The inequalities of the mountain, with the difficulty of aſcending it entirely uncovered, would have enabled him to have opened a paſſage through this body of men, and to have interrupted their march, by putting their ranks into confuſion, and breaking their order of battle; he might alſo have fallen back by degrees, in order to regain the ſummit of the mountain, as the enemy advanced upon him, and after he had deprived them of the only advantage they could expect from the quality of their arms, and the diſpoſition of their troops, he might have improved the advantage of his poſt in ſuch a manner, as to have eaſily put them to flight.

Euclidas, inſtead of acting in this manner, continued on the top of the mountain, flattering himſelf, that victory would infallibly attend his arms: He imagined, in all probability, that the higher he permitted the enemy to advance, the eaſier it would be for him to precipitate their troops down the ſteep declivity: But as he had not reſerved for his own forces a

ſufficient extent of ground for any retreat that might happen to be neceſſary for avoiding the formidable charge of the phalanx, which advanced upon him in good order, his troops were crowded together in ſuch a manner, as obliged them to fight on the ſummit of the mountain, where they could not long ſuſtain the weight of the Illyrian arms, and the order of battle into which that infantry formed themſelves on the eminence; and as his men could neither retreat nor change their ground, they were ſoon defeated by their enemies.

During this action, the cavalry of each army had alſo engaged. That of the Achæans behaved themſelves with great bravery, and Philopœmen in particular; becauſe they were ſenſible that the liberties of their republick would be decided by this battle. Philopœmen, in the heat of the action, had his horſe killed under him, and while he fought on foot, his armour was pierced through with a javelin; the wound, however, was not mortal, nor attended with any ill conſequences.

The two kings began the engagement on mount Olympus, with their light-armed troops and foreign ſoldiers, of whom each of them had about five thouſand. As this action was performed in the ſight of each ſovereign and his army, the troops emulated each other in ſignalizing themſelves, as well in parties, as when the battle became general. Man and man, and rank to rank, all fought with the utmoſt vigour and obſtinacy. Cleomenes, when he ſaw his brother defeated, and his cavalry loſing ground in the plain, was apprehenſive that the enemy would pour upon him from all quarters; and therefore thought it adviſeable to level all the intrenchments around his camp, and cauſe his whole army to march out in front. The trumpets having ſounded a ſignal for the light-armed troops to retreat from the tract between the two camps, each phalanx advanced with loud ſhouts, ſhifting their lances at the ſame time, and began the charge. The action was very hot. One while the Macedonians

Macedonians fell back before the valour of the Spartans; and theſe, in their turn, were unable to ſuſtain the weight of the Macedonian phalanx; till at laſt the troops of Antigonus advancing with their lances lowered and cloſed, charged the Lacedæmonians with all the impetuoſity of a phalanx that had doubled its ranks, and drove them from their intrenchments. The defeat then became general; the Lacedæmonians fell in great numbers, and thoſe who ſurvived, fled from the field of battle in the greateſt diſorder. Cleomenes, with only a few horſe, retreated to Sparta. Plutarch aſſures us, that moſt of the foreign troops periſhed in this battle, and that no more than two hundred Lacedæmonians eſcaped out of ſix thouſand.

It may juſtly be ſaid, that Antigonus derived his ſucceſs, in ſome meaſure, from the prudence and bravery of the young Philopœmen. His bold reſolution to attack the light infantry of the enemy with ſo few forces as thoſe of his own troops, contributed to the overthrow of the wing commanded by Euclidas, and that drew on the general defeat. This action, undertaken by a private captain of horſe, not only without orders, but in oppoſition to the ſuperior officers, and even contrary to the command of the general, ſeems to be a tranſgreſſion of military diſcipline; but it ought to be remembered, that the welfare of an army is a circumſtance ſuperior to all other conſiderations. Had the general been preſent, he himſelf would have given directions for that motion, and the delay even of a ſingle moment, might occaſion the impoſſibility of its ſucceſs. It is evident that Antigonus judged of the action in this manner; for when the battle was over, he aſſumed an air of ſeeming diſpleaſure, and demanded of Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, what his reaſon could be for beginning the attack before the ſignal, contrary to the orders he had iſſued? Alexander then replying, that it was not himſelf, but a young officer of Megalopolis, who had tranſgreſſed his commands in that manner: *That young man*, ſaid Antigonus, *in ſeiſing*

the occaſion, behaved like a great general, but you the general like a young man.

Sparta, on this diſaſter, ſhowed that ancient ſteadineſs and intrepidity, which ſeemed to have ſomething of a ſavage air, and had diſtinguiſhed her citizens on all occaſions. No married woman was ſeen to mourn for the loſs of her huſband. The old men celebrated the death of their children; and the children congratulated their fathers who had fallen in battle. Every one deplored the fate which had prevented them from ſacrificing their lives to the liberty of their country. They opened the hoſpitable doors to thoſe who returned covered with wounds from the army; they attended them with peculiar care, and ſupplied them with all the accommodations they needed. No trouble or confuſion was ſeen through the whole city, and every individual lamented more the publick calamity, than any particular loſs of their own.

Cleomenes, upon his arrival at Sparta, adviſed his citizens to receive Antigonus; aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country, with the utmoſt pleaſure, whenever it ſhould happen to be in his power. He then retired into his own houſe, but would neither drink, though very thirſty, nor ſit down, though extremely fatigued. Charged as he then was with the weight of his armour, he leaned againſt a column, with his head reclined on his arm; and after he had deliberated with himſelf for ſome time on the different meaſures in his power to take, he ſuddenly quitted the houſe, and went with his friends to the port of Gythium, where he embarked in a veſſel he had prepared for that purpoſe, and ſailed for Egypt.

A Spartan, having made a lively repreſentation to him of the melancholy conſequences that might attend his intended voyage to Egypt, and the indignity a king of Sparta would ſuſtain by crouching in a ſervile manner to a foreign prince, took that opportunity to exhort him in the ſtrongeſt manner, to prevent

thoſe juſt reproaches by a voluntary and glorious death, and to vindicate, by that action, thoſe who had ſacrificed their lives in the fields of Selaſia, for the liberty of Sparta. *You are deceived*, cried Cleomenes, *if you imagine there is any bravery in confronting death, merely through the apprehenſion of falſe ſhame, or the deſire of empty applauſe: Say rather, that ſuch an action is mean and puſillanimous. The death we may be induced to covet, inſtead of being the evaſion of an action, ought to be an action itſelf*, ſince nothing can be more diſhonourable than either to live or die, merely for one's ſelf. For my part, I ſhall endeavour to be uſeful to my country, to my lateſt breath; and whenever this hope happens to fail us, it will be eaſy for us to have recourſe to death, if ſuch ſhould be then our inclination.*

(a) Cleomenes had ſcarce ſet ſail, before Antigonus arrived at Sparta, and made himſelf maſter of the city. He ſeemed to treat the inhabitants more like a friend than a conqueror; and declared to them, that he had not engaged in a war againſt the Spartans, but againſt Cleomenes, whoſe flight had ſatisfied and diſarmed his reſentment. He likewiſe added, that it would be glorious to his memory, to have it ſaid by poſterity, that Sparta had been preſerved by the prince who alone had the good fortune to take it. He reckoned he had ſaved that city, by aboliſhing all that the zeal of Cleomenes had accompliſhed, for the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient laws of Lycurgus; though that conduct was the real cauſe of its ruin. Sparta loſt all that was valuable to her, by the overthrow, and involuntary retreat of Cleomenes. One fatal battle blotted out that happy dawn of power and glory, and for ever deprived him of the hopes of re-inſtating his city in her ancient ſplendour, and original authority, which were incapable of ſubſiſting after the abolition of

A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223.

(a) Plut. in Cleom. p. 819. Polyb. l. ii. p. 155. Juſtin. l. xxviii. c. 4.

* *The ancients maintained it as a principle, that the death of perſons employed in the adminiſtration of a ſtate ought neither to be uſeleſs or inactive, with reſpect to the publick; but a natural conſequence of their miniſtry, and one of their moſt important actions.* Plut. in Lycurg. p. 57.

of thoſe ancient laws and cuſtoms on which her welfare was founded. Corruption then reſumed her former courſe, and daily gathered ſtrength, till Sparta ſunk to her laſt declenſion in a very ſhort ſpace of time. It may therefore be juſtly ſaid, that the bold views and enterpriſes of Cleomenes were the laſt ſtruggles of its expiring liberty.

Antigonus left Sparta three days after he had entered it; and his departure was occaſioned by the intelligence he had received, that a war had broke out in Macedonia, where the Barbarians committed dreadful ravages. If this news had arrived three days ſooner, Cleomenes might have been ſaved. Antigonus was already afflicted with a ſevere indiſpoſition, which at laſt ended in a conſumption and total defluxion of humours, that carried him off two or three years after. He however would not ſuffer himſelf to be dejected by his ill ſtate of health, and had even ſpirit enough to engage in new battles in his own kingdom. It was ſaid, that after he had been victorious over the Illyrians, he was ſo tranſported with joy, that he frequently repeated theſe expreſſions, *O the glorious happy battle!* And that he uttered this exclamation with ſo much ardour, that he burſt a vein, and loſt a large quantity of blood; this ſymptom was ſucceeded by a violent fever, which ended his days. Some time before his death, he ſettled the ſucceſſion to his dominions in favour of Philip, the ſon of Demetrius, who was then fourteen years of age; or it may be rather ſaid, that he returned him the ſceptre, which had only been depoſited in his hand.

Cleomenes, in the mean time, arrived at Alexandria, where he met with a very cold reception from the king, when he was firſt introduced into his preſence. But after he had given that monarch proofs of his admirable ſenſe, and ſhown in his common converſation the generous freedom, openneſs, and ſimplicity of the Spartan manners, attended with a graceful politeneſs, in which there was nothing mean, and even a noble pride that became his birth and dignity; Ptolemy was

then

then ſenſible of his merit, and eſteemed him infinitely more than all thoſe courtiers who were only ſollicitous to pleaſe him by abject flatteries. He was even ſtruck with confuſion and remorſe for his neglect of ſo great a man, and for his having abandoned him to Antigonus, who had raiſed his own reputation, and enlarged his power to an infinite degree, by his victory over that prince. The king of Egypt then endeavoured to comfort and relieve Cleomenes, by treating him with the utmoſt honour, and giving him repeated aſſurances that he would ſend him into Greece with ſuch a fleet and a ſupply of money, as, with his other good offices, ſhould be ſufficient to re-eſtabliſh him on the throne. He alſo aſſigned him a yearly penſion of twenty-four talents (about twenty thouſand pounds ſterling) with which he ſupported himſelf and his friends with the utmoſt frugality, reſerving all the remainder of that allowance for the relief of thoſe who retired into Egypt from Greece. Ptolemy however died before he could accompliſh his promiſe to Cleomenes. This prince had reigned twenty-five years, and was the laſt of that race in whom any true virtue and moderation was conſpicuous; *(b)* for the generality of his ſucceſſors were monſters of debauchery and wickedneſs. The prince, whoſe character we are now deſcribing, had made it his principal * care to extend his dominions to the South, from concluding the peace with Syria. Accordingly he had extended it the whole length of the Red Sea, as well along the Arabian as the Ethiopian coaſts, and even to the Straits †, which form a communication with the ſouthern ocean. He was ſucceeded on the throne of Egypt by his ſon Ptolemy, ſurnamed Philopator.

A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222.

A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221.

(c) Some time before this period, Rhodes ſuffered very conſiderable damages from a great earthquake. The walls of the city, with the arſenals, and the narrow paſſes in the haven, where the ſhips of that iſland were laid up, were reduced to a very ruinous condition;

A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222.

(b) Strab. l. xvii. p. 796
* Monum. Adulit.
(c) Polyb. l. v. p. 428, 431.
† *Straits of Babelmandel.*

condition; and the famous Coloſſus, which was eſteemed one of the wonders of the world, was thrown down, and entirely deſtroyed. It is natural to think, that this earthquake ſpared neither private houſes nor publick ſtructures, nor even the temples of the gods. The loſs ſuſtained by it amounted to immenſe ſums; and the Rhodians, reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, ſent deputations to all the neighbouring princes, to implore their relief in that melancholy conjuncture. An emulation worthy of praiſe, and not to be parallelled in hiſtory, prevailed in favour of that deplorable city; and Hiero and Gelon in Sicily, and Ptolemy in Egypt, ſignalized themſelves in a peculiar manner on that occaſion. The two former of theſe princes contributed above a hundred talents, and erected two ſtatues in the publick place; one of which repreſented the people of Rhodes, and the other thoſe of Syracuſe; the former was crowned by the latter, to teſtify, as Polybius obſerves, that the Syracuſans thought the opportunity of relieving the Rhodians a favour and obligation to themſelves. Ptolemy, beſides his other expences, which amounted to a very conſiderable ſum, ſupplied that people with three hundred talents, a million of buſhels of corn, and a ſufficient quantity of timber for building ten gallies of ten benches of oars, and as many more of three benches, beſides an infinite quantity of wood for other buildings; all which donations were accompanied with three thouſand talents for erecting the Coloſſus anew. Antigonus, Seleucus, Pruſias, Mithridates, and all the princes, as well as cities, ſignalized their liberality on this occaſion. Even private perſons emulated each other in ſharing in this glorious act of humanity; and hiſtorians have recorded, that a lady, whoſe name was Chryſeis *, and who truly merited that appellation, furniſhed from her own ſubſtance an hundred thouſand buſhels of corn. "Let the princes of theſe times," ſays Polybius, "who imagine they have done glorioufly in "giving four or five thouſand crowns, only conſider "how

* *Chryſeis ſignifies* golden.

"how inferior their generoſity is to that we have now "deſcribed." Rhodes, in conſequence of theſe liberalities, was re-eſtabliſhed in a few years, in a more opulent and ſplendid ſtate than ſhe had ever experienced before, if we only except the Coloſſus.

This Coloſſus was a brazen ſtatue of a prodigious ſize, as I have formerly obſerved; and ſome authors have affirmed, that the money ariſing from the contributions already mentioned, amounted to five times as much as the loſs which the Rhodians had ſuſtained. *(d)* This people, inſtead of employing the ſums they had received, in replacing that ſtatue according to the intention of the donors, pretended that the oracle of Delphos had forbid it, and given them a command to preſerve that money for other purpoſes, by which they enriched themſelves. The Coloſſus lay neglected on the ground, for the ſpace of eight hundred ninety-four years; at the expiration of which (that is to ſay, in the ſix hundred and fifty-third year of our Lord) Moawyas*, the ſixth Caliph or Emperor of the Saracens, made himſelf maſter of Rhodes, and ſold this ſtatue to a Jewiſh merchant, who loaded nine hundred camels with the metal; which computed by eight quintals for each load, after a deduction of the diminution the ſtatue had ſuſtained by ruſt, and very probably by theft, amounted to more than thirty-ſix thouſand pounds ſterling, or ſeven thouſand two hundred quintals.

(d) Strab. l. xiv. p. 652.

* Zonar. ſub. regno Conſtantis Imperat. & Cedrenus.

BOOK THE SEVENTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS.

SECT. I. PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR *reigns in Egypt. The ſhort reign of* SELEUCUS CERAUNUS. *He is ſucceeded by his brother* ANTIOCHUS, *ſurnamed the* GREAT. ACHÆUS's *fidelity to him.* HERMIAS, *his chief miniſter, firſt removes* EPIGENES, *the ableſt of all his generals, and afterwards puts him to death.* ANTIOCHUS *ſubdues the rebels in the Eaſt. He rids himſelf of* HERMIAS. *He attempts to recover Cæloſyria from* PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR, *and poſſeſſes himſelf of the ſtrongeſt cities in it. After a ſhort truce, a war breaks out again in Syria. Battle of Raphia, in which* ANTIOCHUS *is entirely defeated. The anger and revenge of* PHILOPATOR *againſt the Jews, for refuſing to let him enter the ſanctuary.* ANTIOCHUS *concludes a peace with* PTOLEMY. *He turns his arms againſt* ACHÆUS, *who had rebelled. He at laſt ſeiſes him treacherouſly, and puts him to death.*

A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226.

(a) I OBSERVED in the preceding book, that Ptolemy Philopator had ſucceeded Ptolemy Evergetes, his father, in Egypt. On the other ſide, Seleucus Callinicus was dead in Parthia. He had left two

(a) Polyb. l. iv. p. 315. & l. v. p. 386. Hieron. in Daniel. Appian. in Syriac. p. 131. Juſtin. l. xix. c. 1.

two ſons, Seleucus and Antiochus; and the firſt, who was the elder, ſucceeded to his father's throne, and aſſumed the ſurname of ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΣ (Ceraunus) or the *Thunder*, which no way ſuited his character; for he was a very weak prince both in body and mind, and never did any actions that correſponded with the idea of that name. His reign was ſhort, and his authority but ill eſtabliſhed, either in the army or the provinces. What prevented his loſing it entirely was, that Achæus, his couſin, ſon to Andromachus, his mother's brother, a man of courage and abilities, aſſumed the management of his affairs, which his father's ill conduct had reduced to a very low ebb. As for Andromachus, he was taken by Ptolemy, in a war with Callinicus; and kept priſoner in Alexandria during all his reign, and part of the following.

Attalus king of Pergamus having ſeiſed upon all Aſia Minor, from mount Taurus as far as the Helleſpont, Seleucus marched againſt him, and left Hermias the Carian regent of Syria. Achæus accompanied him in that expedition, and did him all the good ſervices the ill ſtate of his affairs would admit. A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224.

Having no money to pay the forces, and the king being deſpiſed by the ſoldiers for his weakneſs, Nicanor and Apaturius, two of the chief officers, formed a conſpiracy againſt him during his abſence in Phrygia, and poiſoned him. However, Achæus revenged that horrid action, by putting to death the two ringleaders, and all who had engaged in their plot. He acted afterwards with ſo much prudence and valour with regard to the army, that he kept the ſoldiers in their obedience; and prevented Attalus from taking advantage of this accident, which, but for his excellent conduct, would have loſt the Syrian empire all it ſtill poſſeſſed on that ſide. A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223.

Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to Achæus, and ſeveral of the provinces did the ſame. However, he had the generoſity to refuſe it at that time, though he afterwards thought himſelf obliged to act in a different manner. In the preſent

preſent conjuncture, he not only refuſed the crown, but preſerved it carefully for the lawful heir, Antiochus, brother of the deceaſed king, who was but in his fifteenth year. Seleucus, at his ſetting out for Aſia Minor, had ſent him into Babylonia *, where he was when his brother died. He was now brought from thence to Antioch, where he aſcended the throne, and enjoyed it thirty-ſix years. For his illuſtrious actions he has been ſurnamed the Great. Achæus, to ſecure the ſucceſſion in his favour, ſent a detachment of the army to him in Syria, with Epigenes, one of the late king's moſt experienced generals. The reſt of the forces he kept for the ſervice of the ſtate, in that part of the country where he himſelf was.

A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222.

(*b*) As ſoon as Antiochus was poſſeſſed of the crown, he ſent Molo and Alexander, two brothers, into the Eaſt; the former as governor of Media, and the latter of Perſia. Achæus was appointed to preſide over the provinces of Aſia Minor. Epigenes had the command of the troops which were kept about the king's perſon; and Hermias the Carian was declared his prime miniſter, as he had been under his brother. Achæus ſoon recovered all the territories which Attalus had taken from the empire of Syria, and forced him to confine himſelf within his kingdom of Pergamus. Alexander and Molo deſpiſing the king's youth, were no ſooner fixed in their governments, but they refuſed to acknowledge him; and each declared himſelf ſovereign in the province over which he had been appointed lieutenant. Hermias, by his ill treatment of them, had very much contributed to their revolt.

This miniſter was of a cruel diſpoſition. The moſt inconſiderable faults were by him made crimes, and puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour. He was a man of very little genius, but haughty, full of himſelf, tenacious of his own opinion, and would have thought it a diſ-

(*b*) Polyb. l. v. p. 386.

* *To Seleucia, which was in that province, and the capital of the Eaſt, inſtead of Babylon, which was no longer in being, or at leaſt was uninhabited.*

a diſhonour to have either aſked or followed another man's advice. He could not bear that any perſon ſhould ſhare with him in credit and authority. Merit of every kind was ſuſpected by, or rather odious to him. But the chief object of his hatred was Epigenes, who had the reputation of being one of the ableſt generals of his time, and in whom the troops repoſed an entire confidence. It was this reputation gave the prime miniſter umbrage; and it was not in his power to conceal the ill-will he bore him.

(c) News being brought of Molo's revolt, Antiochus aſſembled his council, in order to conſider what was to be done in the preſent poſture of affairs; and whether it would be adviſeable for him to march in perſon againſt that rebel, or turn towards Cœloſyria, to check the enterpriſes of Ptolemy. Epigenes was the firſt who ſpoke, and declared, that they had no time to loſe: that it was abſolutely neceſſary the king ſhould go in perſon into the Eaſt, in order to take advantage of the moſt favourable times and occaſions for acting againſt the rebels: that when he ſhould be on the ſpot, either Molo would not dare to attempt any thing in the ſight of the prince, and of an army; or, in caſe he ſhould perſiſt in his deſign, the people, ſtruck with the preſence of their ſovereign, in the return of their zeal and affection for him, would not fail to deliver him up; but that the moſt important point of all was, not to give him time to fortify himſelf. Hermias could not forbear interrupting him; and cried, in an angry and ſelf-ſufficient tone of voice, that to adviſe the king to march in perſon againſt Molo, with ſo inconſiderable a body of forces, would be to deliver him up to the rebels. The real motive of his ſpeaking in this manner was, his being afraid of ſharing in the dangers of that expedition. Ptolemy was to him a much leſs formidable enemy. There was little to be feared from invading a prince entirely devoted to trivial pleaſures. The advice of Hermias prevailed; upon which the command of part of the troops

A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221.

(c) Polyb. l. v. p. 386—395.

troops was given to Xenon and Theodotus, with orders to carry on the war againſt Molo; and the king himſelf marched with the reſt of the army towards Cœloſyria.

Being come to Seleucia near Zeugma, he there found Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, who was brought thither to eſpouſe him. He made ſome ſtay there to ſolemnize his nuptials, the joy of which was ſoon interrupted by the news brought from the Eaſt, *viz.* that his generals, unable to make head againſt Molo and Alexander, who had united their forces, had been forced to retire, and leave them maſters of the field of battle. Antiochus then ſaw the error he had committed, in not following Epigenes's advice; and thereupon was for laying aſide the enterpriſe againſt Cœloſyria, in order to march with all his troops to ſuppreſs that revolt. But Hermias perſiſted as obſtinately as ever in his firſt opinion. He fancied he ſpoke wonders, in declaring, in an emphatick, ſententious manner, *That it became kings to march in perſon againſt kings, and to ſend their lieutenants againſt rebels.* Antiochus was ſo weak as to acquieſce again in Hermias's opinion.

It is ſcarce poſſible to conceive, how uſeleſs experience of every kind is to an indolent prince, who lives without reflexion. This artful, inſinuating, and deceitful miniſter, who knew how to adapt himſelf to all the deſires and inclinations of his maſter; inventive and induſtrious in finding out new methods to pleaſe and amuſe, he had the cunning to make himſelf neceſſary, by eaſing his prince of the weight of affairs; ſo that Antiochus imagined he could not do without him. And though he perceived ſeveral things in his conduct and counſels which gave him diſguſt, he would not give himſelf the trouble to examine ſtrictly into them; nor had reſolution enough to reſume the authority he had in a manner abandoned to him. So that acquieſcing again in his opinion on this occaſion, (not from conviction but weakneſs and indolence) he contented himſelf with ſending a general, and a body of

of troops, into the East; and himself resumed the expedition of Cœlosyria.

The general he sent on that occasion was Xenetas the Achæan, in whose commission it was ordered, that the two first generals should resign to him the command of their forces, and serve under him. He had never commanded in chief before, and his only merit was, his being the prime minister's friend and creature. Raised to an employment, which his vanity and presumption could never have hoped, he behaved with haughtiness to the other officers, and with boldness and temerity to the enemy. The success was such as might be expected from so ill a choice. In passing the Tigris, he fell into an ambuscade, into which the enemy drew him by stratagem, and himself and all his army were cut to pieces. This victory opened to the rebels the province of Babylonia and all Mesopotamia, of which they, by this means, possessed themselves without any opposition. A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220.

Antiochus, in the mean time, was advanced into Cœlosyria, as far as the valley lying between the two ridges of the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus. He found the passes of these mountains so strongly fortified, and so well defended by Theodotus the Ætolian, to whom Ptolemy had confided the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, finding it not possible for him to advance farther. There is no doubt but the news of the defeat of his troops in the East hastened also his retreat. He assembled his council, and again debated on the rebellion. Epigenes, after saying, in a modest tone, that it would have been most adviseable to march immediately against them, to prevent their having time to fortify themselves as they had done, added, that the same reason ought to make them more expeditious now, and devote their whole care and study to a war, which, if neglected, might terminate in the ruin of the empire. Hermias, who thought himself injured by this discourse, began to exclaim against Epigenes in the most opprobrious terms on this occasion. He conjured the

king not to lay aſide the enterpriſe of Cœloſyria, affirming, that he could not abandon it, without inſtancing a levity and inconſtancy entirely inconſiſtent with the glory of a prince of his wiſdom and knowledge. The whole council hung down their heads through ſhame; and Antiochus himſelf was much diſſatisfied. It was unanimouſly reſolved to march with the utmoſt ſpeed againſt the rebels: and Hermias, finding that all reſiſtance would be in vain, grew immediately quite another man. He came over with great zeal to the general opinion, and ſeemed more ardent than any body for haſtening its execution. Accordingly the troops ſet out towards Apamea, where the rendezvous was fixed.

They had ſcarce ſet out, when a ſedition aroſe in the army, on account of the ſoldiers arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmoſt conſternation and anxiety; and indeed the danger was imminent. Hermias, ſeeing the king in ſuch perplexity, comforted him, and promiſed to pay immediately the whole arrears due to the army: but at the ſame time earneſtly beſought Antiochus not to take Epigenes with him in this expedition, becauſe, after the noiſe their quarrels had made, it would no longer be poſſible for them to act in concert in the operations of the war, as the good of the ſervice might require. His view in this was, to begin by leſſening Antiochus's eſteem and affection for Epigenes by abſence, well knowing, that princes ſoon forget the virtue and ſervices of a man removed from their ſight.

This propoſal perplexed the king very much, who was perfectly ſenſible how neceſſary the preſence of a general of Epigenes's experience and ability was in ſo important an expedition. But, * as Hermias had induſtriouſly contrived to beſiege, and in a manner poſſeſs him by all manner of methods, ſuch as ſuggeſting to

* Περιεχόμενος δὲ καὶ προκατειλημμένος οἰκονομίᾳ, καὶ φυλακαῖς, καὶ θεραπείαις ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑρμείου κακοηθείας, ὡς ἦν αὐτῷ κύριος. Circumventus & præoccupatus œconomiis, & cuſtodiis, & obſequiis, Hermiæ malignitate, ſui non erat dominus. *This is a literal tranſlation.*

to him pretended views of œconomy, watching his every action, keeping a kind of guard over him, and bribing his affection by the moſt abandoned complacency and adulation, that unhappy prince was no longer his own maſter. The king therefore conſented, though with the utmoſt reluctance, to what he required; and Epigenes was accordingly ordered to retire to Apamea. This event ſurpriſed and terrified all the courtiers, who were apprehenſive of the ſame fate: but the ſoldiers having received all their arrears were very eaſy; and thought themſelves highly obliged to the prime miniſter, by whoſe means they had been paid. Having in this manner made himſelf maſter of the nobles by fear, and of the army by their pay, he marched with the king.

As Epigenes's diſgrace extended only to his removal, it was far from ſatiating his vengeance; and as it did not calm his uneaſineſs with regard to the future, he was apprehenſive that he might obtain leave to return, to prevent which he employed effectual means. Alexis, governor of the citadel of Apamea, was entirely at his devotion; and, indeed, how few would be otherwiſe with regard to an all-powerful miniſter, the ſole diſpenſer of his maſter's graces! Hermias orders this man to diſpatch Epigenes, and preſcribes him the manner. In conſequence of this, Alexis bribes one of Epigenes's domeſticks; and, by gifts and promiſes, engages him to ſlide a letter he gave him among his maſter's papers. This letter ſeemed to have been written and ſubſcribed by Molo, one of the chiefs of the rebels, who thanked Epigenes for having formed a conſpiracy againſt the king, and communicated to him the methods by which he might ſafely put it in execution. Some days after Alexis went to him, and aſked whether he had not received a letter from Molo? Epigenes, ſurpriſed at this queſtion, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, and at the ſame time the higheſt indignation. The other replied, that he was ordered to inſpect his papers. Accordingly, a ſearch being made, the forged letter was

found; and Epigenes, without being called to a trial, or otherwiſe examined, was put to death. The king, at the bare ſight of the letter, imagined that the charge had been fully proved againſt him. However, the courtiers thought otherwiſe; but fear kept them all tongue-tied, and dumb. How unhappy, and how much to be pitied are princes!

Although the ſeaſon was now very far advanced, Antiochus paſſed the Euphrates, aſſembled all his forces; and that he might be nearer at hand, to open the campaign very early the next ſpring, he in the mean time ſent them into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood.

A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Upon the return of the ſeaſon he marched them towards the Tigris, paſſed that river, forced Molo to come to an engagement, and gained ſo complete a victory over him, that the rebel, ſeeing all loſt, laid violent hands on himſelf. His brother Alexander was at that time in Perſia, where Neolas, another of their brothers who eſcaped out of this battle, brought him that mournful news. Finding their affairs deſperate, they firſt killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and at laſt diſpatched themſelves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who engaged in it. A juſt reward for all thoſe who dare to take up arms againſt their ſovereign.

After this victory, the remains of the vanquiſhed army ſubmitted to the king, who only reprimanded them in very ſevere terms, and afterwards pardoned them. He then ſent them into Media, under the command of thoſe to whoſe care he had committed the government of that province; and returning from thence to Seleucia over the Tigris, he ſpent ſome time there in giving the orders neceſſary for re-eſtabliſhing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and for ſettling all things on their former foot.

This

This being done by perſons whom he appointed for that purpoſe, he marched againſt the Atropatians, who inhabited the country ſituated to the weſt of Media, and which is now called Georgia. Their king, Artabazanes by name, was a decrepid old man, who being greatly terrified at Antiochus's approach at the head of a victorious army, ſent and made his ſubmiſſion, and concluded a peace on ſuch conditions as Antiochus thought proper to preſcribe.

(*d*) News came at this time, that the queen was delivered of a ſon, which proved a ſubject of joy to the court as well as the army. Hermias, from that moment revolved in his mind how he might diſpatch Antiochus; in hopes that, after his death, he ſhould certainly be appointed guardian of the young prince; and that, in his name, he might reign with unlimited power. His pride and inſolence had made him odious to all men. The people groaned under a government, which the avarice and cruelty of a prime miniſter had rendered inſupportable. The complaints did not reach the throne, whoſe avenues were all cloſed againſt them. No one dared to inform the king of the oppreſſion under which his people groaned. It was well known that he apprehended inſpecting the truth; and that he abandoned to Hermias's cruelty, all who dared to ſpeak againſt him. Till now he had been an utter ſtranger to the injuſtice and violence which Hermias exerciſed under his name. At laſt, however, he began to open his eyes; but was himſelf afraid of his miniſter, whoſe dependent he had made himſelf, and who had aſſumed an abſolute authority over him, by taking advantage of the indolence of his diſpoſition, who, at firſt, was well pleaſed with diſcharging the burthen of affairs on Hermias. A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219.

Apollophanes, his phyſician, in whom the king repoſed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free acceſs to him, took a proper time to repreſent the general diſcontent of his ſubjects, and the danger to which himſelf was expoſed, by the ill conduct

(*d*) Polyb. l. v. p. 399—401.

of his prime miniſter. He therefore adviſed Antiochus to take care of himſelf, leſt the ſame fate ſhould attend him as his brother had experienced in Phrygia; who fell a victim to the ambition of thoſe on whom he moſt relied: That it was plain Hermias was hatching ſome ill deſign; and that to prevent it, not a moment was to be loſt. Theſe were real ſervices, which an officer, who is attached to the perſon of his king, and who has a ſincere affection for him, may and ought to perform. Such is the uſe he ought to make of the free acceſs which his ſovereign vouchſafes, and the confidence with which he honours him.

Antiochus was ſurrounded by courtiers whom he had loaded with his favours, of whom not one had the courage to hazard his fortune, by telling him the truth. It has been very juſtly ſaid, that one of the greateſt bleſſings which God can beſtow on kings, is to deliver them from the tongues of flatterers, and the ſilence of good men.

This prince, as was already obſerved, had begun to entertain ſome ſuſpicions of his chief miniſter, but did not reveal his thoughts to any perſon, not knowing whom to truſt. He was extremely well pleaſed that his phyſician had given him this advice; and concerted meaſures with him to rid himſelf of a miniſter ſo univerſally deteſted, and ſo dangerous. Accordingly, he removed to ſome ſmall diſtance from the army, upon pretence of being indiſpoſed, and carried Hermias with him to bear him company; here taking him to walk in a ſolitary place, where none of his creatures could come to his aſſiſtance, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. His death cauſed an univerſal joy throughout the whole empire. This haughty and cruel man had governed, on all occaſions, with great cruelty and violence; and whoever dared to oppoſe either his opinions or deſigns, was ſure to fall a victim to his reſentments. Accordingly, he was univerſally hated; and this hatred diſplayed itſelf more ſtrongly in Apamea than in any other place: For the inſtant the news was brought of his death, all the citizens

citizens roſe with the utmoſt fury, and ſtoned his wife and children.

(*e*) Antiochus, having ſo happily re-eſtabliſhed his affairs in the Eaſt, and raiſed to the government of the ſeveral provinces perſons of merit, in whom he could repoſe the greateſt confidence, marched back his army into Syria, and put it into winter-quarters. He ſpent the remainder of the year in Antioch, in holding frequent councils with his miniſters, on the operations of the enſuing campaign.

This prince had two other very dangerous enterpriſes to put in execution, for re-eſtabliſhing entirely the ſafety and glory of the empire of Syria: One was againſt Ptolemy, to recover Cœloſyria; and the other againſt Achæus, who had uſurped the ſovereignty of Aſia Minor.

Ptolemy Evergetes having ſeiſed upon all Cœloſyria, in the beginning of Seleucus Callinicus's reign, as was before related, the king of Egypt was ſtill poſſeſſed of a great part of that province, and Antiochus not a little incommoded by ſuch a neighbour.

With reſpect to Achæus, we have already ſeen in what manner he refuſed the crown which was offered him after the death of Seleucus Ceraunus; and had placed it on the head of Antiochus the lawful monarch, who, to reward his fidelity and ſervices, had appointed him governor of all the provinces of Aſia Minor. By his valour and good conduct he had recovered them all from Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had ſeiſed upon thoſe countries, and fortified himſelf ſtrongly in them. Such a ſeries of ſucceſs drew upon him the envy of ſuch as had the ears of Antiochus. Upon this a report was ſpread, that he intended to uſurp the crown; and with that view held a ſecret correſpondence with Ptolemy. Whether theſe ſuſpicions were well or ill grounded, he thought it adviſeable to prevent the evil deſigns of his enemies; and, therefore, taking the crown which he had refuſed before, he cauſed himſelf to be declared king.

He

(*e*) Polyb. l. v. p. 401.

He ſoon became one of the moſt powerful monarchs of Aſia, and all princes ſollicited very earneſtly his alliance. (*f*) This was evident in a war which then broke out between the Rhodians and the Byzantines, on occaſion of a tribute which the latter had impoſed on all the ſhips that paſſed through the Straits; a tribute which was very grievous to the Rhodians, becauſe of the great trade they carried on in the Black ſea. Achæus, at the earneſt ſollicitations of the inhabitants of Byzantium, had promiſed to aſſiſt them; the report of which threw the Rhodians into the utmoſt conſternation, as well as Pruſias king of Bithynia, whom they had engaged in their party. In the extreme perplexity they were under, they thought of an expedient to diſengage Achæus from the Byzantines, and to bring him over to their intereſt. Andromachus, his father, brother to Laodice, whom Seleucus had married, was actually priſoner in Alexandria. Theſe ſent a deputation to Ptolemy, requeſting that he might be ſet at liberty. The king, who was alſo very glad to oblige Achæus, as it was in his power to furniſh him with conſiderable ſuccours againſt Antiochus, with whom he was engaged in war, readily granted the Rhodians their requeſt, and put Andromachus into their hands. This was a very agreeable preſent to Achæus, and made the Byzantines loſe all hopes. They thereupon conſented to re-inſtate things upon the ancient foot, and take off the new tribute which had occaſioned the war. Thus a peace was concluded between the two ſtates, and Achæus had all the honour of it.

A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. (*g*) It was againſt this prince and Ptolemy that Antiochus was reſolved to turn his arms. Theſe were the two dangerous wars he had to ſuſtain; and were the ſubject of the deliberations of his council, to conſider which of them he ſhould undertake firſt. After weighing all things maturely, it was reſolved to march firſt againſt Ptolemy, before they attacked Achæus, whom they then only menaced in the ſtrongeſt terms: And

(*f*) Polyb. l. iv. p. 314—319. (*g*) Ibid. l. v. p. 402—409.

And accordingly all the forces were ordered to aſſemble in Apamea, and afterwards to march into Cœloſyria.

In a council that was held before the army ſet out, Apollophanes, the king's phyſician, repreſented to him, that it would be a great overſight, ſhould they march into Cœloſyria, and leave behind them Seleucia in the hands of the enemy, and ſo near the capital of the empire. His opinion brought over the whole council, by the evident ſtrength of the reaſons which ſupported it; for this city ſtands on the ſame river as Antioch, and is but five leagues below, near the mouth of it. When Ptolemy Evergetes undertook the invaſion already mentioned, to ſupport the rights of his ſiſter Berenice, he ſeiſed that city, and put a ſtrong Egyptian garriſon into it, which had kept poſſeſſion of that important place full twenty-ſeven years. Among many prejudices it did to the inhabitants of Antioch, one was, its cutting off entirely their communication with the ſea, and ruining all their trade; for Seleucia being ſituated near the mouth of the Orontes, was the harbour of Antioch, which ſuffered grievouſly by that means. All theſe reaſons being clearly and ſtrongly urged by Apollophanes, determined the king and council to follow his plan, and to open the campaign with the ſiege of Seleucia. Accordingly the whole army marched thither, inveſted it, took it by ſtorm, and drove the Egyptians out of it.

This being done, Antiochus marched with diligence into Cœloſyria, where Theodotus the Ætolian, governor of it under Ptolemy, promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of the whole country. We have ſeen how vigorouſly he had repulſed him the year before; nevertheleſs, the court of Egypt had not been ſatisfied with his ſervices on that occaſion. Thoſe who governed the king, expected greater things from his valour; and were perſuaded, that it was in his power to have done ſomething more. Accordingly he was ſent for to Alexandria, to give an account of his conduct;

conduct; and was threatened with no leſs than loſing his head. Indeed, after his reaſons had been heard, he was acquitted, and ſent back to his government. However, he could not forgive the groundleſs injury they had done him; and was ſo exaſperated at the affront, that he reſolved to revenge it.

The luxury and effeminacy of the whole court, to which he had been an eye-witneſs, heightened his indignation and reſentment. It was intolerable to him to depend on the caprice of ſo baſe and contemptible a ſet of people. And, indeed, it would be impoſſible for fancy to conceive more abominable exceſſes than thoſe in which Philopator plunged himſelf during his whole reign; and the court imitated but too exactly the example he ſet them. It was thought that he had poiſoned his father, whence he was, by antiphraſis, ſurnamed * *Philopator*. He publickly cauſed Berenice his mother, and Magas his only brother, to be put to death. After he had got rid of all thoſe who could either give him good council, or excite his jealouſy, he abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous pleaſures; and was ſolely intent on gratifying his luxury, brutality, and the moſt ſhameful paſſions. His prime miniſter was Soſibes, a man every way qualified for the ſervice of ſuch a maſter as Philopator; and one whoſe ſole view was to ſupport himſelf in power by any means whatſoever. The reader will naturally imagine, that, in ſuch a court, the power of women had no bounds.

Theodotus, who was a man of honour, could not bear to depend on ſuch people, and therefore reſolved to find a ſovereign more worthy of his ſervices. Accordingly, he was no ſooner returned to his government, but he ſeiſed upon the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais, declared for king Antiochus, and immediately diſpatched the courier abovementioned to invite him thither.

Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, though he was of the ſame country with Theodotus, however would

* *This word ſignifies* a lover of his father.

would not deſert Ptolemy, but preſerved his fidelity to that prince. The inſtant therefore that Theodotus had taken Ptolemais, he beſieged him in it; poſſeſſed himſelf of the paſſes of mount Libanus to ſtop Antiochus, who was advancing to the aid of Theodotus, and defended them to the laſt extremity. However, he was afterwards forced to abandon them, by which means Antiochus took poſſeſſion of Tyre and Ptolemais, whoſe gates were opened to him by Theodotus.

In theſe two cities were the magazines which Ptolemy had laid up for the uſe of his army, with a fleet of forty ſail. He gave the command of theſe ſhips to Diognetus, his admiral, who was ordered to ſail to Peluſium, whither the king intended to march by land, with the view of invading Egypt on that ſide: However, being informed that this was the ſeaſon in which the inhabitants uſed to lay the country under water, by opening the dykes of the Nile, and conſequently, that it would be impoſſible for him to advance into Egypt at that time, he abandoned that project, and employed the whole force of his arms to reduce the reſt of Cœloſyria. He ſeiſed upon ſome fortreſſes, and others ſubmitted to him; (*h*) and at laſt he poſſeſſed himſelf of Damaſcus, the capital of that province, after having deceived Dinon the governor of it by a ſtratagem.

The laſt action of this campaign was the ſiege of Dora, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount Carmel. This place, which was ſtrongly ſituated, had been ſo well fortified by Nicolaus, that it was impoſſible for Antiochus to take it. He therefore was forced to agree to a four month's truce, propoſed to him in the name of Ptolemy; and this ſerved him as an honourable pretence for marching back his army to Seleucia on the Orontes, where he put it into winter-quarters. Antiochus appointed Theodotus the Ætolian governor of all the places he had conquered in this country.

(*i*) During the interval of this truce, a treaty was negociated

(*h*) Polyæn. l. iv. c. 15. (*i*) Polyb. l. v. p. 409—415.

negociated between the two crowns, in which, however, the only view of both parties was to gain time. Ptolemy had occaſion for it, in order to making the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war; and Antiochus for reducing Achæus. The latter was not ſatisfied with Aſia Minor, of which he was already maſter; but had no leſs in view than to dethrone Antiochus, and to diſpoſſeſs him of all his dominions. To check his ambitious views, it was neceſſary for Antiochus not to be employed on the frontiers, or engaged in remote conqueſts.

In this treaty, the main point was to know to whom Cœloſyria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judæa, had been given, in the partition of Alexander the Great's empire, between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus, after the death of Antigonus, in the battle of Ipſus. Ptolemy laid claim to them, by virtue of their having been aſſigned by this treaty to Ptolemy Soter, his great-grandfather. On the other ſide, Antiochus pretended that they had been given to Seleucus Nicator; and therefore that they were his right, being heir and ſucceſſor of that king in the empire of Syria. Another difficulty embarraſſed the commiſſioners. Ptolemy would have Achæus included in the treaty, which Antiochus oppoſed abſolutely, alledging, that it was a ſhameful and unheard-of thing, for a king like Ptolemy to eſpouſe the party of rebels, and countenance revolt.

A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218. During theſe conteſts, in which neither ſide would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapſed; and nothing being concluded, it became neceſſary to have recourſe again to arms. Nicolaus, the Ætolian, had given ſo many proofs of valour and fidelity in the laſt campaign, that Ptolemy gave him the command in chief of his army, and charged him with every thing relating to the ſervice of the king, in thoſe provinces which occaſioned the war. Perigenes, the admiral put to ſea with the fleet, in order to act againſt the enemy on that ſide. Nicolaus appointed Gaza for the rendezvous of all his forces, whither all the neceſſary

neceſſary proviſions had been ſent from Egypt. From thence he marched to mount Libanus, where he ſeiſed all the paſſes between that chain of mountains and the ſea, by which Antiochus was obliged to paſs; firmly reſolved to wait for him there, and to ſtop his march, by the ſuperiority which the advantageous poſts he was maſter of gave him.

In the mean time Antiochus was not inactive, but prepared all things both by ſea and land for a vigorous invaſion. He gave the command of his fleet to Diognetus, his admiral, and put himſelf at the head of his land-forces. The fleets coaſted the armies on both ſides; ſo that their naval as well as land-forces met at the paſſes which Nicolaus had ſeiſed. Whilſt Antiochus attacked Nicolaus by land, the fleets began to engage; ſo that the battle began both by ſea and land at the ſame time. At ſea neither party had the ſuperiority; but on land Antiochus had the advantage, and forced Nicolaus to retire to Sidon, after loſing four thouſand of his ſoldiers, who were either killed or taken priſoners. Perigenes followed him thither with the Egyptian fleet; and Antiochus purſued them to that city both by ſea and land, with the deſign of beſieging them in it. He nevertheleſs found that conqueſt would be attended with too many difficulties, becauſe of the great number of troops in the city, where they had a great abundance of proviſions, and other neceſſaries; and he was not willing to beſiege it in form. He therefore ſent his fleet to Tyre, and marched into Galilee. After having ſubjected it by the taking of ſeveral cities, he paſſed the river Jordan, entered Gilead, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all that country, formerly the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manaſſeh.

The ſeaſon was now too far advanced to prolong the campaign, for which reaſon he returned back by the river Jordan, left the government of Samaria to Hippolochus and Kereas, who had deſerted Ptolemy's ſervice, and come over to him; and he gave them five thouſand men to keep it in ſubjection. He marched

marched the reſt of the forces back to Ptolemais, where he put them into winter-quarters.

A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217. (*k*) The campaign was again opened in ſpring. Ptolemy cauſed ſeventy thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, and ſixty-three elephants to advance towards Peluſium. He was at the head of theſe forces, and marched them through the deſarts which divide Egypt from Paleſtine, and encamped at Raphia, between Rhinocorura and Gaza, at the latter of which cities the two armies met. That of Antiochus was ſomething more numerous than the other. His forces conſiſted of ſeventy-two thouſand foot, twelve thouſand horſe, and an hundred and two elephants. He firſt encamped within ten furlongs, and ſoon after within five of the enemy. All the time they lay ſo near one another they were perpetually ſkirmiſhing, either when they went to fetch freſh water, or in foraging; particulars alſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon theſe occaſions.

Theodotus, the Ætolian, who had ſerved many years under the Egyptians, favoured by the darkneſs of the night, entered their camp, accompanied only by two perſons. He was taken for an Egyptian; ſo that he advanced as far as Ptolemy's tent, with a deſign to kill him, and by that bold action to put an end to the war; but the king happening not to be in his tent, he killed his firſt phyſician, having miſtaken him for Ptolemy. He alſo wounded two other perſons; and during the alarm and noiſe which this attempt occaſioned, he eſcaped to his camp.

But at laſt the two kings, reſolving to decide their quarrel, drew up their armies in battle-array. They rode from one body to another, at the head of their lines, to animate their troops. Arſinoe, the ſiſter and wife of Ptolemy, not only exhorted the ſoldiers to behave manfully before the battle, but did not leave her huſband even during the heat of the engagement. The iſſue of it was: Antiochus, being at the head of his

(*k*) Polyb. l. v. p. 241—428. * *Half a French league.*

his right wing, defeated the enemy's left. But whilſt hurried on by an inconſiderate ardour, he engaged too warmly in the purſuit, Ptolemy, who had been as ſucceſsful in the other wing, charged Antiochus's centre in flank, which was then uncovered, and broke it before it was poſſible for that prince to come to its relief. An old officer, who ſaw which way the duſt flew, concluded that the centre was defeated, and accordingly made Antiochus obſerve it. But though he faced about that inſtant, he came too late to amend his fault; and found the reſt of his army broke and put to flight. He himſelf was now obliged to provide for his retreat, and retired to Raphia, and afterwards to Gaza, with the loſs of ten thouſand men killed, and four thouſand taken priſoners. Finding it would now be impoſſible for him to continue the campaign againſt Ptolemy, he abandoned all his conqueſts, and retreated to Antioch with the remains of his army. This battle of Raphia was fought at the ſame time with that in which Hannibal defeated Flaminius the conſul on the banks of the lake Thraſymene in Hetruria.

After Antiochus's retreat, all Cœloſyria and Paleſtine ſubmitted with great chearfulneſs to Ptolemy. Having been long ſubject to the Egyptians, they were more inclined to them than Antiochus. The conqueror's court was ſoon crouded with ambaſſadors from all the cities (and from Judæa among the reſt) to pay homage to, and offer him preſents; and all met with a gracious reception.

(*l*) Ptolemy was deſirous of making a progreſs through the conquered provinces, and, among other cities, he viſited Jeruſalem. He ſaw the * temple there, and even offered ſacrifices to the God of Iſrael; making at the ſame time oblations, and beſtowing

(*l*) Maccab. l. iii. c. 1.

* *The third book of Maccabees, whence this ſtory is extracted, is not admitted by the church among the canonical books of ſcripture, any more than the fourth. They are prior, with regard to the order of time, to the two firſt. Dr. Prideaux, ſpeaking of the third book, ſays, that the ground-work of the ſtory is true, though the author changed ſome circumſtances of it, by intermixing fabulous incidents.*

conſiderable gifts. However, not being ſatisfied with viewing it from the outward court, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to go, he was determined to enter the ſanctuary, and even as far as the Holy of Holies; to which no one was allowed acceſs but the high-prieſt, and that but once every year, on the day of the great expiation. The report of this being ſoon ſpread, occaſioned a great tumult. The high-prieſt informed him of the holineſs of the place; and the expreſs law of God, by which he was forbid to enter it. The prieſts and Levites drew together in a body to oppoſe his raſh deſign, which the people alſo conjured him to lay aſide. And now all places echoed with the lamentations which were made, on account of the profanation to which their temple would be expoſed; and in all places the people were lifting up their hands to implore heaven not to ſuffer it. However, all this oppoſition, inſtead of prevailing with the king, only inflamed his curioſity the more. He forced in as far as the ſecond court; but as he was preparing to enter the temple itſelf, God ſtruck him with a ſudden terrour, which threw him into ſuch prodigious diſorder, that he was carried off half dead. After this he left the city, highly exaſperated againſt the Jewiſh nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and highly threatened it with his revenge. He accordingly kept his word; and the following year raiſed a cruel perſecution, eſpecially againſt the Jews of Alexandria, whom he endeavoured to reduce by force to worſhip falſe deities.

(*m*) The inſtant that Antiochus, after the battle of Raphia, arrived in Antioch, he ſent an embaſſy to Ptolemy, to ſue for peace. The circumſtance which prompted him to this was, his ſuſpecting the fidelity of his people; for he could not but perceive that his credit and authority were very much leſſened ſince his laſt defeat. Beſides, it was high time for him to turn his arms towards Achæus, and check the progreſs he made,

(*m*) Polyb. l. v. p. 428. Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 3. Hieron. in Daniel c. 11.

made, which increaſed daily. To obviate the danger which threatened him on that ſide, he concluded that it would be ſafeſt for him to make a peace upon any terms with Ptolemy; to avoid being oppoſed by two ſuch powerful enemies, who, invading him on both ſides would certainly overpower him at laſt. He therefore inveſted his ambaſſadors with full powers to give up to Polemy all thoſe provinces which were the ſubject of their conteſt, *i. e.* Cœloſyria and Paleſtine. Cœloſyria included that part of Syria which lies between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus; and Paleſtine, all the country which anciently was the inheritance of the children of Iſrael; and the coaſt of theſe two provinces was what the Greeks called Phœnicia. Antiochus conſented to reſign up all this country to the king of Egypt, to purchaſe a peace at this juncture; chooſing rather to give up this part of his dominions, than hazard the loſing them all. A truce was therefore agreed for twelve months; and before the expiration of that time, a peace was concluded on the ſame terms. Ptolemy, who might have taken advantage of this victory for conquering all Syria, was deſirous of putting an end to the war, that he might have an opportunity of devoting himſelf entirely to his pleaſures. His ſubjects, knowing his want of ſpirit and effeminacy, could not conceive how it had been poſſible for him to have been ſo ſucceſsful; and at the ſame time they were diſpleaſed at his having concluded a peace, by which he had tied up his hands. The diſcontent they conceived on this account, was the chief ſource of the diſorders in Egypt, which at laſt roſe to an open rebellion: So that Ptolemy, by endeavouring to avoid a foreign war, drew one upon himſelf in the centre of his own dominions.

(*n*) Antiochus, after having concluded a peace with Ptolemy, devoted his whole attention to the war againſt Achæus, and made all the preparations neceſſary for taking the field. At laſt he paſſed mount A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226.

(*n*) Polyb. l. v. p. 444.

Taurus, and entered Aſia Minor with an intention to ſubdue it. Here he concluded a treaty with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of which they united their forces againſt their common enemy. They attacked him with ſo much vigour, that he abandoned the open country to them, and ſhut himſelf up in Sardis to which Antiochus laying ſiege, Achæus held it out above a year. He often made ſallies, and a great many battles were fought under the walls of the city. At laſt, by a ſtratagem of Ligoras, one of Antiochus's commanders, Sardis was taken. Achæus retired into the citadel where he defended himſelf, till he was delivered up by two traiterous Cretans. This fact confirms the truth of the proverb, which ſaid that the * *Cretans were liars and knaves.*

(*o*) Ptolemy Philopator had made a treaty with Achæus, and was very ſorry for his being ſo cloſely blocked up in the caſtle of Sardis; and therefore commanded Soſibes to relieve him at any price whatſoever. There was then in Ptolemy's court a very cunning Cretan, Bolis by name, who had lived a conſiderable time at Sardis. Soſibes conſulted this man, and aſked whether he could not think of ſome method for Achæus's eſcape. The Cretan deſired time to conſider of it; and returning to Soſibes, offered to undertake it, and explained to him the manner in which he intended to proceed. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was alſo his near relation, Cambylus by name, a captain in the Cretan troops in Antiochus's ſervice: that he commanded at that time in a fort behind the caſtle of Sardis, and that he would prevail with him to let Achæus eſcape that way. His project being approved, he was ſent with the utmoſt ſpeed to Sardis to put it in execution, and ten † talents were given him to defray his expences, *&c.* and a much more conſiderable ſum promiſed him in caſe he ſucceeded. After his arrival, he communicates the affair

(*o*) Polyb. l. viii. p. 522—531

* Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσαι, κακὰ θηρία. S. Paul. Epiſt. ad Tit. i. 12.

† *Ten thouſand French crowns*

affair to Cambylus, when thoſe two miſcreants agree (for their greater advantage) to go and reveal their deſign to Antiochus. They offered that prince, as they themſelves had determined, to play their parts ſo well, that inſtead of procuring Achæus's eſcape, they would bring him to him, upon condition of receiving a conſiderable reward, to be divided among them, as well as the ten talents which Bolis had already received.

Antiochus was overjoyed at what he had heard, and promiſed them a reward that ſufficed to engage them to do him that important ſervice. Upon this Bolis, by Cambylus's aſſiſtance, eaſily got admiſſion into the caſtle, where the credentials he produced from Soſibes, and ſome other of Achæus's friends, gained him the entire confidence of that ill-fated prince. Accordingly he truſted himſelf to thoſe two wretches, who, the inſtant he was out of the caſtle, ſeiſed and delivered him to Antiochus. This king cauſed him to be immediately beheaded, and thereby put an end to that war of Aſia; for the moment thoſe who ſtill ſuſtained the ſiege heard of Achæus's death, they ſurrendered; and a little after, all the other places in the provinces of Aſia did the ſame. A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215.

Rebels very ſeldom come to a good end; and though the perfidy of ſuch traitors ſtrikes us with horrour, and raiſes our indignation, we are not inclined to pity the unhappy fate of Achæus, who had made himſelf worthy of it by his infidelity to his ſovereign.

(*p*) It was about this time that the diſcontent of the Egyptians againſt Philopator began to break out. According to Polybius, it occaſioned a civil war; but neither himſelf nor any other author gives us the particulars of it.

(*q*) We alſo read in Livy, that the Romans ſome time after ſent deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, (doubtleſs the ſame queen who before was called Arſinoe) to renew their ancient friendſhip and alliance with A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210.

(*p*) Polyb. l. v. p. 444. (*q*) Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

with Egypt. Theſe carried as a preſent to the king, a robe and purple tunick, with an ivory * chair; and to the queen an embroidered robe, and a purple ſcarf. Such kind of preſents ſhow the happy ſimplicity which in thoſe ages prevailed among the Romans.

A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209. (r) Philopator had at this time by † Arſinoe, his wife and ſiſter, a ſon called Ptolemy Epiphanes, who ſucceeded him at five years of age.

A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. (s) Philopator, from the ſignal victory he had obtained over Antiochus, had abandoned himſelf to pleaſures and exceſſes of every kind. Agathoclea his concubine, Agathocles the brother of that woman, and their mother, governed him entirely. He ſpent all his time in gaming, drinking, and the moſt infamous irregularities. His nights were paſſed in debauches, and his days in feaſts and diſſolute revels. Forgetting entirely the king, inſtead of applying himſelf to the affairs of ſtate, he valued himſelf upon preſiding in concerts, and playing upon inſtruments. The ‡ women diſpoſed of every thing. They confered all employments and governments; and no one had leſs authority in the kingdom than the prince himſelf. Soſibes, an old, artful miniſter, who had ſerved during three reigns, was at the helm, and his great experience had made him very capable of the adminiſtration; not indeed entirely in the manner he deſired, but as the favourites would permit him to act; and he was ſo wicked, as to pay a blind obedience to the moſt unjuſt

(r) Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 4.

(s) Ibid. c. 1 & 2. Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. l. xv. xvi.

* *This was allowed in Rome to none but the higheſt officers in the ſtate.*

† *Juſtin calls her Eurydice. In caſe he is not miſtaken, this queen had three names, Arſinoe, Cleopatra, and Eurydice. But Cleopatra was a name common to the queens of Egypt, as that of Ptolemy was to the kings. As archbiſhop Uſher places the adventure of Hyrcanus the Jew at the birth of Ptolemy Epiphanes, I had inſerted it there in the firſt edition of this work. But as Joſephus, from whom it is taken, ſays, that it happened in the reign of Seleucus the ſon of Antiochus the Great, I have transferred it to that time, as Dean Prideaux does alſo; that is to ſay, to the birth of Ptolemy Philometor, 187 years before Jeſus Chriſt.*

‡ Tribunatus, præfecturas, & ducatus mulieres ordinabant; nec quiſquam in regno ſuo minùs, quàm ipſe rex, poterat. *Juſtin.*

unjuſt commands of a corrupt prince, and his unworthy favourites.

(*t*) Arſinoe, the king's ſiſter and wife, had no power or authority at court; the favourites and the prime miniſter did not ſhow her the leaſt reſpect. On the other ſide, the queen was not patient enough to ſuffer every thing without murmuring; and they at laſt grew weary of her complaints. The king, and thoſe who governed him, commanded Soſibes to rid them of her. He obeyed, and employed for that purpoſe one Philammon, who, without doubt, did not want experience in ſuch cruel and barbarous aſſaſſinations.

This laſt action, added to ſo many more of the moſt flagrant nature, diſpleaſed the people ſo much, that Soſibes was obliged, before the king's death, to quit his employment. He was ſucceeded by Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had ſignalized himſelf in the army by his valour and conduct. He had all the voices in a grand council held for the chooſing a prime miniſter. Soſibes reſigned to him the king's ſeal, which was the badge of his office. Tlepolemus performed the ſeveral functions of it, and governed all the affairs of the kingdom during the king's life. But though this was not long, he diſcovered but too plainly that he had not all the qualities neceſſary for ſupporting ſo great an employment. He had neither the experience, ability, nor application of his predeceſſor. As he had the adminiſtration of all the finances, and diſpoſed of all the honours and dignities of the ſtate, and all payments paſſed through his hands, every body, as is uſual, was aſſiduous in making their court to him. He was etremely liberal; but then his bounty was beſtowed without choice or diſcernment, and almoſt ſolely on thoſe who ſhared in his parties of pleaſure. The extravagant flatteries of thoſe who were for ever crowding about his perſon, made him fancy his talents ſuperior to thoſe of all other men. He aſſumed haughty airs, gave into

(*t*) Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

luxury and profuſion, and at laſt grew inſupportable to all the world.

The wars of the Eaſt have made me ſuſpend the relation of the affairs that happened in Greece during their continuance; we now return to them.

SECT. II. *The Ætolians declare againſt the Achæans. Battle of Caphyia loſt by* ARATUS. *The Achæans addreſs* PHILIP, *who undertakes their defence. Troubles break out in Lacedæmonia. The unhappy death of* CLEOMENES *in Egypt. Two kings are elected in Lacedæmonia. That republick joins with the Ætolians.*

(*a*) THE Ætolians, particularly in the time we are now ſpeaking of, were become a very powerful people in Greece. Originally their territories extended from the river Achelous, to the ſtrait of the gulph of Corinth, and to the country of the Locrians, ſurnamed Ozolæ. But in proceſs of time, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral cities in Acarnania, Theſſaly, and other neighbouring countries. They led much the ſame life upon land as pirates do at ſea, that is, they exerciſed themſelves perpetually in plunder and rapine. Wholly bent on lucre, they did not conſider any gain as infamous or unlawful; and were entire ſtrangers to the laws of peace or war. They were very much inured to toils, and intrepid in battle. They ſignalized themſelves particularly in the war againſt the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece: and ſhowed themſelves zealous defenders of the publick liberty againſt the Macedonians. The increaſe of their power had made them haughty and inſolent. That haughtineſs appeared in the anſwer they gave the Romans, when they ſent ambaſſadors to order them not to infeſt Acarnania. They expreſſed, if we may believe Trogus Pompeius, or (*b*) Juſtin his epitomizer, the higheſt contempt for Rome, which they termed only in its origin a ſhameful receptacle of thieves and robbers, founded and built

(*a*) Strab. l. x. p. 450. Polyb. p. 331. & 746. Pauſan. l. x. p. 650.
(*b*) Juſtin, l. xxviii. c. 2.

built by fratricide, and formed by an aſſemblage of women raviſhed from the arms of their parents. They added, that the Ætolians had always diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Greece, as much by their valour as their virtue and deſcent; that neither Philip nor Alexander his ſon had been formidable to them; and that at a time when the latter made the whole earth tremble, they had not been afraid to reject his edicts and injunctions. That therefore the Romans would not do well to rouſe the Ætolians againſt them; a people whoſe arms had extirpated the Gauls, and deſpiſed the Macedonians. The reader may, from this ſpeech, form a judgement of the Ætolians, of whom much will be ſaid in the ſequel.

(*c*) From the time that Cleomenes of Sparta had loſt his kingdom, and Antigonus, by his victory at Selaſia, had in ſome meaſure reſtored the peace of Greece, the inhabitants of Peloponneſus, who were tired by the firſt wars, and imagined that affairs would always continue on the ſame foot, had laid their arms aſide, and totally neglected military diſcipline. The Ætolians meditated taking advantage of this indolence. Peace was inſupportable to them, as it obliged them to ſubſiſt at their own expence, accuſtomed as they were to ſupport themſelves wholly by rapine. Antigonus had kept them in awe, and prevented them from infeſting their neighbours; but, after his death, deſpiſing Philip, becauſe of his youth, they marched into Peloponneſus ſword in hand, and laid waſte the territories of the Meſſenians. Aratus, exaſperated at this perfidy and inſolence, and ſeeing that Timoxenes, at that time captain-general of the Achæans, endeavoured to gain time, becauſe his year was near expiring; as he was nominated to ſucceed him the following year, he took upon him the command five days before the due time, in order to march the ſooner to the aid of the Meſſenians. Accordingly, having aſ- A. M. 3783.
ſembled the Achæans, whoſe vigour and ſtrength Ant. J. C. 221.
had

(*c*) Polyb. l. iv. p. 272—292. Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.

had ſuffered by repoſe and inactivity, he was defeated near Caphyia, in a great battle fought there.

Aratus was charged with being the cauſe of this defeat, and not without ſome foundation. He endeavoured to prove that the loſs of the battle imputed to him was not his fault. He declared, that, however this might be, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he aſked pardon; and intreated that his actions might be examined with leſs rigour than indulgence. His humility, on this occaſion, changed the minds of the whole aſſembly, whoſe fury now turned againſt his accuſers, and nothing was afterwards undertaken but by his counſel. However, the remembrance of his defeat had exceedingly damped his courage; ſo that he behaved as a wiſe citizen, rather than as an able warrior; and though the Ætolians often gave him opportunities to diſtreſs them, he took no advantage of them, but ſuffered that people to lay waſte the whole country almoſt with impunity.

The Achæans were therefore forced to apply to Macedonia again, and to call in king Philip to their aſſiſtance, in hopes that the affection he bore Aratus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to favour them. And indeed Antigonus, at his laſt moments, had, above all things, intreated Philip to keep well with Aratus; and to follow his counſel, in treating with the Achæans. Some time before, he had ſent him into Peloponneſus, to form himſelf under his eye, and by his counſels. Aratus gave him the beſt reception in his power; treated him with the diſtinction due to his rank; aud endeavoured to inſtil into him ſuch principles and ſentiments, as might enable him to govern with wiſdom the great kingdom to which he was heir. Accordingly, that young prince returned into Macedonia with the higheſt ſentiments of eſteem for Aratus, and the moſt favourable diſpoſition with regard to the welfare of Greece.

But the courtiers, whoſe intereſt it was to remove a perſon of Aratus's known probity, in order to have the

the ſole aſcendant of their young prince, made that monarch ſuſpect his conduct; and prevailed ſo far, as to make him declare openly againſt Aratus. Nevertheleſs, finding ſoon after that he had been impoſed upon, he puniſhed the informers with great ſeverity, the ſole means to baniſh for ever from princes that calumny, which impunity, and ſometimes money, raiſe up and arm againſt perſons of the moſt conſummate virtue. Philip afterwards repoſed the ſame confidence in Aratus as he had formerly done, and reſolved to be guided by his counſels only; which was manifeſt on ſeveral occaſions, and particularly in the affair of Lacedæmonia. (*d*) That unhappy city was perpetually torn by ſeditions, in one of which, one of the Ephori, and a great many other citizens, were killed, becauſe they had declared for king Philip. When that prince arrived from Macedonia, he gave audience to the ambaſſadors of Sparta at Tegea, whither he had ſent for them. In the council he held there, ſeveral were of opinion, that he ſhould treat that city as Alexander had treated Thebes. But the king rejected that propoſal with horror, and contented himſelf with puniſhing the principal authors of the inſurrection, Such an inſtance of moderation and wiſdom in a king, who was but ſeventeen years of age, was greatly admired; and every one was perſuaded, that it was owing to the good counſels of Aratus. However, he did not always make the ſame uſe of them.

(*e*) Being arrived at Corinth, complaints were made to him by many cities againſt the Ætolians; and accordingly war was unanimouſly declared againſt them. This was called the war of the allies, which began much about the ſame time that Hannibal was meditating the ſiege of Saguntum. This decree was ſent to all the cities, and ratified in the general aſſembly of the Achæans. The Ætolians, on the other ſide, prepared for war, and elected Scopas their general, the principal contriver of the broils they had raiſed, and the havock they had made. Philip now marched

Polyb. p. 292—294. (*e*) Polyb. l. iv. p. 294—299.

marched back his forces into Macedonia; and, whilſt they were in winter-quarters, was very diligent in making the neceſſary military preparations. He endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by the aid of his allies, few of whom anſwered his views; colouring their delays with falſe and ſpecious pretences. He alſo ſent to king Ptolemy, to intreat him not to aid the Ætolians either with men or money.

A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. (f) Cleomenes was at that time in Egypt; but as an horrid licentiouſneſs prevailed in that court, and the king regarded nothing but pleaſures and exceſſes of every kind, Cleomenes led a very melancholy life there. Nevertheleſs Ptolemy, in the beginning of his reign, had made uſe of Cleomenes: for, as he was afraid of his brother Magas, who, on his mother's account, had great authority and power over the ſoldiery, he contracted a ſtricter amity with Cleomenes, and admitted him into his moſt ſecret councils, in which means for getting rid of his brother were conſulted. Cleomenes was the only perſon who oppoſed it; he declaring, that a king cannot have any miniſters more zealous for his ſervice, or more obliged to aid him in ſuſtaining the weighty burthen of government, than his brothers. This advice prevailed for that time: but Ptolemy's fears and ſuſpicions returning he imagined there would be no way to get rid of them, but by taking away the life of him that occaſioned them. (g) After this he thought himſelf ſecure; fondly concluding, that he had no enemies to fear, either at home or abroad; becauſe Antigonus and Seleucus, at their death, had left no other ſucceſſors but Philip and Antiochus, both whom he deſpiſed on account of their minority. In this ſecurity he devoted himſelf entirely to all ſorts of pleaſures, which were never interrupted by cares or applications of any kind. Neither his courtiers, nor thoſe who had employments in the ſtate, dared to approach him; and he would ſcarce deign to beſtow the leaſt attention to what

(f) Plut. in Cleom. p. 820—823
(g) Polyb. l. v. p. 380—385.

what paſſed in the neighbouring kingdoms. That, however, was what employed the attention of his predeceſſors, even more than the affairs of their own dominions. Being poſſeſſed of Cœloſyria and Cyprus, they awed the kings of Syria both by ſea and land. As the moſt conſiderable cities, the poſts and harbours which lie along the coaſt from Pamphylia to the Helleſpont, and the places in the neighbourhood of Lyſimachia, were ſubject to them; from thence they had an eye on the princes of Aſia, and even on the iſlands. How would it have been poſſible for any one to move in Thrace and Macedonia, whilſt they had the command of Ene, or Maronea, and of cities that lay at a ſtill greater diſtance? With ſo extenſive a dominion, and ſo many ſtrong places, which ſerved them as barriers, their own kingdom was ſecure. They therefore had always great reaſon to keep a watchful eye over what was tranſacting without doors Ptolemy, on the contrary, diſdained to give himſelf that trouble; wine and women being his only pleaſure and employment.

With ſuch diſpoſitions, the reader will eaſily ſuppoſe that he could have no great eſteem for Cleomenes. The inſtant the latter had news of Antigonus's death, that the Achæans were engaged in a great war with the Ætolians, that the Lacedæmonians were united with the latter againſt the Achæans and Macedonians, and that all things ſeemed to recall him to his native country, he ſollicited earneſtly to leave Alexandria. He therefore implored the king to favour him with troops and munitions of war ſufficient for his return. Finding he could not obtain his requeſt, he deſired that he at leaſt might be ſuffered to depart with his family, and be allowed to embrace the favourable opportunity for repoſſeſſing himſelf of his kingdom. But Ptolemy was too much employed in his pleaſures, to lend an ear to Cleomenes's intreaties.

Soſibes, who at that time had great authority in the kingdom, aſſembled his friends; and in this coun-

cil

cil a reſolution was formed, not to furniſh Cleomenes either with a fleet or proviſions. They believed that a needleſs expence; for, from the death of Antigonus, all affairs without doors had ſeemed to them of no importance. Beſides, this council were apprehenſive that as Antigonus was dead, and as there was none to oppoſe Cleomenes, that prince, after having made an expeditious conqueſt of Greece, would become a very formidable enemy to Egypt: What increaſed their fears was, his having thoroughly ſtudied the ſtate of the kingdom, his knowing its ſtrong and weak ſide, his having the king in the utmoſt contempt, and ſeeing a great many parts of the kingdom ſeparated and at a great diſtance, which an enemy might have a thouſand opportunities of invading. For theſe reaſons, it was not thought proper to grant Cleomenes the fleet and other ſuccours he deſired. On the other ſide, to give ſo bold and enterpriſing a prince leave to depart, after having refuſed him in ſo contemptuous a manner, would be making an enemy of him, who would certainly, one time or other, remember the affront which had been put upon him. Soſibes was therefore of opinion, that it was not even ſafe to allow him his liberty in Alexandria. A word which Cleomenes had let drop, came then into his mind. In a council, where Magas was the ſubject of the debate, that prime miniſter was afraid leſt this prince ſhould prevail with the foreign ſoldiers to make an inſurrection: *I anſwer for them*, ſays Cleomenes, ſpeaking of thoſe of Peloponneſus; *and you may depend, that upon the firſt ſignal I give, they all will take up arms in your favour.* This made Soſibes heſitate no longer: on a fictitious accuſation, and which he corroborated by a letter he himſelf had forged in that unhappy prince's name, he prevailed with the king to ſeiſe his perſon, and to impriſon him in a ſecure place, and maintain him always in the manner he had hitherto done, with the liberty of ſeeing his friends, but not of going abroad.

This

This treatment threw Cleomenes into the deepeſt affliction and melancholy. As he did not perceive any end of his calamities, he formed ſuch a reſolution, in concert with thoſe friends who uſed to viſit him, as deſpair only could ſuggeſt; and this was, to return the injuſtice of Ptolemy by force of arms; to ſtir up his ſubjects againſt him; to die a death worthy of Sparta; and not to wait, as ſtalled victims, till it was thought proper to ſacrifice them.

His friends having found means to get him out of the priſon, they all ran in a body, with drawn ſwords, into all the ſtreets, exhorting and calling upon the populace to recover their liberty; but not a man joined them. They killed the governor of the city, and ſome other noblemen who came to oppoſe them; and afterwards ran to the citadel with intention to force the gates of it, and ſet all the priſoners at liberty; but they found theſe ſhut and ſtrongly barricadoed. Cleomenes, now loſt to all hopes, ran up and down the city, during which not a ſoul either followed or oppoſed him; but all fled through fear. But ſeeing it would be impoſſible for them to ſucceed in their enterpriſe, they terminated it in a tragical and bloody manner, by running upon each other's ſwords, to avoid the infamy of puniſhment. Thus died Cleomenes, after reigning ſixteen years over Sparta. The king cauſed his body to be hanged on a croſs, and ordered his mother, children, and all the women who attended them, to be put to death. When that unhappy princeſs was brought to the place of execution, the only favour ſhe aſked was, that ſhe might die before her children. But they began with them; a torment more grievous to a mother than death itſelf; after which ſhe preſented her neck to the executioner, ſaying only theſe words, *Ah! my dear children, to what a place did you come?*

The deſign of Agis and Cleomenes to reform Sparta, and revive its ancient diſcipline, was certainly very laudable in itſelf: And both had reaſon to think, that in a ſtate wholly infected and corrupted as that of Sparta

Sparta then was, to pretend to reform abuſes one after another, and remedy diſorders by degrees, was only cutting off the heads of an Hydra; and therefore that it would be abſolutely neceſſary to root up the evil at one blow. However I cannot ſay whether Plato's maxim * ſhould not take place here, *viz.* that nothing ſhould be attempted in a ſtate, but what the citizens might be prevailed on to admit by gentle means: and that violence ſhould never be employed. Are there not ſome diſeaſes in which medicines would only haſten death? And have not † ſome diſorders gained ſo great an aſcendant in a ſtate, that to attempt a reformation at ſuch a time, would only diſcover the impotency of the magiſtrates and laws? But, a circumſtance which admits of no excuſe in Cleomenes, is, his having, againſt all the laws of reaſon and juſtice, murthered the Ephori, in order to get ſucceſs to his enterpriſe; a conduct abſolutely tyrannical, unworthy of a Spartan, and more unworthy of a king: and which at the ſame time ſeemed to give a ſanction to thoſe tyrants, who afterwards made ſuch wild havock in Lacedæmonia. And, indeed, Cleomenes himſelf had been called a tyrant by ſome hiſtorians, with whom they even began ‡ the ſucceſſion of tyrants.

(*b*) During the three years that Cleomenes had left Sparta, the citizens had not thought of nominating kings, from the hopes they entertained, that he would return again; and had always preſerved the higheſt eſteem and veneration for him. But, as ſoon as news was brought of his death, they proceeded to the election of kings. They firſt nominated Ageſipolis, a child, deſcended from one of the royal families, and appointed his uncle Cleomenes his governor. Afterwards

(*b*) Polyb. l. iv. p. 301

* Jubet Plato, quem ego auctorem vehementer ſequor, Tantum contendere in republica, quantum probare civibus tuis poſſis: vim neque parenti neque patriæ afferre oportere. *Cic.* l. i. *Epiſt.* 9. *ad Famil.*

† Decebat omittere potiùs prævalida & adulta vitia, quam hoc adſequi, ut palàm fieret quibus flagitiis impares eſſemus. *Tacit. Annal.* l. iii. c. 53.

‡ Poſt mortem Cleomenis, qui primus Tyrannus Lacedæmone fuit. *Liv.* l. xxxiv. n. 26.

wards they choſe Lycurgus, none of whoſe anceſtors had reigned, but who had bribed the Ephori, by giving each of them a * talent, which was putting the crown to ſale at a very low price. They ſoon had reaſon to repent their choice, which was in direct oppoſition to all laws, and never had example. The factious party, which oppoſed Philip openly, and committed the moſt enormous violences in the city had preſided in this election; and immediately after, they cauſed Sparta to declare in favour of the Ætolians.

SECT. III. *Various expeditions of* PHILIP *againſt the enemies of the Achæans.* APELLES, *his prime miniſter, abuſes his confidence in an extraordinary manner.* PHILIP *makes an inroad into Ætolia. Thermæ taken at the firſt aſſault. Exceſſes of* PHILIP's *ſoldiers in that city. Prudent retreat of that prince. Tumults in the camp. Puniſhment of thoſe who had occaſioned them. Inroad of* PHILIP *into Laconia. The conſpirators form new cabals. Puniſhment inflicted on them. A peace is propoſed between* PHILIP *and the Achæans on one ſide, and the Ætolians on the other, which at laſt is concluded.*

(a) WE have already related, that Philip king of Macedon, being called in by the Achæans to their aid, was come to Corinth where their general aſſembly was held, and that there war had been unanimouſly declared againſt the Ætolians. The king returned afterwards to Macedonia, to make the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war.

Philip brought over Scerdiledes to the alliance with the Achæans. He was, as has been obſerved, a petty king of Illyria. The Ætolians, whoſe ally he was, had broke their engagements with him, by refuſing to give him a certain ſhare of the ſpoils they had made at the taking of Cynethium, according to the articles agreed upon between them. Philip embraced with joy this opportunity of revenging their perfidy.

(a) Polyb. l. iv. p. 294—306. * *A thouſand crowns.*

(*b*) Demetrius of Pharos joined alſo with Philip. We have already ſeen that the Romans, in whoſe favour he had declared at firſt, had beſtowed on him ſeveral of the cities they had conquered in Illyria. As the chief revenue of thoſe petty princes had conſiſted hitherto in the ſpoils they got from their neighbours; when the Romans were removed, he could not forbear plundering the cities and territories ſubject to them. Beſides, Demetrius, as well as Scerdiledes, had ſailed, on the ſame deſign, beyond the city of Iſſus; which was a direct infraction of the chief article of the treaty, concluded with queen Teuta. For theſe reaſons the Romans declared war againſt Demetrius. Accordingly Æmilius attacked him with great vigour, diſpoſſeſſed him of his ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, and beſieged him in Pharos, from whence he eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty. The city ſurrendered to the Romans. (*c*) Demetrius, being diſpoſſeſſed of all his dominions, fled to Philip, who received him with open arms. This offended the Romans very much, who thereupon ſent ambaſſadors to him, demanding Demetrius to be delivered up. However Philip, who revolved at that time the deſign which broke out ſoon after, paid no regard to their demand; and Demetrius ſpent the remainder of his days with that monarch. He was a valiant and bold man, but at the ſame time raſh and inconſiderate in his enterpriſes; and his courage was entirely void of prudence and judgement.

The Achæans, being on the point of engaging in a conſiderable war, ſent to their allies. The Acarnanians joined them very chearfully, though at their great danger, as they lay neareſt the Ætolians, and conſequently were moſt expoſed to the inroads of that people. Polybius praiſes their fidelity exceedingly.

The people of Epirus did not ſhow ſo much good will, and ſeemed deſirous of continuing neuter: Nevertheleſs, they engaged in the war a little after.

Deputies

(*b*) Polyb. l. iii. p. 171—174. Lib. iv. p. 285—305—330.
(*c*) Liv. l. xxii. n. 33.

Deputies were alſo ſent to king Ptolemy to deſire him not to aſſiſt the Ætolians either with troops or money.

The Meſſenians, for whoſe ſake that war had been firſt begun, no way anſwered the hopes which had been naturally entertained, *viz.* of their employing their whole force to carry it on.

The Lacedæmonians had declared at firſt for the Achæans: But the contrary faction cauſed the decree to be reverſed, and they joined the Ætolians. It was on this occaſion, as I have ſaid before, that Ageſipolis and Lycurgus were elected kings of Sparta.

Aratus the younger, ſon of the great Aratus, was at that time ſupreme magiſtrate of the Achæans, and Scopas was the ſame over the Ætolians.

(d) Philip marched from Macedonia with fifteen thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe. Having croſſed Theſſaly, he arrived in Epirus. Had he marched directly to the Ætolians, he would have come upon them unawares, and have defeated them: but, at the requeſt of the Epirots, he laid ſiege to Ambracia, which employed him forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare for, and wait his coming up. They did more. Scopas, at the head of a body of Ætolians, advanced into Macedonia, made dreadful havock, and returned in a very ſhort time laden with ſpoils, which did him prodigious honour, and greatly animated his forces. However, this did not hinder Philip from entering Ætolia, and ſeiſing on a great number of important fortreſſes. He would have entirely conquered it, had not the news he received, that the Dardanians * intended to make an inroad into his kingdom, obliged him to return thither. At his departure, he promiſed the ambaſſadors of the Achæans to return ſoon to their aſſiſtance. His ſudden arrival diſconcerted the Dardanians, and put a

(*d*) Polyb. l. iv. p. 325—330.

* *Theſe people were neighbours of Macedonia, on the north of that kingdom.*

ſtop to their enterpriſe. He then returned to Theſſaly, with an intention to paſs the reſt of the ſummer in Lariſſa.

(*e*) In the mean time Dorimachus, whom the Ætolians had juſt before nominated their general, entered Epirus, laid waſte all the open country, and did not ſpare even the temple of Dodona.

Philip, though it was now the depth of winter, having left Lariſſa, arrived at Corinth, without any one's having had the leaſt notice of his march. He there ordered the elder Aratus to attend him, and by a letter to his ſon, who commanded the forces this year, gave him orders whither to march them. Caphyia was to be the rendezvous. Euripidas, who knew nothing of Philip's arrival, was then marching a detachment of above two thouſand natives of Elis, to lay waſte the territory of Sicyone. They fell into the hands of Philip, and all except an hundred were either killed or taken priſoners.

The king, having joined Aratus the younger with his forces, at the rendezvous appointed, marched towards Pſophis * in order to beſiege it. This was a very daring attempt; for the city was thought almoſt impregnable, as well from its natural ſituation, as from the fortifications which had been added to it. It being the depth of winter, the inhabitants were of opinion that no one would, or even could, attack them: Philip, however, did it with ſucceſs; for, firſt the city, and afterwards the citadel, ſurrendered after making ſome reſiſtance. As they were very far from expecting to be beſieged, the want of ammunition and proviſions very much facilitated the taking of that city. Philip gave it very generouſly to the Achæans, to whom it was of the moſt ſignal ſervice; aſſuring them that there was nothing he deſired more than to oblige them; and to give them the ſtrongeſt proofs of his zeal and affection for their intereſt. A prince who acts in this manner is truely great, and does honour to the royal dignity.

From

(*e*) Polyb. l. iv. p. 330—336. * *A city of Arcadia.*

From thence, after poſſeſſing himſelf of ſome other cities, which he alſo gave to his allies, he marched to Elis, in order to lay it waſte. It was very rich and populous, and the inhabitants of the country were in a flouriſhing condition. Formerly this territory had been accounted ſacred, on account of the Olympick games ſolemnized there every four years; and all the nations of Greece had agreed not to infeſt or carry war into it. But the Eleans had themſelves been the occaſion of their loſing that privilege, becauſe, like other ſtates, they had engaged in the wars of Greece. Here Philip got a very conſiderable booty, with which he enriched his troops, after which he retired to Olympia.

(f) Among the ſeveral courtiers of king Philip, Apelles held the chief rank, and had a great aſcendant over his ſovereign, whoſe governor he had been: but, as generally happens on theſe occaſions, he very much abuſed his power, which he employed wholly in oppreſſing particular perſons and ſtates. He had taken it into his head, to reduce the Achæans to the ſame condition in which Theſſaly was at that time; that is, to ſubject them abſolutely to the commands of the miniſters of Macedonia, by leaving them only the name and a vain ſhadow of liberty: and to accuſtom them to the yoke, he ſpared them no kind of injurious treatment. Aratus complained of this to Philip, who was highly exaſperated upon that account; and accordingly aſſured him, he would give ſuch orders, that nothing of that kind ſhould happen for the future. Accordingly, he enjoined Apelles never to lay any commands on the Achæans. but in concert with their general. This was behaving with an indolent tenderneſs towards a ſtateſman, who having ſo ſhamefully abuſed his maſter's confidence, had therefore deſerved to be entirely diſgraced. The Achæans, overjoyed at the favour which Philip ſhowed them, and with the orders he had given for their peace and ſecurity, were continually beſtowing the higheſt encomiums

(f) Polyb. l. iv. p. 338, 339.

comiums on that prince, and extolling his exalted qualities. And, indeed, he poſſeſſed all thoſe which can endear a king to his people; ſuch as a lively genius, an happy memory, eaſy elocution, and an unaffected grace in all his actions; a beautiful aſpect, heightened by a noble and majeſtick air, which ſtruck the beholders with awe and reſpect; a ſweetneſs of temper, affability, and a deſire to pleaſe univerſally; to finiſh the picture, a valour, an intrepidity, and an experience in war, which far exceeded his years: So that one can hardly conceive the ſtrange alteration that afterwards appeared in his morals and behaviour.

(*g*) Philip having poſſeſſed himſelf of Aliphera, a very ſtrong city, the greateſt part of the people of that country, aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of his conqueſts, and weary of the Ætolian tyranny, ſubmitted to his arms. Thus he ſoon made himſelf maſter of all Triphylia.

(*h*) At this time, Chilo the Lacedæmonian, pretending he had a better right to the crown than Lycurgus, on whoſe head they had placed it, reſolved to diſpoſſeſs him of it, and ſet it on his own. Having engaged in his party about two hundred citizens, he entered the city in a forcible manner, killed the Ephori who were at table together, and marched directly towards Lycurgus's houſe, intending to kill him; but hearing the tumult, he had made his eſcape. Chilo then went into the great ſquare of the city, exhorted the citizens to recover their liberty; making them, at the ſame time, the greateſt promiſes. Seeing, however, that he could make no impreſſion on them, and that he had failed of his blow, he ſentenced himſelf to baniſhment, and retired to Achaia. It is ſurpriſing to ſee Sparta, formerly ſo jealous of its liberty, and miſtreſs of all Greece till the battle of Leuctra, now filled with tumults and inſurrections, and ignominiouſly ſubjected to a kind of tyrants, that before could not ſo much as ſuffer the name. Such were the effects of their having violated Lycurgus's laws; and

(*g*) Polyb. l. iv. p. 339—343. (*h*) Idem, p. 343, 344.

and eſpecially their introducing gold and ſilver into Sparta; which drew after them, by inſenſible degrees, the luſt of power, avarice, pride, luxury, effeminacy, immorality, and all thoſe vices which are generally inſeparable from riches.

(*i*) Philip, being arrived at Argos, ſpent the reſt of the winter there. Apelles had not yet laid aſide the deſign he meditated of enſlaving the Achæans. But Aratus, for whom the king had a very particular regard, and in whom he repoſed the higheſt confidence, was an invincible obſtacle to his project. He therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to get rid of him; for this purpoſe he ſent privately for all thoſe who were his ſecret enemies, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to gain them the prince's favour. After this, in all his diſcourſes with him, he hinted, that ſo long as Aratus ſhould enjoy any authority in the republick of the Achæans, he (Philip) would have no power; and would be as much ſubject to their laws and uſages as the meaneſt of their citizens; whereas, were he to raiſe to the chief adminiſtration of affairs ſome perſon who might be entirely dependent on him, he then might act as ſovereign, and govern others, inſtead of being himſelf governed. The new friends inforced theſe reflections, and refined on the arguments of Apelles. This idea of deſpotick power pleaſed the young king; and indeed it is the ſtrongeſt temptation that can be laid in the way of princes. Accordingly he went for that purpoſe to Ægium, where the aſſembly of the ſtates was held for the election of a new general; and prevailed ſo far by his promiſes and menaces, that he got Philoxenus, whom Aratus had declared duely elected, excluded; and obliged them to make choice of Eperatus, who was his direct enemy. Implicitly devoted to the will of his prime miniſter, he did not perceive that he degraded himſelf in the moſt ignominious manner; nothing being more abhorrent to free aſſemblies, ſuch as thoſe of Greece,

(*i*) Polyb. l. iv. p. 344—349.

than to make the leaſt attempt in violation of the freedom of elections.

A perſon being choſen entirely unworthy of the poſt, as is commonly the caſe in all forced elections, Eperatus, having neither merit nor experience, was univerſally deſpiſed. As Aratus intermeddled no longer in publick affairs, nothing was well done, and all things were haſtening to their ruin. Philip, who was blamed for all miſcarriages, became ſenſible that very pernicious counſels had been given him. Upon this, he again had recourſe to Aratus, and re-inſtated him entirely in his friendſhip and confidence; and perceiving that after this ſtep his affairs flouriſhed viſibly, and that his reputation and power increaſed daily, he would not make uſe of any counſel, but that of Aratus, as the only man to whom he owed all his grandeur and glory. Who would not imagine, after ſuch evident and repeated proofs, on one ſide of Aratus's innocence, and on the other of Apelles's black malice, that Philip would have been undeceived for ever; and have been fully ſenſible which of the two had the moſt ſincere zeal to his ſervice? The ſequel, however, will ſhew, that jealouſy never dies but with the object that excited it; and that princes ſeldom overcome prejudices grateful to their authority.

A new proof of this ſoon appeared. As the inhabitants of Elis refuſed the advantageous conditions which Philip offered them by one Amphidamus, Apelles hinted to him, that ſo unreaſonable a refuſal was owing to the ill ſervices which Aratus did him clandeſtinely, though outwardly he pretended to have his intereſt very much at heart: That he alone had kept Amphidamus from enforcing as he ought to have done, and as he had engaged to do, to the inhabitants of Elis, the offers which the king made them: And on this foundation he invented a long ſtory, and named ſeveral witneſſes. The king, however, was ſo juſt, as to inſiſt upon his prime miniſter's repeating theſe accuſations in preſence of the man whom

whom he charged with them: And this Apelles did not ſcruple to do, and that with ſuch an air of aſſurance, or rather impudence, as might have diſconcerted the moſt virtuous man. He even added, that the king would lay this affair before the council of the Achæans, and leave to them the deciſion of it. This was what he wanted; firmly perſuaded, that by the authority he had there, he ſhould not fail to get him condemned. Aratus, in making his defence, began by beſeeching the king, not to give too much credit to the ſeveral things laid to his charge. That a juſtice which a king, more than any other man, owed to a perſon accuſed, was to command that a ſtrict enquiry be made into the ſeveral articles of the accuſation, and till then to ſuſpend his judgement. In conſequence of this he required, that Apelles ſhould be obliged to produce his witneſſes; him, eſpecially, from whom he pretended to have heard the ſeveral particulars laid to his charge; and that they ſhould omit none of the methods uſed and preſcribed in ſtating a fact before it was laid before the publick council. The king thought Aratus's demand very juſt and reaſonable, and promiſed it ſhould be complied with. However, the time paſſed on, and Apelles did not prepare to give in his proofs: But how would it have been poſſible for him to do that? An unforeſeen accident brought Amphidamus, by a kind of chance to the city of Dyma, whither Philip was come to ſettle ſome affairs. Aratus ſnatched the opportunity; and begged the king himſelf to take cognizance of this matter. He complied with Aratus's requeſt, and found that there was not the leaſt grounds for the charge. Accordingly Aratus was pronounced innocent, but without any puniſhment being inflicted on the calumniator.

This impunity emboldened him the more; ſo that he continued his ſecret intrigues, in order to remove thoſe who gave him the leaſt umbrage. Beſides Apelles, there were four other perſons who divided the chief offices of the crown among them, and at the ſame

ſame time enjoyed the king's confidence. Antigonus had appointed them by his will, and aſſigned each of them his employment. His principal view in this choice was, to prevent thoſe cabals which are almoſt inſeparable from the minority of an infant prince. Two of theſe noblemen, Leontius and Megaleas, were entirely at the devotion of Apelles; but as to the two other, Taurion and Alexander, he had not the ſame aſcendent over them; the former of the two laſt preſided over the affairs of Peloponneſus, and the ſecond had the command of the guards. Now the prime miniſter wanted to give their employments to noblemen on whom he could entirely rely, and who would be as much devoted to his views as he could wiſh them. However, he behaved in a different manner towards them: For, ſays Polybius, courtiers have the art of moulding themſelves into all ſhapes, and employ either praiſe or ſlander to gain their ends. Whenever Taurion was mentioned, Apelles would applaud his merit, his courage, his experience; and ſpeak of him as a man worthy of the king's more intimate confidence: He did this in the view of detaining him at court, and procuring the government of Peloponneſus (a place of great importance, and which required the preſence of the perſon inveſted with it) for one of his creatures. Whenever Alexander was the ſubject of the diſcourſe, he repreſented him in the moſt odious colours to the king, and even endeavoured to render his fidelity ſuſpected; in order to remove him from court, that his poſt might be given to ſome perſon who might depend entirely on him. Polybius will ſhow hereafter, what was the reſult of all theſe ſecret machinations. He only hints in this place, that Apelles was at laſt taken in his own ſnare, and met with the treatment he was preparing for others. But we ſhall firſt ſee him commit the blackeſt and moſt abominable injuſtice in the perſon of Aratus, and even extend his criminal deſigns to the king himſelf.

(*k*) I before obſerved, that Philip having diſcovered that he had been more than once impoſed upon, had reſtored Aratus to his favour and confidence. Supported by his credit and counſels he went to the aſſembly of the Achæans, appointed, on his account, at Sicyon. On the report he made of the ſtate of his exchequer, and of the urgent neceſſity he was in of money to maintain his forces, a reſolution was made to furniſh him with fifty * talents, the inſtant his troops ſhould ſet out upon their march; with three months pay for his ſoldiers, and ten thouſand meaſures of wheat: And, that afterwards, as long as he ſhould carry on the war in perſon in Peloponneſus, they ſhould furniſh him with ſeventeen † talents a month.

When the troops returned from their winter quarters and were aſſembled, the king debated in council on the operations of the enſuing campaign. It was reſolved to act by ſea, becauſe they thereby ſhould infallibly divide the enemy's forces, from the uncertainty they muſt be under, with regard to the ſide on which they ſhould be attacked. Philip was to make war on the inhabitants of Ætolia, Lacedæmonia, and Elis.

Whilſt the king, who was now returned to Corinth, was forming his Macedonians for naval affairs, and employing them in the ſeveral exerciſes of the ſea-ſervice; Apelles, who found his credit diminiſh, and was exaſperated to ſee the counſels of Aratus followed, and not his, took ſecret meaſures to defeat all the king's deſigns. His view was to make himſelf neceſſary to his ſovereign; and to force him by the ill poſture of his affairs, to throw himſelf into the arms of a miniſter who was beſt acquainted with, and then actually in the adminiſtration of them. How villainous was this! Apelles prevailed with Leontius and Megaleas, his two confidents, to behave with negligence in the employments with which they ſhould be

(*k*) Polyb. l. iv. p. 350—365.

* *Fifty thouſand crowns.* † *Seventeen thouſand crowns.*

be intruſted. As for himſelf, he went to Chalcis, upon pretence of having ſome affairs to tranſact there; as his orders were punctually obeyed by every one, he ſtopped the convoys of money which were ſending to the king; and thereby reduced him to ſuch neceſſity, that he was forced to pawn his plate to ſubſiſt himſelf and his houſehold.

Philip, having put to ſea, arrived the ſecond day at Patræ; and ſailing from thence to * Cephalenia, laid ſiege to Paleis, a city whoſe ſituation would be of great advantage to him, as a place of arms; and enable him to infeſt the territories of his enemies. He cauſed the machines of war to be advanced, and mines to be run. One of the ways of making breaches was, to dig up the earth under the very foundation of the walls. When they were got to theſe, they propped and ſupported the walls with great wooden beams, to which the miners afterwards ſet fire, and then retired; when preſently great part of the wall would fall down. As the Macedonians had worked with incredible ardour, they very ſoon made a breach of ſix hundred fathoms wide. Leontius was commanded to mount this breach with his troops. Had he exerted himſelf ever ſo little, the city would certainly have been taken: But he attacked the enemy very faintly, ſo that he was repulſed, loſt a great number of his men, and Philip was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

The moment he began it, the enemy had ſent Lycurgus with ſome troops into Meſſenia, and Dorimachus with half of the army into Theſſaly, to oblige Philip, by this double diverſion, to lay aſide his enterpriſe. Deputies had arrived ſoon from the Acarnanians and Meſſenians. Philip, having raiſed the ſiege, aſſembled his council, to debate on which ſide he ſhould turn his arms. The Meſſenians repreſented, that in one day the forces might march from Cephalenia into their country, and at once empower Lycurgus, who did not expect to be ſo ſuddenly attacked. Leontius enforced this advice very ſtrongly. His ſecret

* *An iſland in the Ionian ſea.*

ſecret reaſon was, that as it would be impoſſible for Philip to return, as the winds would be directly contrary at that time, he therefore would be forced to ſtay there, by which means the campaign would be ſpent, and nothing done. The Acarnanians, on the contrary, were for marching directly into Ætolia, which was then unprovided with troops: Declaring, that the whole country might be laid waſte without the leaſt reſiſtance; and that Dorimachus would be prevented from making an irruption into Macedonia. Aratus did not fail to declare in favour of the latter opinion; and the king, who from the cowardly attack at Paleis, began to ſuſpect Leontius, went thither alſo.

Having provided for the urgent neceſſities of the Meſſenians, he went from Cephalenia, arrived the ſecond day at Leucadia, from thence entered the gulph of Ambracia, and came a little before day-break to Limnæa. Immediately he commanded the ſoldiers to take ſome refreſhment, to rid themſelves of the greateſt part of their baggage, and be ready for marching. In the afternoon, Philip having left the baggage under a ſtrong guard, ſet out from Limnæa; and marching about ſixty furlongs he halted, to give his army ſome refreſhment and reſt. He then marched all night, and arrived at day-break at the river Achelous, intending to fall ſuddenly and unexpectedly upon Thermæ. Leontius adviſed the king to halt for ſome time, giving for his reaſon, that as the ſoldiers had been fatigued with the length of their march, it would be proper for them to take breath, but, in reality, to give the Ætolians time to prepare for their defence. Aratus, on the contrary, knowing that opportunity is ſwift-winged, and that Leontius's advice was manifeſtly traiterous, conjured Philip to ſeiſe the favourable moment, and march out that inſtant.

The king, who was already offended at Leontius, and began to ſuſpect him, ſets out that inſtant, croſſes the Achelous, and marches directly to Thermæ, through a very rugged and almoſt impervious road cut between

between very ſteep rocks. This was the capital city of the country, in which the Ætolians every year held their fairs and ſolemn aſſemblies, as well for the worſhip of the gods, as for the election of magiſtrates. As this city was thought impregnable, becauſe of the advantage of its ſituation, and that no enemy had ever dared to approach it; the Ætolians uſed to leave their richeſt effects and all their wealth there, imagining they were very ſafe. But how great muſt be their ſurpriſe, when, at the cloſe of the day, they ſaw Philip enter it with his army!

After having taken immenſe ſpoils in the night, the Macedonians pitched their camp. The next morning it was reſolved that the moſt valuable effects ſhould be carried away; and making a heap of the reſt, at the head of the camp, they ſet fire to that pile. They did the ſame with regard to the arms which hung on the galleries of the temple; the beſt were laid by for ſervice, and the remainder, amounting to upwards of fifteen thouſand, were burnt to aſhes. Hitherto every thing which had been tranſacted was juſt, and agreeable to the laws of war.

But the Macedonians did not ſtop here. Tranſported with fury at the remembrance of the wild havock which the Ætolians had made in Dium and Dodona, they ſet fire to the galleries of the temple, tore down all the offerings which hung on them, among which were ſome of exceeding beauty and prodigious value. Not ſatisfied with burning the roofs, they razed the temple. The ſtatues, of which there were at leaſt two thouſand, were thrown down. A great number of them were broke to pieces; and thoſe only ſpared which were known, by their form or inſcriptions, to repreſent gods. They wrote the following verſe on the walls;

Remember Dium; Dium ſends you this.

Doubtleſs, the horrour with which the ſacrileges committed by the Ætolians at Dium inſpired Philip and

and his allies, convinced them that they might revenge it by the commiſſion of the like crimes; and that they were then making juſt repriſals. However, ſays Polybius, the reader will allow me to think otherwiſe. To ſupport his opinion, he cites three great examples, taken even from the family of the prince whoſe conduct he here cenſures. Antigonus, after having defeated Cleomenes king of the Lacedæmonians, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Sparta, ſo far from extending his rage to the temples and ſacred things, did not even make thoſe he had conquered feel the effects of it; on the contrary, he reſtored to them the form of government which they had received from their anceſtors, and treated them with the higheſt teſtimonies of kindneſs and friendſhip. Philip, to whom the royal family owed all its ſplendour, and who defeated the Athenians at Chæronea, made them ſenſible of his power and victory by no other marks than his beneficence; reſtoring their priſoners without ranſom; himſelf taking care even of the dead, ordering Antipater to convey their bones to Athens, and giving clothes to ſuch of the priſoners as were moſt in want of them. In fine, Alexander the Great, in the height of his fury againſt Thebes, which he razed to the ground, ſo far from being forgetful of the veneration due to the gods, took care not to ſuffer his ſoldiers (even through imprudence) to do the leaſt injury to the temples, and other ſacred places: And a circumſtance ſtill more worthy our admiration; in his war with the Perſians, who had plundered and burned moſt of the temples in Greece, Alexander ſpared and reverenced all places dedicated to the worſhip of the gods.

It would have been better, continues Polybius, if Philip, mindful of the examples his anceſtors ſet him, had ſtrove to ſhow himſelf their ſucceſſor more in moderation and magnanimity, than their empire and power. The laws of war, indeed, frequently oblige a conqueror to demoliſh cities and citadels; to fill up harbours, to take men and ſhips, to carry off the fruits

fruits of the earth, and to act things of a like nature, in order to leſſen the ſtrength of the enemy and increaſe his own: But to deſtroy what either cannot do him any prejudice, or will not contribute to the defeat of the enemy; to burn temples, to break ſtatues and ſuch ornaments of a city in pieces; certainly nothing but the wildeſt and moſt extravagant fury can be capable of ſuch violence. It is not merely to ruin and deſtroy thoſe who have done us injury, that we ought to declare war, in caſe we deſire to be thought juſt and equitable; but only to oblige ſuch people to acknowledge, and make amends for their faults. The true end of war is not to involve in the ſame ruin the innocent and the guilty, but rather to ſave both. Theſe are the ſentiments of a ſoldier and an heathen.

Though Philip, on this occaſion, ſhowed no great regard for religion, he acted like an excellent captain. His view in putting to ſea, was to go and ſurpriſe the city of Thermæ, during the abſence of part of the Ætolian forces. To conceal his deſign, he took ſo large a tour, as left the enemy in doubt with regard to the place he intended to attack; and which prevented their ſeiſing ſome paſſes of mountains and defiles in which he might have been ſtopped ſhort. Some rivers were to be paſſed: It was neceſſary for them to make the utmoſt haſte, and turn ſhort upon Ætolia, by a ſwift counter-march. This Philip does without liſtening to the advice of traitors. To lighten his army, he leaves his baggage. He goes through the ſtraits without meeting the leaſt obſtacle, and enters Thermæ, as if he had dropped from the ſkies; ſo well he had concealed and haſtened his march, of which the enemy do not ſeem to have had the leaſt ſuſpicion.

His retreat was full as extraordinary. To ſecure it, he had ſeiſed upon ſeveral important poſts; expecting that at his coming down, his rear-guard particularly would be attacked. It was accordingly charged at two different times; however, the prudent precau-

tions

tions he had taken, entirely baffled all the efforts of the enemy.

An enterpriſe ſo well concerted, ſo ſecretly carried on, and executed with ſo much wiſdom and diſpatch, ſurpaſſes the abilities of ſo young a prince as Philip; and ſeems to bear the character of a veteran warrior, long exerciſed in all the arts and ſtratagems of war. We can ſcarce doubt (and Polybius ſeems to inſinuate it evidently enough) but that Aratus, as he had been the firſt contriver of ſo noble a project, was alſo the ſoul, as it were, and chief agent in it afterwards. I have already obſerved, that his talents lay more in conducting a warlike ſtratagem, in forming extraordinary enterpriſes, and in giving ſucceſs to them by his bold counſels, than in executing them himſelf. How happy is it for a young prince to poſſeſs a general of this character; prudent, able, verſed by long experience, and habituated to all the parts of the art of war; to be able to know the merit of theſe qualities; to be perfectly ſenſible of their high value; to be docile to his advice, though frequently contrary to his own taſte and opinion; and to let himſelf be guided by ſuch wiſe counſels. After the happy ſucceſs of an action, the perſon whoſe advice directed it vaniſhes, and all the glory of it reflects upon the monarch. (*l*) Plutarch, who advances what I have now ſaid, thinks it equally glorious in Philip to ſuffer himſelf to be guided by ſuch good counſels, and to Aratus for having ability to ſuggeſt them.

When Philip, who had marched back the ſame way he came, was arrived at Limnæa, finding himſelf in repoſe and ſecurity, offered ſacrifices to the gods by way of thankſgiving, for the ſucceſs they had given to his arms; and made a ſplendid banquet for his officers, who were as ſtrongly affected as himſelf with the glory he had acquired. Leontius and Megaleas were the only perſons who heartily repined at the good fortune of their ſovereign. Every one ſoon perceived that they did not ſhare with the reſt of

(*l*) Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.

the company in the joy which ſo ſucceſsful an expedition muſt naturally create. During the whole entertainment, they diſcovered their animoſity againſt Aratus by the moſt injurious and moſt ſhocking raileries. But words were not all; for, at their riſing from the banquet, heated with the fumes of wine and fired with anger, they threw ſtones at him all the way, till he was got into his tent. The whole army was in an uproar; and the noiſe reaching the king, he cauſed an exact enquiry to be made into the affair; and laying a fine of twenty * talents on Megaleas, he afterwards threw him into priſon. Leontius, hearing of what had happened, ran with a crowd of ſoldiers to the king's tent; perſuaded that he would be frightened at ſeeing ſo great a body of men, and for that reaſon be prompted to change his reſolution. Being come into the king's preſence, *Who has been ſo bold*, ſays he, *as to lay hands on Megaleas, and throw him into priſon? It is I*, anſwered the king, in a lofty tone. This terrified Leontius; ſo that, after venting a deep ſigh, he left the king's tent in a rage. Some days after he was bound for the fine laid on Megaleas, who was then ſet at liberty.

(*m*) During Philip's expedition againſt Ætolia, Lycurgus, the Spartan king, had engaged in an enterpriſe againſt the Meſſenians, but it proved abortive. Dorimachus, who had led a conſiderable body of Ætolians into Theſſaly, with an intention to lay waſte the country, and to oblige Philip to raiſe the ſiege of Paleis, in order to go and ſuccour his allies, found troops there ready prepared to give him a warm reception. He did not venture to attack them. The news of Philip's inroad into Ætolia, forced him to haſten thither to defend his own country. But though he made the utmoſt expedition, he arrived too late; the Macedonians having already quitted it.

Philip marched his army with almoſt incredible diligence. Having left Leucadia with his fleet, and being arrived at Corinth, he laid up his ſhips in the harbour

(*m*) Polyb. l. v. p. 365—372. * *Twenty thouſand crowns.*

harbour of Lechæum, landed his troops, began his march, and paſſing through Argos, arrived on the twelfth day at Tegea, which he had fixed for the rendezvous with his allies. The Spartans having heard from rumour what had paſſed at Thermæ, were truely alarmed when they ſaw that young victor in their territories, where he was not expected ſo ſuddenly. Some actions paſſed, in which Philip had always the advantage; but I ſhall omit the particulars to avoid prolixity. Philip diſplayed, on all occaſions, a bravery and prudence far above his years; and this expedition was almoſt as glorious to him as that of Ætolia. After laying waſte the whole country, and taking abundance of ſpoils, he returned by the way of Argos to Corinth.

Here he found the ambaſſadors of Rhodes and Chio, who came to offer him their mediation, and to incline both parties to peace. The king, diſſembling his real intentions, told them that he had always wiſhed, and ſtill did ſo, to be at peace with the Ætolians; and therefore charged them, at their going away, to diſpoſe their maſters to it. He afterwards landed at Lechæum, in order to go from thence to Phocis, where he intended to engage in ſome more important enterpriſe.

The faction formed by Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, who alſo was one of Philip's principal officers, having employed all the clandeſtine methods poſſible, to remove and deſtroy all thoſe who either oppoſed or were ſuſpected by them; and ſeeing with grief, that thoſe ſecret practices had not been as ſucceſsful as they had flattered themſelves, they therefore reſolved to make themſelves formidable even to their ſovereign, by employing the authority they had over the forces, to draw off their affections from him, and to attach them to their intereſt. The greateſt part of their army had ſtaid in Corinth; and they imagined, that the abſence of the king gave them a favourable opportunity for executing their deſigns. They repreſented to the light-armed troops, and to the guards,

that for the ſake of the publick welfare they expoſed themſelves to the greateſt toils and dangers of war; that nevertheleſs juſtice had not been done them, nor the ancient law relating to the diſtribution of plunder been obſerved with regard to them. The young people, fired by theſe ſeditious diſcourſes, divide themſelves into bands, plunder the houſes of the greateſt courtiers, and carry their fury to that exceſs, as to force the gates of the king's palace, and break to pieces the tiles which covered it. Immediately a great tumult broke out in the city, of which Philip having notice, he left Lechæum in great diligence. He then aſſembles the Macedonians in the theatre, where, in a ſpeech intermixed with gentleneſs and ſeverity, he makes them ſenſible of their fault. In the trouble and confuſion which reigned at that time, ſome declared that it would be neceſſary to ſeiſe and puniſh the promoters of this inſurrection; and others, that it would be more prudent to appeaſe them by gentle methods, and forget all that was paſt.

The king was ſtill young; ſo that his authority was not entirely confirmed in the minds of the people and ſoldiery. Thoſe againſt him enjoyed the greateſt poſts in the kingdom; had governed it during his minority; had filled all employments with their creatures; had acquired a kind of unlimited power over all orders of the ſtate; had the command of the forces, and during a long time had employed the moſt inſinuating arts to gain their affection, dividing the whole adminiſtration among themſelves. In ſo delicate a conjuncture, he did not think it adviſeable to come to an open rupture, leſt he ſhould inflame the minds of the people, by employing chaſtiſements at an unſeaſonable time. For this reaſon he ſtifled his reſentments, pretending to be very well ſatisfied; and having exhorted his forces to union and peace, he went back to Lechæum. But after this inſurrection, it was not eaſy for him to execute in Phocis the ſchemes he had projected.

Leontius having now loſt all hopes, after ſo many fruitleſs attempts, had recourſe to Apelles. He ſent

courier

courier upon courier, to give him notice of the danger he was in, and to urge his preſence immediately. That miniſter, during his ſtay in Chalcis, diſpoſed all things in the moſt deſpotick manner, and by that means was univerſally odious. According to him the king, being ſtill young, had no manner of power, but obeyed implicitly the dictates of his (Apelles's) will. It is certain that he arrogated to himſelf the management of all affairs, as having full power to act in every thing as he ſhould think fit. The magiſtrates of Macedonia and Theſſaly, and the officers who enjoyed any employment, had recourſe to him only. In all the cities of Greece, ſcarce the leaſt mention was made of the king: for whether any reſolutions were to be taken, affairs to be regulated, judgements paſſed, or honours or preferments to be beſtowed, Apelles engroſſed and tranſacted all things.

Philip had long before been appriſed of this conduct of Apelles, which gave him very great uneaſineſs. Aratus was frequently urgent with him to exert himſelf on this occaſion, and endeavoured to make him throw off his irreſolution and ſervitude: But the king concealed his thoughts, and did not diſcover his reſolutions to any body. Apelles, not knowing how the king was diſpoſed in regard to him, but perſuaded, on the contrary, that the inſtant he appeared before his ſovereign, he would not fail of taking his opinion in all things, flew from Chalcis to the ſupport of Leontius.

When he arrived in Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy, and Megaleas, who commanded the flower of the troops, engaged all the young men to go and meet him. Apelles, thus received with pomp and ſplendour, and attended by a large body of officers and ſoldiers, advances directly to the king's palace, which he was going to enter as uſual. However, the officer who attended at the gate (having been inſtructed before) ſtopped him ſhort, and told him that his majeſty was buſy. Aſtoniſhed at ſo uncommon a reception, which he no ways expected, he conſidered for ſome

time how he ought to behave, and at laſt withdrew in the utmoſt confuſion. * Nothing is ſo tranſient and frail as a borrowed power, not ſupported by foundations or ſtrength of its own. The ſhining train he had cauſed to follow him vaniſhed in an inſtant; and he arrived at his own houſe, followed only by his domeſticks. A lively image, ſays Polybius, of what happens in the courts of kings; a fate which the moſt powerful courtiers ought to dread. A few days ſuffice to ſhow their moſt exalted ſtate and fall. Like counters, which one moment are of the higheſt, and the next the moſt inconſiderable value: As princes pleaſe to extend or withdraw their favours, to-day they enjoy the greateſt credit, and the next are reduced to the extremes of miſery and univerſal diſgrace. Megaleas, ſenſible of the ſtorm he himſelf might expect now the prime miniſter was diſgraced, thought of nothing but how he might beſt ſecure himſelf by flight, and accordingly withdrew to Thebes, leaving Leontius bound for twenty talents, which he had engaged to ſee his accomplice pay.

The king, whether he was unwilling to drive Apelles to deſpair; whether he did not think his power ſtrong enough to exert it in an extraordinary manner; or from ſome remains of eſteem and gratitude for a guardian and governor; ſtill allowed him the honour of his converſation ſometimes, and left him ſome other honours of that kind; but he excluded him from the council, and from the number of thoſe he uſed to invite to ſupper with him. Going to Sicyon, the magiſtrates offered him a houſe; but he preferred that of Aratus, whom he never quitted, and ſpent whole days in his company. As for Apelles, he ordered him to retire to Corinth.

Having removed Leontius from his command of the guards, which were ordered to march elſewhere, upon pretence of their being employed upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, he cauſed him to be thrown into priſon;

* Nihil rerum mortalium tam inſtabile ac fluxum eſt, quam fama potentiæ non ſua vi nixæ. *Tacit. Annal.* l. xiii. c. 19.

priſon; the pretended reaſon of which was, to oblige him to pay the twenty talents for which he had engaged for Megaleas; but in reality to ſecure his perſon, and to ſound the diſpoſition of the troops. Leontius ſent word of this to the infantry over which he had commanded, who that moment ſent a petition to the king, importing, that if Leontius were charged with ſome new crime for which he deſerved to be impriſoned, they inſiſted that nothing might be decreed againſt him but in their preſence: that if he refuſed them that favour, they ſhould look upon this refuſal as a contempt and the higheſt injury (ſuch was the liberty the Macedonians had the privilege of uſing with their king); but that in caſe Leontius was impriſoned but for the twenty talents, they offered to pay that ſum among them. This teſtimony of their affection did but inflame the king's anger, and haſten the death of Leontius.

During this interval, there arrived from Ætolia ambaſſadors from Rhodes and Chio, after having prevailed with the Ætolians to conſent to a thirty days truce. Theſe aſſured the king, that the Ætolians were inclined to peace. Philip accepted of the truce, and wrote to the allies, deſiring them to ſend their plenipotentiaries to Patræ, to negotiate a peace with the Ætolians. He himſelf ſet out immediately from Lechæum, in order to aſſiſt at it, and arrived there after two days ſail.

He then received letters, directed by Megaleas, from Phocis to the Ætolians, in which that traitor exhorted the Ætolians not to entertain the leaſt fears, but to continue the war; that Philip was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of ammunition and proviſions; to which he added expreſſions highly injurious to the king. Philip, upon reading theſe letters, judging Apelles the chief author of them, ſeiſed both him and his ſon; at the ſame time he ſent to Thebes, with orders for Megaleas to be proceeded againſt there; however, he did not ſtay for his trial, but laid violent

hands on himſelf. A little after Apelles and his ſon were alſo put to death.

I do not know whether hiſtory can furniſh us with a more remarkable example of the aſcendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of a young ſovereign, in order to ſatiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. Apelles had been Philip's guardian, and in that quality was entruſted with the care of his education. He had been at the head of the regency eſtabliſhed by the late king. This double title of guardian and governor had, on one ſide, inſpired the young prince (as it naturally ſhould) with ſentiments of regard, eſteem, reſpect, and confidence for Apelles; and, on the other, had made Apelles aſſume an air of authority and command over his pupil, which he never laid aſide. Philip did not want wit, judgement, or penetration. When he was arrived to more mature years, he perceived the hands he was fallen into, but at the ſame time was blind to all his maſter's faults. He had diſcovered, more than once, the mean jealouſy which Apelles entertained of conſpicuous merit of every kind; and his declared hatred of all ſuch of the king's ſubjects as were moſt capable of ſerving him. Proofs of his taxations and oppreſſions were daily renewed, and the repeated complaints of them rendered the government odious and inſupportable. However, all this made no impreſſion, or but a very ſlight one, on the mind of the young king, over which the prime miniſter had gained ſuch an influence, that he even ſtood in fear of him. The reader has ſeen how extremely difficult it was for the king to break this charm.

(*n*) In the mean time, the Ætolians wiſhed earneſtly that the peace might be concluded; and were quite weary of a war, in which all their expectations had been fruſtrated. They had flattered themſelves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced king, and accordingly believed that they might amuſe him as a child; but Philip, on the contrary, had proved to them,

(*n*) Polyb. l. v. p. 376, 377.

them, that in wiſdom and reſolution he was a man; and that they had behaved like children in all their enterpriſes. But having heard of the inſurrection of the troops, and the conſpiracy of Apelles and Leontius, they poſtponed the day on which they were to meet at Patræ, in hopes that ſome ſedition would break out at court, to perplex and embroil the king's affairs. Philip, who wiſhed for nothing more ardently, than to break off the conferences upon the peace, joyfully ſeiſed the opportunity with which the enemies themſelves furniſhed him; and engaged the allies, who were come to the rendezvous to continue the war. He afterwards ſet ſail on his return to Corinth. He gave the Macedonians leave to go by the way of Theſſaly, in order that they might quarter, during the winter, in their own country: then coaſting Attica along the Euripus, he went from Cenchreæ to * Demetrias, where he found Ptolemy, the only conſpirator that ſurvived; and cauſed ſentence of death to be paſſed upon him, in an aſſembly of Macedonians.

All theſe incidents happened at the time that Hannibal was encamped on the banks of the river Po in Italy; and Antiochus, after having ſubdued the greateſt part of Cœloſyria, had ſent his troops into winter-quarters. It was alſo then that Lycurgus, king of Lacedæmonia, fled from Ætolia, in order to ſecure himſelf from the anger of the Ephori, who, on a falſe report that this king deſigned to embroil the ſtate, had aſſembled in the night, and inveſted his houſe, in order to ſeiſe his perſon. But Lycurgus, having ſome notion of this, fled with his whole family. However, he was recalled a little after, as ſoon as it was known that the ſuſpicions raiſed againſt him were all groundleſs. It being now winter, Philip returned to Macedonia.

Eperatus was by this time univerſally deſpiſed by the Achæans; no body obeyed his orders; and the country being open and defenceleſs, dreadful havock was

* *A city of maritime Theſſaly.*

was made in it. The cities being abandoned, and receiving no ſuccours, were reduced to the laſt extremity, and conſequently could ſcarce furniſh their quota. The auxiliary troops, the payment of whoſe arrears was put off from day to day, ſerved as they were paid, and great numbers of them deſerted. All this was owing to the incapacity of the general; and the reader has ſeen in what manner he was elected. Happily for the Achæans, the time of his command was almoſt expired. He quitted it in the beginning of the ſpring, and the elder Aratus was appointed to ſucceed him.

(o) Philip, in his journey to Macedonia, had taken Bylazora, the greateſt city in Peonia, and the moſt advantageouſly ſituated for making incurſions from Dardania into Macedonia; ſo that having poſſeſſed himſelf of it, he had very little to fear from the Dardanians.

A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217. After taking that city, he again marched towards Greece. He judged it would be proper to lay ſiege to Thebes of Phthiotis, from whence the Ætolians uſed to make continual inroads, and at the ſame time commit great waſte in the territories of Demetrias, Pharſalia, and even Lariſſa. The attack was carried on with great bravery, and the defence was equally vigorous; but at laſt, the beſieged, fearing they ſhould be taken by ſtorm, ſurrendered the city. By this conqueſt, Philip ſecured Magneſia and Theſſaly, and carried off a great booty from the Ætolians.

Here ambaſſadors came again to him from Chio, Rhodes, and Byzantium, and alſo from Ptolemy, to propoſe the concluding of a peace. Philip made the ſame anſwer as before, that it was what he very much deſired; and that they had only to enquire of the Ætolians, whether they alſo were inclined to it. Philip, in reality, was not very deſirous of peace, but he did not care to declare himſelf.

He afterwards ſet out, with his favourites, for the Nemæan games at Argos. Whilſt he was viewing one

(o) Polyb. l. v. p. 435.

one of the combats, a courier arrived from Macedonia, with advice that the Romans had loſt a great battle in Tuſcany, near the lake Thraſymene, and that Hannibal was maſter of the open country. The king ſhowed this letter to none but Demetrius of Pharos, giving him a ſtrict charge not to ſpeak of it. The latter took this opportunity to repreſent to him, that he ought to diſengage himſelf as ſoon as poſſible from the Ætolian war, in order to invade Illyria, and afterwards croſs into Italy. He added, that Greece, already ſubjected in all reſpects, would obey him no leſs afterwards; that the Achæans had joined voluntarily, and with the utmoſt chearfulneſs, in his cauſe; that the Ætolians, quite depreſſed and diſcouraged by their ill ſucceſs in the preſent war, would not fail to follow their example; that if he was deſirous of the ſovereignty of the world, a noble ambition, which ſuited no prince better than himſelf, he muſt begin by conquering Italy; that after the defeat of the Romans, the news of which he had then received, the time was come for executing ſo noble a project, and that he ought not to delay a moment. Such counſel could not but charm a king in the flower of his youth, ſucceſsful in his exploits, bold, enterpriſing, and who beſides was ſprung from a family which had always flattered itſelf with the hopes of univerſal empire.

Nevertheleſs as he was maſter of his temper, and governed his thoughts in ſuch a manner, as to diſcover only ſuch of them as promoted his intereſt (a very rare and valuable quality in ſo young a prince) he did not expreſs too great an inclination for peace, though he now earneſtly deſired it. He therefore only cauſed the allied ſtates to be told to ſend their plenipotentiaries to Naupactum, in order to negociate a peace: and, at the earneſt inſtances of the Ætolians, ſoon arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, at the head of his troops. All parties were ſo weary of the war, that there was no occaſion for long conferences. The firſt article which the king cauſed to be propoſed to the Ætolians,

Ætolians, by the ambaſſadors of the confederate powers, was, that every one ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of his conqueſts. The reſt of the articles were ſoon agreed upon; ſo that the treaty was ratified, and all retired to their reſpective countries. This peace concluded by Philip and the Achæans with the Ætolians; the battle loſt by the Romans near the lake Thraſymene; and the defeat of Antiochus near Raphia; all theſe events happened in the third year of the 140th Olympiad.

A. M. 3787.

In the firſt ſeparate conference held in preſence of the king and the ambaſſadors of the confederate powers, Agelas of Naupactum, who was one of them, enforced his opinion by arguments that deſerve a place here, and which Polybius thought worthy of relating at length in his hiſtory. He ſays it were to be wiſhed, that the Greeks would never make war upon one another; that it would be a great bleſſing from the gods, if, breathing only the ſame ſentiments, they ſhould all in a manner join hand, and unite their whole force, to ſecure themſelves from the inſults of the Barbarians. But if this was not poſſible, that at leaſt, in the preſent juncture, they ought to unite together, and conſult for the preſervation of all Greece. That, to be ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſuch an union, they need but turn their eyes to the formidable armies of the two powerful ſtates actually engaged in war. That it was evident to every one who was ever ſo little verſed in maxims of policy, that the conquerors, whether Carthaginians or Romans, would not confine themſelves to the empire of Italy and Sicily; but would doubtleſs extend their projects much farther. That all the Greeks in general, and eſpecially Philip, ought to keep a ſtrict eye on the dangers with which they were threatened. That this prince would have nothing to fear, if, inſtead of his attempting to ruin the Greeks, and to give the enemy an eaſier opportunity of defeating them, as he had hitherto done, he ſhould labour as much for their welfare as his own, and exert himſelf as vigorouſly in the defence of all Greece, as if

it

it was his own kingdom. That by this means he would acquire the love and affection of the Greeks, who would be inviolably attached to him in all his enterprises; and, by their fidelity to him, disconcert all the projects which foreigners might form against his kingdom. That if, instead of barely acting defensively, he were desirous of taking the field, and executing some great enterprise; he need but turn his arms towards the west, and keep an eye on the events of the war in Italy. That, provided he would only put himself into a condition for seising successfully the first opportunity that should present itelf, all things would smooth the way for universal empire. That, in case he had any difference with the Greeks, he should leave the decision of it to another season. That he ought especially to be careful to preserve to himself the liberty of making war or peace with them, whenever he might think proper. That, in case he should suffer the storm which was gathering in the west to burst upon Greece, it was very much to be feared, that it would then be no longer in their power to take up arms, to treat of peace, nor to determine in their affairs according to their own sense, or the manner they might judge most expedient.

Nothing can be more judicious than this speech, which is a clear prediction of what was to happen afterwards to Greece, of which the Romans will soon render themselves absolute masters. This is the first time that the affairs of Italy and Africa influence those of Greece, and direct their motions. After this, neither Philip, nor the other powers of Greece, regulated their conduct, when they were to make peace or war, from the state of their respective countries, but directed all their views and attention towards Italy. The Asiaticks and the inhabitants of the islands, did the same soon after. All those who, from that time, had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Philip or Attalus, no longer addressed Antiochus or Ptolemy for protection; they no longer turned their eyes to the south or east, but fixed them upon the

the weſt. Sometimes ambaſſadors were ſent to the Carthaginians, and at other times to the Romans. Some alſo came to Philip, at different intervals, from the Romans, who, knowing the enterpriſing genius of that prince, were afraid he ſhould come and add to the confuſion and perplexity of their affairs: which is what the ſequel of this hiſtory is upon the point of ſhowing us.

SECT. IV. PHILIP *concludes a treaty with* HANNIBAL. *The Romans gain a conſiderable victory over him in Apollonia. He changes his conduct. His breach of faith and irregularities. He cauſes* ARATUS *to be poiſoned. The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans.* ATTALUS *king of Pergamus, and the Lacedæmonians, accede to it.* MACHANIDAS *uſurps a tyrannical power at Sparta. Various expeditions of* PHILIP *and* SULPITIUS *the Roman prætor, in one of which* PHILOPOEMEN *ſignalizes himſelf.*

(a) THE war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, who were the two greateſt powers at that time, drew the attention of all the kings and nations in the world. Philip, king of Macedon, imagined that this affected him the more, as his dominions were ſeparated from Italy only by the Adriatick ſea, now called the Gulph of Venice. When he heard, by the rumours which were ſpread, that Hannibal had marched over the Alps, he was indeed very well pleaſed to ſee the Romans and Carthaginians at war; but, the ſucceſs of it being doubtful, he did not perceive clearly enough, which of thoſe powers it would be his intereſt to join. But after Hannibal had gained three victories ſucceſſively, all his doubts were removed. He ſent ambaſſadors to that general, but unhappily they fell into the hands of the Romans. They were carried to Valerius Levinus the prætor, who was then encamped near Luceria. The principal of the ambaſſadors, Xenophanes by name, without being in the leaſt diſconcerted, anſwered with a reſolute

A. M. 3788. Ant. J. C. 216.

(a) Liv. l. xxiii. n. 33, 34, & 38.

reſolute tone of voice; that he had been diſpatched by Philip to conclude an alliance and friendſhip with the Romans; and that he had orders to execute with the conſuls, as well as the ſenate and people of Rome. Levinus, overjoyed to find, in this revolt of their ancient allies, ſo powerful a monarch deſirous of making an alliance with the Romans, treated the ambaſſadors with all poſſible reſpect, and gave them a convoy for their ſafety. Being arrived in Campania, they eſcaped, and fled to Hannibal's camp, where they concluded a treaty, the purport of which was as follows: "That "king Philip ſhould croſs into Italy with a fleet of "two hundred ſail, and lay waſte the ſea-coaſts; and "ſhould aſſiſt the Carthaginians both by ſea and "land. That the latter, at the concluſion of the "war, ſhould poſſeſs all Italy and Rome; and that "Hannibal ſhould have all the ſpoils. That after the "conqueſt of Italy, they ſhould croſs into Greece, "and there make war againſt any power the king "ſhould nominate; and that both the cities of the "continent, and the iſlands lying towards Macedonia, "ſhould be enjoyed by Philip, and annexed to his "dominion." Hannibal, on the other ſide, ſent ambaſſadors to Philip, for his ratification of it; and they ſet out with thoſe of Macedonia. I obſerved elſewhere, that in this treaty, the whole of which is preſerved by (*b*) Polybius, expreſs mention is made of a great number of deities of the two nations, as preſent at this treaty, and witneſſes to the oaths with which the ceremony was attended. Polybius omits a great number of particulars, which, according to Livy, were ſtipulated by this treaty.

The ambaſſadors, who ſet out together, were unhappily diſcovered and intercepted by the Romans, Xenophanes's lie would not do him the ſame ſervice as before. The Carthaginians were known by their air, their dreſs, and ſtill more by their language. Upon them were found letters from Hannibal to Philip, and a copy of the treaty. The ambaſſadors were carried

(*b*) Polyb. l. vii. p. 502—507.

carried to Rome. The condition in which the affairs of the Romans (attacked ſo vigorouſly by Hannibal) then were, and their diſcovering a new enemy, ſo very powerful as Philip, muſt neceſſarily alarm them prodigiouſly. But it is on ſuch occaſions that the Roman grandeur was chiefly conſpicuous. For without expreſſing the leaſt perplexity or diſcouragement, they took all the meaſures neceſſary for carrying on this new war. Philip, informed of what had befallen his ambaſſadors, ſent a ſecond embaſſy to Hannibal, which was more ſucceſsful than the former, and brought back the treaty. But theſe diſappointments prevented their forming any enterpriſe that year, and ſtill kept matters in ſuſpenſe.

(*c*) Philip was now wholly employed on his great deſign of carrying the war into Italy. Demetrius of Pharos being with him, was continually urging him to that enterpriſe; not ſo much out of zeal for the intereſt of that prince, as out of hatred to the Romans, who had diſpoſſeſſed him of his territories, which he thought it would be impoſſible for him to recover by any other means. It was by his counſel that he had concluded a peace with moſt of his enemies, in order that he might devote his whole care and attention to this war, the thoughts of which haunted him day and night; ſo that even in his dreams he ſpoke of nothing but of war and battles with the Romans; and he would ſtart from his ſleep, in the higheſt agitation of mind, and covered with ſweat. This prince, who was ſtill young, was naturally lively and ardent in all his enterpriſes. The ſucceſs of his arms, the hopes Demetrius gave him, and the remembrance of the great actions of his predeceſſors, kindled an ardour in him, which increaſed daily.

(*d*) During the winter ſeaſon, he thought of manning a fleet; not with the view of venturing a battle with the Romans, for this he was not in a condition to do; but to tranſport his forces into Italy with the greater expedition, and by that means ſurpriſe the enemies

(*c*) Polyb. l. v. p. 439, & 445—447. (*d*) Liv. l. xxiv. n. 40.

enemies when they ſhould leaſt expect it. Accordingly he made the Illyrians build an hundred, or an hundred and twenty veſſels for him; and after having exerciſed his Macedonians for ſome time in the naval diſcipline, he put to ſea. He firſt ſeiſed upon the city of Oricum, ſituate on the weſtern coaſt of Epirus. Valerius, commander of the fleet that lay before Brunduſium, having advice of it, ſet ſail immediately with all the ſhips in readineſs for ſailing; retook, the next day, Oricum, in which Philip had but a ſlender garriſon, and ſent a large re-inforcement to the aid of Apollonia, to which Philip had laid ſiege. Nevius, an able and experienced officer, who commanded this re-inforcement, having landed his troops at the mouth of the river Aous, upon which Apollonia ſtands, marched through a by-way; and entered the city in the night, unperceived by the enemy. The Macedonians, imagining they were very ſecure, becauſe the ſea lay between them and the enemy, had neglected all the precautions which the rules of war preſcribe, and the exactneſs of military diſcipline requires. Nevius, being informed of this, marched ſilently out of the city in the night, and arrived in the camp, where he found all the ſoldiers aſleep. And now the cries of thoſe who were firſt attacked awaking the reſt, they all endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight. The king himſelf, who was but half awake and almoſt naked, found it very difficult for him to eſcape to his ſhips. The ſoldiers crowded after him, and three thouſand of them were either killed or taken priſoners. Valerius, who ſtayed at Oricum, the inſtant he heard this news, had ſent his fleet towards the mouth of the river, to ſhut up Philip. This prince, finding it impoſſible for him to advance forward, after ſetting fire to his ſhips, returned by land to Macedonia; carrying with him the ſorrowful remains of his troops, who ſeemed more like priſoners diſarmed and plundered, than the body of an army.

(*e*) For ſome time Philip, who till then had been admired

(*e*) Plut. in Arat. p. 1049—1052. Polyb. l. viii. p. 518. 519.

admired for many of thoſe qualities which form the great prince, had begun to change his conduct and character; and this change was aſcribed to the evil counſels of thoſe about him, who, to pleaſe him, were perpetually laviſhing their encomiums on him, fomenting all his paſſions, and ſuggeſting to him, that the grandeur of a king conſiſted in reigning with unlimited power, and in making his ſubjects pay a blind implicit obedience to his will. Inſtead of the gentleneſs, moderation, and wiſdom, he till then had diſplayed, he treated cities and ſtates, not only with pride and haughtineſs, but with cruelty and injuſtice; and having no longer as formerly his glory in view, he abandoned himſelf entirely to riot and exceſſes of every kind: the too common effect of flattery, whoſe ſubtle poiſon generally corrupts the beſt princes, and ſooner or later deſtroys the great hopes which had been entertained of them.

One would have imagined that the defeat before Apollonia, in covering him with ſhame, would have abated his pride, and ſoftened his temper. But this only foured it; and one would have concluded, that this prince was reſolved to revenge, on his ſubjects and allies, the affront he had received from his enemies.

Being arrived in Peloponneſus, a little after his defeat, he employed all the ſtratagems poſſible to overreach and ſurpriſe the Meſſenians. But his artifices being diſcovered, he pulled off the maſk, and laid waſte the whole country. Aratus, who was a man of the greateſt honour and probity, was exceedingly ſhocked at ſo flagrant an injuſtice, and made loud complaints againſt it. He had before begun to retire inſenſibly from court; but now he thought it high time to break entirely with a prince, who no longer valued his people, and led the moſt diſſolute life: for he was not ignorant of his impure commerce with his daughter-in-law (a ſubject of the greateſt grief to him) and which, however, he had not once hinted to his ſon; from the conſideration, that it would not be of ſervice to him to inform him of his

his ignominy, as it was not in his power to revenge it.

As it was impoſſible but this rupture muſt make ſome noiſe, Philip, whom the greateſt crimes now coſt nothing, reſolved to rid himſelf of a troubleſome cenſor, whoſe very abſence reproached all his irregularities. Aratus's great reputation, and the reſpect paid to his virtue, would not ſuffer Philip to employ open force and violence; and therefore he charged Taurion, one of his confidents, to diſpatch him ſecretly during his abſence. His horrid command was obeyed; for Taurion having inſinuated himſelf into Aratus's familiarity and friendſhip, invited him ſeveral times to dinner, and at one of them poiſoned him; not with a violent and immediate poiſon, but with one of thoſe which lights up a ſlow fire in the body, conſumes it by inſenſible degrees, and is the more dangerous, as it gives leſs notice.

Aratus knew very well the cauſe of his illneſs; but as complaints would not be of any ſervice to him, he bore it patiently without once murmuring, as a common and natural diſeaſe. One day only, happening to ſpit blood before a friend who was in the room with him, and ſeeing that his friend was ſurpriſed, he ſaid, *Behold, my dear Cephalon, the fruits of royal friendſhip.* He died in this manner at Ægium, being then captain-general for the ſeventeenth time.

The Achæans would have him buried in the place where he died, and were preparing ſuch a magnificent mauſoleum to his memory as might be worthy his great ſervices. But the Sicyonians obtained that honour for their city, where Aratus was born; and changing their mourning to feſtivity, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and clothed in white robes, they went and fetched the corpſe from Ægium, and carried it in pomp to Sicyon, dancing before it, and ſinging hymns and odes in honour of the deceaſed. They made choice of the higheſt part of the city, where they buried him as the founder and preſerver of it,

which place was afterwards called *Aratium*. In Plutarch's time, that is, about three hundred years after, two ſolemn ſacrifices were offered him annually: The firſt, on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, which ſacrifice was called *Soteria*; and the other on his birth-day. During the ſacrifice, choirs of muſick ſung odes to the lyre; and the chief choriſter, at the head of the young men and children, walked in proceſſion round the altar. The ſenate, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and a great part of the inhabitants, followed this proceſſion.

It muſt be owned that Aratus was one of the greateſt men of his time, and may be conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as one of the founders of the commonwealth of Achaia: it was he at leaſt who brought it to the form and ſplendour it preſerved ſo long afterwards, and by which it became one of the moſt powerful ſtates of Greece. However, he committed a conſiderable error, in calling in to the aſſiſtance of that commonwealth the kings of Macedonia, who made themſelves maſters and tyrants of it; and this, as we have before obſerved, was an effect of his jealouſy of the great Cleomenes king of Sparta.

But he was fully puniſhed for it, by the manner in which Philip treated him. Aratus his ſon met with a ſtill more deplorable fate: for that prince being become completely wicked, ſays Plutarch, and who affected to add outrage to cruelty, got rid of him, not by mortal poiſons, but by thoſe which deſtroy reaſon, and craze the brain; and by that means made him commit ſuch abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal infamy on him, had they been done voluntarily, and when he was in his ſenſes: Inſomuch that, though he was at that time very young and in the bloom of life, his death was conſidered, not as a misfortune with regard to himſelf, but as the remedy and period of his miſeries.

(f) About this time Philip engaged in a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Illyrians. He had long deſired to

(f) Polyb. l. viii. p. 519—521.

to poſſeſs himſelf of Liſſus; but believed it would be impoſſible for him ever to take the caſtle, which was ſo happily ſituated and ſo ſtrongly fortified that it was thought impregnable. Finding that force would not prevail, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. The city was ſeparated from the caſtle by a little valley; in that he obſerved a ſpot covered with trees, and very fit to conceal an ambuſcade. Here he poſted the flower of his troops. The next day he aſſaulted another part of the city. The inhabitants, who were very numerous, defended themſelves with great bravery; and, for ſome time, the ſucceſs was equal on both ſides. At laſt they made a furious ſally, and charged the beſiegers with great vigour. The garriſon of the caſtle, ſeeing Philip retire fighting, imagined they ſhould infallibly defeat him; and being deſirous of ſharing in the plunder, moſt of them came out, and joined the inhabitants. In the mean time, the ſoldiers who lay in ambuſcade attacked the caſtle, and carried it without great reſiſtance. And now, the ſignal agreed upon being made, the fugitives faced about, and purſued the inhabitants as far as the city, which ſurrendered a few days after.

(g) M. Valerius Levinus, as prætor, had been allotted Greece and Macedonia for his province. He was very ſenſible that, in order to leſſen the forces of Philip, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to bring over ſome of his allies (of whom the Ætolians were the moſt powerful) from his intereſt. He therefore began by ſounding, in private conferences, the diſpoſition of the chiefs of the latter people; and, after having aſſured himſelf of them, he went to the general aſſembly. There, after expatiating on the flouriſhing ſtate of the Romans, and proved it by their taking of Syracuſe in Sicily, and Capua in Italy, he extolled the great generoſity with which the Romans behaved towards their allies, and their conſtant fidelity. He added, that the Ætolians might expect to meet with ſo much the better treatment from the Romans, as they A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211.

(g) Liv. l. xxvi. n. 24—26.

would be the firſt people in that part of the world who ſhould have concluded an alliance with them. That Philip and the Macedonians were dangerous neighbours, whoſe power would, in all probability, be of the moſt fatal conſequence to them. That the Romans had already humbled their pride, and would oblige them, not only to give up ſuch fortreſſes as they had taken from the Ætolians, but even give them cauſe to fear for their own countries. That with regard to the Acarnanians, who had broke with the Ætolians, the Romans would force them to return to their alliance, on the ſame conditions which had been preſcribed to them when they were admitted into it; or, in caſe of their refuſal, would make them ſubmit to the Ætolians by force of arms.

Scopas, who was at that time chief magiſtrate of the Ætolian ſtate; and Dorimachus, who, of all the citizens, had the greateſt credit and authority; ſtrongly enforced the arguments and promiſes of the prætor, and ſaid many more advantageous things of the grandeur and power of the Romans, becauſe they were not obliged to ſpeak as modeſtly on thoſe topicks as Valerius Levinus; and the people would be more inclined to believe them than a foreigner, who ſpoke for the intereſts of his country. The circumſtance which affected them moſt was, the hopes of their poſſeſſing themſelves of Acarnania. Accordingly the treaty was concluded between the Romans and the Ætolians. The people of Elis, of Lacedæmonia, Attalus king of Pergamus, Pleuratus king of Thrace, and Scerdiledes of Illyria, were left at liberty to accede to this treaty, on the ſame conditions, if they thought proper. The conditions were, "That the Ætolians ſhould declare "war as ſoon as poſſible againſt Philip: That the "Romans ſhould furniſh them, at leaſt, twenty-five "gallies, *quinqueremes*, or of five benches of oars: "That ſuch cities as ſhould be taken from Ætolia, as "far as the iſland of * Corcyra, ſhould be poſſeſſed "by the Ætolians, and all the ſpoils and captives by "the

* *Corfu.*

" the Romans: that the Romans ſhould aid the " Ætolians in making themſelves maſters of Acarna- " nia: that the Ætolians ſhould not be allowed to " conclude a peace with Philip, but upon condition " that he ſhould be obliged to withdraw his troops " out of the territories of the Romans, and thoſe of " their allies; nor the Romans with Philip, but on " the ſame terms." Immediately hoſtilities commenced. Philip was diſpoſſeſſed of ſome cities, after which Levinus retired to Corcyra; fully perſuaded that the king had ſo much buſineſs, and ſo many enemies, upon his hands, that he would have no time to think of Italy or Hannibal.

Philip was now in winter-quarters at Pella, when advice was brought him of the new treaty of the Ætolians. To be the ſooner able to march out againſt them, he endeavoured to ſettle the affairs of Macedonia, and to ſecure it from any invaſions of its neighbours. Scopas, on the other ſide, makes preparations for carrying on the war againſt the Acarnanians, who, though they ſaw it would be abſolutely impoſſible for them to oppoſe, at one and the ſame time, two ſuch powerful ſtates as the Ætolians and Romans, yet they took up arms out of deſpair, rather than from prudential motives, and reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. Accordingly, having ſent into Epirus, which lay very near them, their wives, children, and the old men who were upwards of ſixty, all thoſe who remained, from the age of fifteen to threeſcore, engaged themſelves by oath never to return except victorious; uttered the moſt dreadful imprecations againſt ſuch among them as ſhould break their oaths; and only deſired the Epirots to bury, in the ſame grave, all who ſhould fall in the battle, with the following inſcription over them: HERE LIE THE ACARNANIANS, WHO DIED FIGHTING FOR THEIR COUNTRY, AGAINST THE VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICE OF THE ÆTOLIANS. Full of courage they ſet out directly, and advanced to meet the enemy to the very frontiers of their country. Their great reſolution and bravery

terrified the Ætolians, who alſo received advice that Philip was already upon his march, to the aid of his allies. Upon this they returned home, and Philip did the ſame.

In the very beginning of the ſpring, Levinus beſieged Anticyra *, which ſurrendered a little after. He gave this city to the Ætolians, keeping only the plunder for himſelf. Here news was brought him, that he had been nominated conſul in his abſence, and that P. Sulpitius was coming to ſucceed him as prætor.

(*b*) In the treaty concluded between the Romans and Ætolians, ſeveral other powers had been invited to accede to it; and we find that Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiledes, accepted of the invitation. The Ætolians exhorted the Spartans to imitate thoſe princes. Chleneas, their repreſentative, or deputy, put the Lacedæmonians in mind of all the evils which the Macedonians had brought upon them; the deſign they had always harboured, and ſtill entertained, of enſlaving all Greece; particularly the ſacrilegious impiety of Philip, in plundering a temple in the city of Thermæ; and his horrid treachery and cruelty to the Meſſenians. He added, that they had no reaſon to be under any apprehenſions from the Achæans, who, after all the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the laſt campaign, would think it a great happineſs to be able to defend their own country; that with reſpect to Philip, when he ſhould find the Ætolians invade him by land, and the Romans and Attalus by ſea, he would not think of carrying his arms into Greece. He concluded, with deſiring the Lacedæmonians to perſiſt in their alliance with Ætolia, or at leaſt to ſtand neuter.

Lyciſcus, the repreſentative of the Acarnanians, ſpoke next, and declared immediately in favour of the Macedonians. He expatiated on the ſervices which Philip, and afterwards Alexander the Great, had done Greece, by invading and ruining the Perſians, its moſt ancient and moſt cruel enemies. He put the Lacedæmonians

(*b*) Polyb. l. ix. p. 561—571. * *A city of Achaia in Phocis.*

Lacedæmonians in mind of the gentleneſs and clemency with which Antigonus had treated them, when he took Sparta. He inſiſted, that it would be ignominious, as well as dangerous, to ſuffer Barbarians, for ſo he called the Romans, to enter Greece. He ſaid, that it was worthy of the Spartan wiſdom, to foreſee from far the ſtorm already gathering in the Weſt; and which would certainly break, firſt upon Macedonia, and afterwards all Greece, whom it would involve in ruin. "From what motive did your anceſtors," continued he, "throw into a well the man who came in Xerxes's name, to invite them to ſubmit themſelves to, and join with that monarch? Wherefore did Leonidas your king, with his three hundred Spartans, brave and defy death? Was it not merely to defend the common liberties of Greece? And now you are adviſed to give them up to other Barbarians, who, the more moderate they appear, are ſo much the more dangerous. As to the Ætolians," ſays he, "(if it be poſſible for them to ſtoop ſo low) they may diſhonour themſelves by ſo ſhameful a prevarication: this, indeed, would be natural for them to do, as they are utter ſtrangers to glory, and affected with nothing but ſordid views of intereſt. But as to you, O Spartans, who are born defenders of the liberty and honour of Greece, you will ſuſtain that glorious title to the end."

The fragment of Polybius, where theſe two ſpeeches are repeated, goes no farther, and does not inform us what was the reſult of them. However, the ſequel of the hiſtory ſhows, that Sparta joined with the Ætolians, and entered into the general treaty. It was at that time divided into two factions, whoſe intrigues and diſputes, being carried to the utmoſt height, occaſioned great diſturbances in the city. One faction was warm for Philip, and the other declared openly againſt him, which latter prevailed. We find it was headed by Machanidas, who, taking advantage of the feuds which infeſted the commonwealth, ſeiſed upon the

the government, and made himſelf tyrant of his country.

A.M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208. (*i*) P. Sulpitius and king Attalus being arrived with their fleet to ſuccour the Ætolians, the latter were fluſhed with the moſt ſanguine hopes, and the oppoſite party filled with terrour; eſpecially as Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, was already invading the territories of the Achæans, whoſe near neighbour he was. Immediately the latter people and their allies ſent a deputation to king Philip, and ſollicited him to come into Greece, to defend and ſupport them. Philip loſt no time. The Ætolians, under Pyrrhias, who that year had been appointed their general in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him as far as Lamia *. Pyrrhias had been joined by the troops which Attalus and Sulpitius had ſent him. Philip defeated him twice; and the Ætolians were forced to ſhut themſelves up in Lamia. As to Philip, he retired to † Phalara with his army.

During his ſtay there, ambaſſadors came from Ptolemy king of Egypt, from the Rhodians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Chio; all with inſtructions to uſe their utmoſt endeavours for re-eſtabliſhing a laſting peace between Philip and the Ætolians. It was not ſo much out of good-will for the latter, as from the uneaſineſs they were under in ſeeing Philip engage ſo ſtrenuouſly in the affairs of Greece, which might render him more powerful than ſuited their intereſts. For his conqueſts over the Ætolians, and their confederates, paved the way for his ſubjecting all Greece, to which his predeceſſors had always aſpired, and even gave him acceſs to thoſe cities (out of Egypt) which Ptolemy poſſeſſed. Philip, however, ſuſpended the debates on the peace, till the next aſſembly of the Achæans; and in the mean time granted the Ætolians a truce for thirty days. Being come into the aſſembly, the Ætolians made ſuch very unreaſonable propoſals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation.

(*i*) Liv. l. xxvii. n. 29—33. Polyb. l. x. p. 612.

* *A city of Theſſaly in Phthiotis.* † *A city of Theſſaly.*

tion. Philip, offended that the vanquiſhed ſhould take upon them to preſcribe laws to him, declared, that at his coming into the aſſembly, he had not depended in any manner on the juſtice and ſincerity of the Ætolians; but that he was very glad to convince his allies, he himſelf was ſincerely deſirous of peace; and that the Ætolians were the only people who oppoſed it. He ſet out from thence, after having left four thouſand troops to defend the Achæans, and went to Argos where the Nemæan games were going to be exhibited, the ſplendour of which he was deſirous of augmenting by his preſence.

While he was buſied in ſolemniſing theſe games, Sulpitius having ſet out from Naupactum, and landed between Sicyon and Corinth, laid waſte all the open country. Philip upon this news left the games, marched with ſpeed againſt the enemy, and meeting them laden with ſpoils, put them to flight, and purſued them to their ſhips. Being returned to the games he was received with univerſal applauſe; and particularly, becauſe he had laid down his diadem and robes of ſtate, and mixed indiſcriminately with the reſt of the ſpectators; a very pleaſing as well as ſoothing ſight to the inhabitants of free cities. But as his unaffected and popular behaviour had gained him the love of all, ſo his enormous exceſſes ſoon made him odious. It was now his cuſtom to go at night into people's houſes in a plebeian dreſs, and there practiſe every kind of licentiouſneſs. It was not ſafe for fathers and husbands to oppoſe him on theſe occaſions, for fear of being murthered.

Some days after the ſolemnization of the games, Philip, with the Achæans, whoſe captain-general was Cycliadus, having croſſed the river of Lariſſa, advances as far as the city of Elis, which had received an Ætolian garriſon. The firſt day he laid waſte the neighbouring lands; afterwards he drew near the city in battle array, and cauſed ſome bodies of horſe to advance to the gates, to force the Ætolians to make a ſally. Accordingly they came out; but Philip was greatly

greatly ſurpriſed to find ſome Roman ſoldiers among them. Sulpitius having left Naupactum with fifteen gallies, and landed four thouſand men, had entered the city of Elis in the night, (*k*) The fight was very bloody. Demophantes, general of the cavalry of Elis, ſeeing Philopœmen, who commanded that of the Achæans, advanced out of the ranks, and ſpurred toward him with great impetuoſity. The latter waited for him with the utmoſt reſolution; and preventing his blow, laid him dead, with a thruſt of his pike, at his horſe's feet. Demophantes being thus fallen, his cavalry fled. I mentioned Philopœmen before and ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of him hereafter. On the other ſide, the infantry of Elis had fought with advantage. And now the king, perceiving that his troops began to give way, ſpurred his horſe into the midſt of the Roman foot. His horſe being wounded with a javelin threw him. It was then the battle grew furious, both ſides making extraordinary efforts; the Romans to take Philip priſoner, and the Macedonians to ſave him. The king ſignaliſed his courage on this occaſion, having been obliged to fight a long time on foot, in the midſt of the cavalry, and a great ſlaughter was made in this engagement. At laſt, being carried off by his ſoldiers, and remounted on another horſe, he retired. The king encamped about five miles from that place; and the next day, having attacked a caſtle, in which a great number of peaſants, with all their flocks, were retired, he took four thouſand priſoners, and twenty thouſand head of cattle of all ſorts: an advantage, which might conſole him for the affront he had lately received at Elis.

That inſtant, advice was brought him that the Barbarians had made an incurſion into Macedonia; upon which he immediately ſet out, to defend his country, having left with the allies a detachment from his army of two thouſand five hundred men. Sulpitius retired with his fleet to Ægina, where he joined king

(*k*) Plut. in Philop. p. 360.

king Attalus, and paſſed the winter. Some time after the Achæans gave the Ætolians and the people of Elis battle near Meſſene, in which they had the advantage.

Sect. V. *Education and great qualities of* Philopoemen.

(a) PHILOPOEMEN, of whom large mention will be made hereafter, was of Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia in Peloponneſus. He was nobly educated by Caſſander of Mantinea, who, after his father's death, out of gratitude for the important ſervices he had received from him, undertook to be guardian and governour to his ſon Philopœmen.

Being come to years of diſcretion, he was put under the care of Ecdemus and Demophanes, citizens of Megalopolis, who had been ſcholars to Arceſilaus, founder of the new academy. The ſcope of philoſophy in thoſe days was, to prompt mankind to ſerve their country; and, by its precepts, to enable them to govern republicks, and tranſact the greateſt affairs of ſtate. This was the ineſtimable advantage the two philoſophers in queſtion procured Philopœmen, and rendered him the common bleſſing of Greece. And, indeed, as it is ſaid that mothers love thoſe children beſt which they bring forth when advanced in years, Greece, as having given birth to Philopœmen in old age, and after ſo many illuſtrious perſonages, had a ſingular affection for, and took a pleaſure in enlarging his power, in proportion as his fame increaſed. He was called *the laſt of the Greeks*, as Brutus was afterwards called *the laſt of the Romans:* Undoubtedly to imply, that Greece, after Philopœmen, had produced no great man worthy of her ancient glory.

Having formed himſelf upon the model of Epaminondas, he copied admirably his prudence in debating and reſolving upon affairs; his activity and boldneſs in executing; and his perfect diſintereſtedneſs; but as to his gentleneſs, patience, and moderation, with regard

(a) Plut. in Philop. p. 356—361.

gard to the feuds and diviſions which uſually break out in a ſtate, theſe he could never imitate. A certain ſpirit of contention, which reſulted naturally from his head-ſtrong and fiery temper, had qualified him better for the military than political virtue.

And, indeed, from his infancy, the only claſs of people he loved was ſoldiers; and he took a delight only in ſuch exerciſes as were neceſſary to qualify him for the profeſſion of arms; ſuch as fighting in armour, riding, and throwing the javelin. And as he ſeemed, by his muſcles and ſtature, to be very well made for wreſtling, and ſome particular friends adviſing him to apply himſelf to it, he aſked them, whether this exerciſe of the athletæ contributed to the making a man the better ſoldier? His friends could not help anſwering, that the life of the athletæ, who were obliged to obſerve a fixed and regular regimen; to eat a certain food, and that always at ſtated hours; and to devote a certain number of hours to ſleep, in order to preſerve their robuſtneſs, in which the greateſt part of their merit conſiſted; that this way of life, I ſay, differed entirely from that of ſoldiers, who frequently are obliged to ſubmit to hunger and thirſt, cold and heat; and have not always fixed hours either for eating or ſleeping. From thenceforth he conceived the higheſt contempt for the athletick exerciſes; looking upon them as of no ſervice to the publick, and conſidering them, from that inſtant, as unworthy a man of any elevation of ſoul, happineſs of talents, or love for his country.

The moment he quitted his governours and maſters, he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis ſent to make incurſions into Laconia, in order to plunder and bring off from thence cattle and ſlaves. And in all theſe inroads, he was ever the firſt that marched out, and the laſt who came in.

During the intervals in which there were no troops in the field, he uſed to employ his leiſure in hunting, to make himſelf robuſt and nimble; or elſe uſed to ſpend his hours in throwing up and cultivating the ground

ground, having a fine eſtate three miles from the city, whither he uſed to retire very frequently after dinner or ſupper. At night he would throw himſelf on a bed of ſtraw, like one of his ſlaves, and ſleep ſo till next day. The next morning, by day-break, he uſed to go with his vine-dreſſers, and work in the vineyard, or follow the plough with his peaſants. After this, it was his cuſtom to return to the city, and employ himſelf in publick affairs with his friends and the magiſtrates.

Whatever he got in wars, he expended either in horſes and arms, or employed it in ranſoming the citizens who had been taken priſoners. He endeavoured to increaſe his eſtate, by improving his lands, which of all profits is the moſt lawful; and was not ſatisfied with barely viſiting it now and then, and merely for diverſion-ſake, but devoted his whole care to it; perſuaded that nothing is more worthy of a man of probity and honour, than to improve his own fortune, provided he does not injure that of his neighbour.

I muſt intreat my readers, in order for them to form a right judgement of Philopœmen, to convey themſelves in imagination back to the ages I am ſpeaking of, and to call to mind with what induſtry all well-governed nations, as Hebrews, Perſians, Greeks, and Romans, applied themſeves to the tilling of land and manual labour; and the high eſteem in which ſuch exerciſes were had in thoſe ages. It is univerſally known that the Romans, after having gained ſignal victories, and alighted from the triumphal car, crowned with laurels and glory, returned immediately to their farms, whence they had been elected to command armies; and went to guide the plough and oxen, with the ſame hands which had juſt before vanquiſhed and defeated their enemies. According to our cuſtoms and way of thinking, the exerciſes abovementioned are very low and contemptible; but it is an unhappineſs they ſhould be thought ſo. Luxury, by corrupting our manners, has vitiated our judgements. It makes

us conſider as great and valuable, what really in itſelf deſerves nothing but contempt; and it affixes, on the contrary, an idea of contempt and meanneſs, to things of ſolid beauty and real greatneſs.

Philopœmen was very fond of the commerce of philoſophers, and read their works with the greateſt ſatisfaction; however, he did not read them all without diſtinction, but ſuch only as could contribute to his improvement in virtue. Of all the great ideas in Homer, he ſought and retained ſuch only as exalt the courage, and excite to great exploits; and that poet abounds with ideas of this kind, no writer having ever painted valour in ſuch ſtrong and lively colours. But the other works in which Philopœmen delighted moſt, were thoſe of Evangelus, called *the Tactiks*, that is, the art of drawing up troops in battle-array; and the hiſtories of Alexander the Great: for it was his opinion, that words ſhould always be made relative to actions, and theory to practice; having very little regard for thoſe books that are written merely to ſatisfy a vain curioſity, or furniſh a rapid and tranſient amuſement.

After he had read the precepts and rules of the Tacticks, he did not value the ſeeing demonſtrations of them in plans drawn upon paper, but uſed to make the application on the ſpot, in the ſeveral places he came to: for in his marches, he uſed to obſerve exactly the poſition of the hills as well as vallies; all the irregularities of the ground; the ſeveral different forms and figures battalions and ſquadrons are obliged to take by rivulets, floods, and defiles in their way which oblige them to cloſe or extend themſelves: and after having reflected ſeriouſly on theſe particulars, he would diſcourſe on them with thoſe in his company.

He was in his thirtieth year when Cleomenes, king of Sparta, attacked Megalopolis. We have ſeen what courage and greatneſs of ſoul he diſplayed on that occaſion. He ſignaliſed himſelf no leſs, ſome months after, in the battle of Selaſia, where Antigonus gained a famous

a famous victory over the ſame Cleomenes. That king of Macedon, charmed with ſuch exalted merit, to which he himſelf had been witneſs, made him very advantageous offers, to attach him to his ſervice. However, ſo great was his love for his country, that he refuſed them; not to mention that he had naturally an averſion to a court-life, which not only requires great ſubjection in the man who devotes himſelf to it, but deprives him of his liberty. However, as it was impoſſible for him to paſs his life in indolence and inaction, he went into Crete, which was engaged in war, to improve himſelf in the art of war. Crete ſerved him as an excellent ſchool; ſo that he made a great progreſs in it, and acquired a perfect knowledge in that ſcience. He there found men of a very warlike diſpoſition, expert in combats of every kind, extremely temperate, and inured to a moſt ſevere diſcipline.

After having ſerved for ſome time in the troops of that iſland, he returned among the Achæans, who had heard ſuch great things of him, that immediately upon his arrival he was appointed general of the horſe. The firſt thing he did was to enquire into the ſtate of his forces, among whom he did not find the leaſt order or diſcipline. But he could neither diſſemble or ſuffer ſuch a degeneracy. He himſelf therefore went from city to city, exhorting particularly all the young men, inſpiring them with ſentiments of honour, animating them with promiſes of reward, and ſometimes employing ſeverity and puniſhment when he found them rebellious and ungovernable. He exerciſed and reviewed them often; or made them engage in tournaments, or ſuch ſports as would admit of the greateſt number of ſpectators. By this practice he ſoon made all his ſoldiers ſo robuſt, expert, and courageous, and at the ſame time ſo ready and nimble, that the ſeveral evolutions and motions, to the right, to the left, or from the top to the bottom, either of all the ſquadrons together, or of each trooper ſingly, was performed with ſo much ſkill and eaſe, that a

ſpectator would almoſt have concluded, that this cavalry, like one individual body, moved itſelf ſpontaneouſly, at the impreſſion of one and the ſame will.

In the battle fought near the city of Elis, the laſt we mentioned, and in which he commanded the horſe, he gained great honour; and it was ſaid univerſally, that he was not inferior to any of the private ſoldiers, with regard to the ſtrength and ardour of his attacks; nor ſhowed leſs wiſdom and prudence than the oldeſt and moſt experienced generals; and that therefore he was equally capable either of fighting or commanding.

Aratus, indeed, was the firſt who raiſed the Achæan league to the exalted pitch of glory and power it attained. Till he roſe, they were weak and greatly deſpiſed, becauſe divided, and every city among them was ſtudious of nothing but its private intereſt. But Aratus made them formidable, by uniting and allying them together; and his deſign was, to form one body and one power of all Peloponneſus, which, by this union, would have become invincible. The ſucceſs of his enterpriſes was not owing ſo much to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence, addreſs, affability, benevolence; and, which was conſidered as a defect in his politicks, to the friendſhip he contracted with foreign princes, and which indeed ſubjected his ſtate to them. But, the inſtant Philopœmen aſſumed the reins of government, as he was a great captain, and had come off victorious in all his former battles, he rouſed the courage of the Achæans; and finding they were able to make head alone againſt their enemies, he obliged them to ſhake off the yoke of foreign powers.

He made a great number of improvements in the diſcipline of the Achæan troops, and changed the manner of their exerciſe, and their arms, which had a great many defects. He obliged them to uſe large and ponderous ſhields; gave them ſtrong lances, helmets, and armour for the breaſt and thigh; and thereby accuſtomed them to fight vigorouſly and gain ground,

ground, inſtead of hovering and flying about like light-armed troops, who rather ſkirmiſh than fight in line of battle.

He afterwards endeavoured at another improvement, which was much more difficult as well as more important in one ſenſe, and this was to curb and reſtrain their luxury, and exceſſive profuſion and expence. I ſay, to reſtrain; imagining that it would not be poſſible for him to eradicate their violent fondneſs for dreſs and outward ornaments. He began by ſubſtituting a different object in their place, by inſpiring them with a love for another kind of magnificence, *viz.* to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their horſes, their arms, and other things relating to war. This ardour had an effect even on their women, who now ſpent their whole time in working for their huſbands or children. The only things now ſeen in their hands were helmets, which they adorned with plumes of feathers tinged with the brighteſt dyes; coats of mail for horſemen, and cloaks for the ſoldiers; all which they embroidered. The bare ſight of theſe habits inflamed their courage, breathed in them a ſtrong deſire to defy the greateſt dangers, and a kind of impatience to fly in queſt of glory. Pomp in all other things, which attract the eye (ſays Plutarch) infallibly induces luxury; and inſpires all thoſe, who take a pleaſure in gazing upon it, with a ſecret effeminacy and indolence: The ſenſes, inchanted and dazzled by theſe deceitful charms, conſpiring to ſeduce the mind itſelf, and to enervate it by their ſoft inſinuations. But, on the contrary, that magnificence, whoſe object is arms, animates and exalts courage.

Philopœmen is not the only great man who had this way of thinking. (*b*) Plutarch obſerves, that Brutus, who had accuſtomed his officers not to be ſuperfluous on any other occaſion, was perſuaded that the richneſs and ſplendour of the armour and weapons which ſoldiers have always in their hands, or on their bodies, exalt the courage of men who are naturally

(*b*) Plut. in Brut. p. 1001.

brave and ambitious; and engages ſuch as are of a covetous temper to exert themſelves the more in fight, in order to defend their arms, which they look upon as a precious and honourable profeſſion. The author in queſtion tells us, that the circumſtance which gained Sertorius the affection of the Spaniards, was, his beſtowing on them, with a very liberal hand, gold and ſilver to adorn their helmets, and enrich their ſhields. This was alſo the opinion of * Cæſar, who always gave his ſoldiers arms that glittered with gold and ſilver; and this he did not only for pomp and ſplendour, but that they might act with greater courage in battle, for the defence of arms of ſo great a value.

However, I muſt not omit obſerving, that generals, no leſs renowned than thoſe we have mentioned, differed in opinion from them. (c) Mithridates, taught by his misfortunes of the little advantage which ſplendour is to an army, would not allow ſuch arms as were gilded and enriched with precious ſtones; and began to conſider them as the riches of the conqueror, and not the ſtrength of thoſe who wore them. Papirius, the famous dictator, who, by defeating the Samnites, repaid the affront which the Romans had received at the Furcæ Caudinæ, ſaid † to his troops, that it was proper for a ſoldier to appear with a rough and ſtern aſpect; that ornaments of gold and ſilver ill became him; and that ſteel and bravery ought to form his glory and pride. And indeed, adds he, gold and ſilver are rather ſpoils than arms. Theſe ornaments dazzle the eye before the battle; but make a moſt hideous appearance in the midſt of blood and ſlaughter. The ſoldier's ornament is his valour; the reſt is always conſequential of victory. A rich enemy falls

(c) Plut. in Lucullo, p. 496.

* Habebat tam cultos milites, ut argento & auro politis armis ornaret, ſimul & ad ſpeciem, & quo tenaciores eorum in prælio eſſent metu damni. *Sueton. in Jul. Cæſar.* c. 67.

† Horridum militem eſſe debere, non cœlatum auro argentoque, ſed ferro & animis fretum. Quippe illa prædam verius quàm arma eſſe; nitentia ante rem, deformia inter ſanguinem & vulnera. Virtutem eſſe militis decus, & omnia illa victoriam ſequi: & ditem hoſtem quamvis pauperis victoris, præmium eſſe. *Liv.* l. ix. n. 40.

falls a prey to the conqueror, how poor ſoever he may be. It is well known, that * Alexander the Great entertained the ſame idea of the richneſs and magnificence of the arms of the Perſians.

In this oppoſition of opinions, it does not become me to pronounce, which of thoſe great men had the moſt juſt way of thinking. But however this be, we cannot but admire the judgement of Philopœmen, who ſeeing luxury prevalent and eſtabliſhed in his country, did not think it adviſeable to baniſh it entirely; but contented himſelf with directing it to an object more laudable in itſelf, and more worthy of brave men.

After Philopœmen had accuſtomed the young men to make their ſplendour conſiſt in that of their arms, he himſelf exerciſed and formed them very carefully in all the parts of military diſcipline. On the other ſide, the youths were very attentive to the inſtructions he gave them concerning military evolutions; whence there aroſe a kind of emulation among them, which ſhould execute them with the greateſt eaſe and diligence. They were prodigiouſly pleaſed with the manner of drawing up in order of battle, which he taught them; becauſe they conceived, that where the ranks were ſo very cloſe, they would be the more difficult to break; and their arms, though much more ponderous than before, felt much lighter, becauſe they took greater delight in carrying them from their ſplendour and beauty; and for this reaſon they panted to try them, and to ſee them imbrued in the blood of their enemies.

It muſt be confeſſed that Philopœmen, in what light ſoever we view him, is a great captain, and a noble pattern for the imitation of all who embrace a military life. I cannot too ſtrongly exhort young officers and noblemen to ſtudy diligently ſo perfect a model, and to imitate him in all thoſe things in which he is imitable by them. Our young noblemen are

* Aciem hoſtium auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri jubebat, prædam non arma geſtantem. Irent, & imbellibus feminis aurum viri eriperent. *Q. Curt.* l. iii. c. 10.

full of courage, ſentiments of honour, love of their country, and zeal for their prince: The war which broke out ſo ſuddenly in Europe, and to which they fly with incredible ardour, is a convincing proof of this, and eſpecially their behaviour in Italy and on the Rhine. They have fire, vivacity, genius; and do not want talents and qualities capable of raiſing them to whatever is greateſt: but then they ſometimes want a manly and vigorous education, which alone can form great men in every kind. Our manners being unhappily turned, through a taſte which prevails almoſt univerſally, towards effeminacy, pleaſures, and luxury, the admiration of things trifling in themſelves, and a fondneſs for falſe ſplendour, enervate our courage in our moſt tender years, and blunt the edge of that valour of ancient Gaul, which was once natural to us.

Were the youth among our nobility educated like Philopœmen, ſo far, I mean, as is conſiſtent with our manners; were they to imbibe in their early years an inclination for ſtudies of a ſolid kind, ſuch as philoſophy, hiſtory, and polity; were they to propoſe as models for their imitation, the many illuſtrious generals which the laſt age produced; were they to put themſelves under the diſcipline of thoſe who are now the ornament and glory of our nation; and would they once duely conſider, that true greatneſs does not conſiſt in ſurpaſſing others merely in pomp and profuſion, but in diſtinguiſhing themſelves by ſolid merit; in fine, were they to make it their delight and glory to perfect themſelves in the military knowledge, to ſtudy it in all its parts, and acquire the true ſcope and deſign of it, without omitting any of the means which conduce to their perfection in it; how illuſtrious a ſet of officers, commanders, and heroes, would France produce! One ſingle man inſpired the breaſt of the Achæans with this ardour and emulation. How much were it to be wiſhed (and why ſhould we not wiſh it?) that ſome one of our princes, great in all things, in valour as well as birth, would

revive

revive in our armies this taſte of the ancients, for ſimplicity, frugality, and generoſity; and direct the taſte of the French nation to things truely beautiful, ſolid, and juſt! All conqueſts would be infinitely ſhort of ſuch a glory.

SECT. VI. *Various expeditions of* PHILIP *and* SULPITIUS. *A digreſſion of* POLYBIUS *upon ſignals made by fire.*

(a) WE have already ſaid, that Sulpitius the proconſul, and king Attalus, had continued in winter-quarters at Ægina. As ſoon as ſpring appeared they had quitted them, and ſailed to Lemnos with their fleets, which together amounted to ſixty gallies. Philip, on the other ſide, that he might be able to oppoſe the enemy either by ſea or land, advanced towards Demetrias, whither the ambaſſadors of the allies came from all parts to implore his aid in the imminent danger to which they were expoſed. Philip gave them a favourable reception; and promiſed to furniſh them with ſuch ſuccours as the preſent juncture, and the neceſſity of their affairs, might require. He kept his promiſe, and ſent bodies of ſoldiers into different places, to ſecure them from the attacks of the enemy. He repaired to Scotuſa, and made his troops march thither from Lariſſa, which lies very near it; and then returned to Demetrias. And in order to give ſeaſonable ſuccour to ſuch of his allies as ſhould be attacked, he fixed ſignals in Phocis, Eubœa, and in the little iſland of Peparethos; and placed, in that part where he lay, on Tiſæum, a very lofty mountain of Theſſaly, men to obſerve them, that he might have ſpeedy notice of the enemy's march, and of the places he might deſign to attack. I ſhall explain theſe ſignals hereafter. A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207.

The proconſul and king Attalus advanced towards Eubœa, and laid ſiege to Oræa, one of its chief cities. It was defended by two caſtles ſtrongly fortified, and was able to hold out a long time; but Plator who

(a) Polyb. l. x. p. 612—614. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 5—8.

commanded it under Philip, ſurrendered it treacherouſly to the beſiegers. He had purpoſely made the ſignals too late, that Philip might not have an opportunity of ſuccouring it. But the ſame did not happen to Chalcis, which Sulpitius beſieged immediately after the taking of Oræa. The ſignals were made very ſeaſonably there; and the commander, deaf and inacceſſible to the offers of the proconſul, prepared for a ſtout defence. Sulpitius perceived that he had made an imprudent attempt, and was ſo wiſe as to deſiſt immediately from it. The city was ſtrongly fortified in itſelf; and beſides, ſituated on the Euripus, that famous ſtrait, * in which the ſea does not ebb and flow ſeven times every day, at fixed and ſtated hours, as (ſays Livy) is commonly reported, but irregularly, whilſt the waves roll on all ſides with ſo much impetuoſity, that they ſeem like torrents falling precipitately from the mountains; ſo that ſhips can never ride there in ſafety.

Attalus beſieged Opuntus, a city ſituated not far from the ſea-ſide, among the Locrians, in Achaia. Philip advanced with incredible diligence to its aid, having marched upwards of † ſixty miles in one day. The city had been juſt taken before he arrived at it; and he might have ſurpriſed Attalus who was employed in plundering the place, had not the latter, the inſtant he heard of his approach, retired with great precipitation. However, Philip purſued him to the ſea-ſide.

Attalus having retired to Oræa, and received advice there, that Pruſias king of Bithynia had entered his territories, he returned towards Aſia, and Sulpitius to the iſland of Ægina. Philip, after having taken ſome ſmall cities, and fruſtrated the project of Machanidas,

* Haud alia infeſtior claſſi ſtatio eſt. Nam & venti ab utriuſque terræ prælatis montibus ſubiti ac procelloſi ſe dejiciunt, & fretum ipſum Euripi, non ſepties die, ſicut fama fert, temporibus ſtatis reciprocat; ſed temerè, in modum venti nunc huc nunc illuc verſo mari, velut monte præcipiti devolutus torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte, nec die, quies navibus datur. *Liv.*

† *So Livy has it; which is certainly a prodigious day's march for an army.*

Machanidas, the Spartan tyrant, who deſigned to attack the people of Elis, who were employed in preparing for the ſolemnization of the Olympick games, he repaired to the aſſembly of the Achæans, which was held at Ægium, where he expected to find the Carthaginian fleet, and to join it with his own; but advice being brought, that the ſhips of the Romans and king Attalus were ſailed away, his did the ſame.

Philip * was truely grieved to find, that though he employed the utmoſt diligence in all his projects, he always came too late to put them in execution; fortune, would he ſay, taking a pleaſure in bereaving him of every opportunity, and in fruſtrating all his incurſions and expeditions. However, he concealed his uneaſineſs from the aſſembly, and ſpoke with an air of confidence and reſolution. Having called the gods and men to witneſs, that he had never neglected any opportunity of marching out, on all occaſions, in queſt of an enemy; he added, that he did not know which ſide uſed the greateſt diſpatch; whether himſelf in flying to the aid of his allies, or his enemies in eſcaping his purſuits: that this was a tacit confeſſion that they thought themſelves inferior to him in ſtrength; nevertheleſs, that he hoped ſoon to gain ſo complete a victory over them, as would evidently demonſtrate his ſuperiority. This ſpeech greatly encouraged the allies: after having given the neceſſary orders, and made ſome expeditions of no great importance, he returned into Macedonia, to carry on the war againſt the Dardanians.

Digreſſion of POLYBIUS, *on the ſignals made by fire.*

The ſubject which Polybius here treats is curious enough in itſelf; and beſides, it bears ſo near a relation to the facts I am now relating, as to excuſe my introducing a digreſſion, that will not be of a great length,

* Philippus mœrebat & angebatur, cùm ad omnia ipſe raptim iſſet, nulli tamen ſe rei in tempore occurriſſe; & rapientem omnia ex oculis eluſiſſe celeritatem ſuam fortunam, *Liv.*

length, and which the reader may paſs over if he finds it tedious. I ſhall repeat it almoſt literally as I find it in Polybius. Livy, in his account of the particulars above related, and which he copied almoſt verbatim from Polybius, * mentions the ſame ſignals made by fire: but then he only hints at them, becauſe as they were not invented by the Romans, conſequently this was a ſubject which did not relate ſo immediately to the hiſtory he was writing. But this artifice of the ſignals, which is a part of the art of war, belongs properly to the hiſtory of the Greeks, and ſhows to how great a perfection they had carried all the parts of that noble art, the judicious reflexions they had formed in all things relative to it, and the aſtoniſhing progreſs they had made (*b*), in reſpect to the conſtruction of machines of war, different kinds of armour, and military ſignals.

As the making of ſignals by fire, ſays Polybius, though of great uſe in war, has hitherto not been treated with any accuracy, I believe it will not be proper to paſs over them ſuperficially, but to dwell a little upon that head, in order to give my readers a more perfect idea of it.

It is a truth univerſally acknowledged, that opportunity is of great advantage in all things, but eſpecially in war. Now, among the ſeveral things which have been invented to enable men to ſeiſe it, nothing can be more conducive to that end than ſignals made by fire. Whether tranſactions have happened but a little before, or are then tranſacting, they may, by this method, be very eaſily made known, at places diſtant three or four days journey from where they happened, and ſometimes at a ſtill greater diſtance; and by this help, the neceſſary aids may be obtained in time.

Formerly

(*b*) Polyb. l. x. p. 614—618.

* Philippus, ut ad omnes hoſtium motus poſſet occurrere, in Phocidem atque Eubœam, & Peparethum mittit qui loca alta eligerent, unde editi ignes apparerent: ipſe in Tiſæo (mons eſt in altitudinem ingentem cacuminis editi) ſpeculam poſuit, ut ignibus procul ſublatis, ſignum, ubi quid molirentur hoſtes, momento temporis acciperet. *Liv.* l. xxviii. n. 5.

Formerly this method of giving notice, was of very little advantage, becauſe of its too great ſimplicity. For, in order to the making uſe of it, it was neceſſary that certain ſignals ſhould be agreed upon: And, as events are infinitely various, it was impoſſible to communicate the greateſt part of them by this method. As for inſtance, not to depart from the preſent hiſtory, it was very eaſy to make known, at a diſtance, that a fleet was arrived at Oræa, at Peparethos, or at Chalcis; becauſe the parties whom it concerned had foreſeen this, and accordingly had agreed upon ſuch ſignals as might denote it. But an unexpected inſurrection, a treaſon, an horrid murther committed in a city, and ſuch like accidents as happen but too often, and which cannot be foreſeen; this kind of events, which require immediate conſideration and remedy, cannot be ſignified by a beacon. For it is not poſſible to agree upon a ſignal for ſuch events as it is impoſſible to foreſee.

Æneas *, who wrote a treatiſe on the duties of a general, endeavoured to complete what was wanting on this occaſion; but he was far from ſucceeding ſo well as could have been wiſhed, or as he himſelf had propoſed, of which the reader may now judge.

Thoſe, ſays he, who would give ſignals to one another, upon affairs of importance, muſt firſt prepare two veſſels of earth, exactly equal in breadth and depth: and they need be but four feet and a half deep, and a foot and a half wide. They then muſt take pieces of cork, proportioned to the mouth of theſe veſſels, but not quite ſo wide, that they may be let down with eaſe to the bottom of theſe veſſels. They next fix, in the middle of this cork, a ſtick, which muſt be of equal ſize in both theſe veſſels. This ſtick muſt be divided exactly and diſtinctly by ſpaces

* *Æneas was cotemporary with Ariſtotle. He wrote a treatiſe on the art of war. Cineas, one of Pyrrhus's counſellors, made an abridgement of it. Pyrrhus alſo wrote on the ſame ſubject.* Ælian. Tact. cap. 1. *Cicero mentions the two laſt in one of his epiſtles.* Summum me ducem literæ tuæ reddiderunt. Plane neſciebam te tam peritum eſſe rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros et Cineæ video lectitaſſe. *Lib.* ix. *Epiſt.* 25. *ad Papir. Poetam.*

ſpaces of three inches each, in order that ſuch events as generally happen in war may be written on them. For example, in one of theſe intervals the following words may be written. A BODY OF HORSE ARE MARCHED INTO THE COUNTRY. On another: A BODY OF INFANTRY, HEAVILY ARMED ARE ARRIVED HITHER. On a third: INFANTRY LIGHTLY ARMED. On a fourth: HORSE AND FOOT. On another: SHIPS. Then PROVISIONS; and ſo on till all the events, which may probably happen in the war that is carrying on, are written down in theſe intervals.

This being done, each of the two veſſels muſt have a little tube or cock of equal bigneſs, to let out the water in equal proportion. Then, the two veſſels muſt be filled with water; pieces of cork, with their ſticks thruſt through them, muſt be laid upon them, and the cocks muſt be opened. Now it is plain, that as theſe veſſels are equal, the corks will ſink, and the ſticks deſcend lower in the veſſels, in proportion as they empty themſelves. But to be more certain of this exactneſs, it will be proper to make the experiment firſt, and to examine whether all things correſpond and agree together, by an uniform execution on both ſides.

When they are well aſſured of this, the two veſſels muſt be carried to the two places where the ſignals are to be made and obſerved: Water is poured in, and the corks and ſticks are put in the veſſels. In proportion as any of the events which are written on the ſticks ſhall happen, a torch, or other light, is raiſed, which muſt be held aloft, till ſuch time as another is raiſed by the party to whom it is directed. (This firſt ſignal is only to give notice that both parties are ready and attentive.) Then the torch or other light muſt be taken away, and the cocks ſet open. When the interval, that is, that part of the ſtick where the event of which notice is to be given is written, ſhall be fallen to a level with the veſſels, then the man who gives the ſignal lifts up his torch; and on the other ſide, the correſpondent ſignal-maker immediately

turns

turns the cock of his veſſel, and looks at what is writ on that part of the ſtick which touches the mouth of the veſſel; on which occaſion, if every thing has been executed exactly and equally on both ſides, both will read the ſame thing.

Although this method differs from that which was practiſed in early ages, in which men agreed only upon a ſingle ſignal which was to denote the event the other party deſired to be informed of, and which had been agreed upon, it nevertheleſs was too vague and indeterminate. For it is impoſſible to foreſee all the accidents that may happen in a war; and though they could be foreſeen, there would be no poſſibility of writing them all on a piece of ſtick. Beſides, when any unexpected accident ſhould happen, how could notice be given of it according to this method? To this I may add, that the inſcription on the ſtick is no ways exact and circumſtantial. We are not told how many horſe and foot are come; what part of the country they are in; how many ſhips are arrived; nor the quantity of proviſions we have. For before theſe ſeveral particulars could be written on the ſtick, they muſt have been foreſeen, which was altogether impoſſible, though moſt eſſential; and how can ſuccours be ſent, when it is not known how many enemies are to be oppoſed, nor in what part of the country they are? How muſt a party either confide in or doubt their own ſtrength? In a word, how will they know what to do, when they are not told how many ſhips, or what quantity of proviſions are come from the enemy?

The laſt method was invented by Cleoxenus, which others aſcribe to Democlitus; however, we have improved it, ſays Polybius, who continues the ſole ſpeaker upon this head. This fixes every circumſtance, and enables us to give notice of whatſoever happens. The only thing required, is great care and exactneſs. This method is as follows:

The twenty-four letters of the alphabet muſt be taken and divided into five parts; and theſe muſt be fixed

fixed on a board, from top to bottom, in their natural order on five columns; five letters in each column, the laſt excepted, which is to have but four.

The alphabet being diſpoſed in this manner, the man who is to make the ſignal muſt begin by ſhowing two torches or lights; and theſe he muſt hold aloft till the other party has alſo ſhown two lights. This firſt ſignal is only to ſhow that both ſides are ready, after which the lights muſt be removed.

The affair now is, to make the other party read, in this alphabet, the advices we want to acquaint them with. The perſon, who gives the ſignal, ſhall hold up torches to his left, in order to denote to the correſpondent party, from which of the columns he muſt take letters, to write them down in proportion as they ſhall be pointed out to him; ſo that if it is the firſt column, he only holds up one torch; if the ſecond, he ſhows two, and ſo on, and always to the left. He muſt do the ſame to the right hand, to point out to the perſon who receives the ſignal, which letter in the column he muſt obſerve and write down. This both parties muſt agree upon between them.

Theſe ſeveral things being fixed, and each of them got to his poſt, the man who gives the ſignal muſt have a * geometrical inſtrument with two tubes, in order that he may know by one of them the right, and by the other the left of him who is to anſwer. The board muſt be ſet up near to this inſtrument; and to the right and left a ſolid muſt be raiſed ten feet broad, and about the height of a man; in order that the torches, which ſhall be lifted up over it, may ſpead a ſtrong, clear light; and that when they are to be lowered, they may be entirely hid behind them.

All things being thus diſpoſed on each ſide, I will ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that advice is to be given, that *An hundred Cretans, or Kretans, are gone over to the enemy.* Firſt, he muſt make choice of ſuch words as will expreſs what is here ſaid in the feweſt letters poſſible

* *The figure of it is annexed at the end of this little treatiſe.*

ſible, as *Cretans, or Kretans*, an hundred have deſerted,* which expreſſes the very ſame idea in much fewer letters.

The firſt letter is a K, which is in the ſecond column. Two torches muſt therefore be lifted to the left, to inform the perſon who receives the ſignal, that he muſt look into the ſecond column. He then muſt lift up five torches to the right, to denote that the letter ſought for is the fifth of the ſecond column, that is, a K.

Afterwards four torches muſt be held up to the left, to point out the P † which is in the fourth column; then two to the right, to denote that this letter is the ſecond of the fourth column. The ſame muſt be obſerved with reſpect to the reſt of the letters.

By this method, every event that comes to paſs may be denoted in a fixed and determinate manner. The reaſon why two ſets of lights are uſed, is, becauſe every letter muſt be pointed out twice; the firſt, to denote the column to which it belongs; and the ſecond, to ſhow its place in order in the columns pointed out. If the perſons employed on theſe occaſions obſerve the rules here laid down, they will give exact notice: but it muſt be practiſed a long time, before they will be able to be very quick and exact in the operation.

This is what is propoſed by Polybius, who, it is well known, was a great ſoldier and politician, and for this reaſon his hints ought to be valued. They might be improved and put in practice on a great many occaſions. Theſe ſignals were employed in a mountainous country.

A pamphlet was lent me, printed in 1702, and entitled, *The art of making ſignals both by ſea and land.* The pamphlet was dedicated to the king, by the Sieur Marcel, commiſſioner of the navy at Arles. This author affirms, that he communicated ſeveral times, at the diſtance of two leagues (in as ſhort a ſpace of time

* *The words are diſpoſed in this manner in the Greek.*

† *This is the capital letter* R *in the Greek tongue.*

time as a man could write down, and form exactly the letters contained in the advice he would communicate) an unexpected piece of news that took up a page in writing.

I cannot say what this new invention was, nor what success it met with; but in my opinion such discoveries as these ought not to be neglected. In all ages and nations, men have been very desirous of finding out and employing methods for receiving or communicating speedy advices; and of these, signals by fire are one of the principal.

(*c*) In the fabulous times, when the fifty daughters of Danaus murthered all their husbands in one night, Hypermnestra excepted, who spared Lynceus, it is related that both flying, and each being arrived at a place of safety, they informed one another of it by signals made by fire; and that this circumstance gave rise to the festival of torches established in Argos.

Agamemnon, at his setting out for the Trojan expedition, had promised Clytemnestra, that the very day the city should be taken, he would give notice of the victory by fires kindled for that purpose. He kept his word, as appears from the tragedy of Æschylus, which takes its name from that prince: Where the she-centinel, appointed to watch that signal, declares she had spent many tedious nights in that uncomfortable post.

We also find * by the writings of Julius Cæsar, that he himself used the same method.

Cæsar gives us an account of another method in use amongst the Gauls. Whenever any extraordinary event happened in their country, or they stood in need of immediate succour, they gave notice to one another by repeated shouts, which were catched from place to place; so that the massacre of the Romans in Orleans, at sun-rise, was known by eight or nine o'clock in the evening in Auvergne, forty leagues from the other city.

We

(*c*) Pausan. l. ii. p. 130.

* Celeriter, ut antè Cæsar imperaverat, ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis eò concursum est. *Cæs. Bell. Gall.* l. ii.

5

(*d*) We are told of a much ſhorter method. It is pretended that the king of Perſia, when he carried the war into Greece, had poſted a kind of centinels at proper diſtances, who communicated to one another, by their voices, ſuch news as it was neceſſary to tranſmit to a great diſtance; and that advice could be communicated from Athens to Suſa (upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues) in forty-eight hours.

It is alſo related, that a * Sidonian propoſed to Alexander the Great an infallible method for eſtabliſhing a ſpeedy and ſafe communication between all the countries ſubject to him. He required but five days for giving notice, from ſo great a diſtance as between his hereditary kingdom, and his moſt remote conqueſt in India: But the king, looking upon this offer as a mere chimera, rejected it with contempt: however he ſoon repented it, and very juſtly; for the experiment might have been made with little trouble to himſelf.

(*e*) Pliny relates another method, which is not altogether improbable. Decimus Brutus defended the city of Modena beſieged by Anthony, who prevented his ſending the leaſt advice to the conſuls, by drawing lines round the city, and laying nets in the river. However, Brutus employed pigeons, to whoſe feet he faſtened letters, which arrived in ſafety wherever he thought proper to ſend them. Of what uſe, ſays † Pliny, were Anthony's intrenchments and centinels to him? Of what ſervice were all the nets he ſpread, when the new courier took his rout through the air?

Travellers relate, that to carry advices from Alexandria to Aleppo, when ſhips arrive in that harbour, they make uſe of pigeons, who have young ones at Aleppo. Letters, containing the advices to be communicated, are faſtened about the pigeons necks, or feet; this being done, the pigeons take wing, ſoar

(*d*) Coel. Rhodig. l. xviii. c. 8. (*e*) Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

* *Vigenere, in his remarks on the ſeventh book of Cæſar's wars in Gaul, relates this without citing directly the author.*

† Quid vallum, & vigil obſidio, atque etiam retia amne prætexta profuere Antonio, per cœlum eunte nuntio?

to a great height, and fly to Aleppo, where the letters are taken from them. The ſame method is uſed in many other places.

Deſcription of the inſtrument employed in ſignals made by fire.

Mr. Chevalier, mathematical profeſſor in the royal college, a fellow member with me, and my particular friend, has been ſo good as to delineate, at my requeſt, the figure of the inſtrument, mentioned by Polybius, and to add the following explication of it.

In this manner I conceive the idea I have of the inſtrument deſcribed by Polybius, for communicating advices at a great diſtance, by ſignals made by fire.

AB is a beam about four or five feet long, five or ſix inches broad, and two or three inches thick. At the extremities of it are, well dove-tailed and fixed exactly perpendicular in the middle, two croſs pieces of wood, CD, EF, of equal breadth and thickneſs with the beam, and three or four feet long. The ſides of theſe croſs pieces of timber muſt be exactly parallel, and their upper ſuperficies very ſmooth. In the middle of the ſurface of each of theſe pieces, a right line muſt be drawn parallel to their ſides; and conſequently theſe lines will be parallel to one another. At an inch and a half or two inches diſtance from theſe lines, and exactly in the middle of the length of each croſs piece, there muſt be driven in very ſtrongly, and exactly perpendicular, an iron or braſs ſcrew (2) whoſe upper part, which muſt be cylindrical, and five or ſix * lines in diameter, ſhall project ſeven or eight lines above the ſuperficies of theſe croſs pieces.

On theſe pieces muſt be placed two hollow tubes or cylinders GH, IK, through which the obſervations are made. Theſe tubes muſt be exactly cylindrical, and formed of ſome hard, ſolid metal, in order that they may not ſhrink or warp. They muſt be a foot longer than the croſs pieces on which they are fixed, and

* *Twelfth part of an inch.*

and thereby will extend ſix inches beyond it at each end. Theſe two tubes muſt be fixed on two plates of the ſame metal, in the middle of whoſe length ſhall be a ſmall convexity (3) of about an inch round. In the middle of this part (3) muſt be a hole exactly round, about half an inch in diameter; ſo that applying the plates on which theſe tubes are fixed, upon the croſs pieces of wood CD, EF, this hole muſt be exactly filled by the projecting and cylindrical part of the ſcrew (2) which was fixed in it, and in ſuch a manner as to prevent its play. The head of the ſcrew may extend ſome lines beyond the ſuperficies of the plates, and in ſuch a manner as that thoſe tubes may turn, with their plates about theſe ſcrews, in order to direct them on the boards or ſcreens P, Q, behind which the ſignals by fire are made, according to the different diſtances of the places where the ſignals ſhall be given.

The tubes muſt be blacked within, in order that when the eye is applied to one of their ends, it may not receive any reflected rays. There muſt alſo be placed about the end, on the ſide of the obſerver, a perforated ring, the aperture of which muſt be of three or four lines; and place at the other end two threads, the one vertical, and the other horizontal, croſſing one another in the axis of the tube.

In the middle of the beam AB muſt be made a round hole, two inches in diameter, in which muſt be fixed the foot LMNOP, which ſupports the whole machine, and round which it turns as on its axis. This machine may be called a rule and ſights, though it differs from that which is applied to circumferenters, theodolites, and even geometrical ſquares, which are uſed to draw maps, take plans, and ſurvey, &c. but it has the ſame uſes, which is to direct the ſight.

The perſon who makes the ſignal, and he who receives it, muſt have the like inſtrument; otherwiſe, the man who receives the ſignal could not diſtinguiſh whether the ſignals made are to the right or left of

him who makes them, which is an eſſential circumſtance according to the method propoſed by Polybius.

The two boards or ſcreens PQ, which are to denote the right and left hand of the man who gives the ſignals, or to diſplay or hide the fires, according to the circumſtance of the obſervation, ought to be greater or leſs, and nearer or farther diſtant from one another, according as the diſtance between the places where the ſignals muſt be given and received is greater or leſs.

In my deſcription of the preceding machine, all I endeavoured was, to explain the manner how Polybius's idea might be put in execution, in making ſignals by fire; but I do not pretend to ſay, that it is of uſe, for giving ſignals at a conſiderable diſtance; for it is certain, that, how large ſoever this machine be, ſignals made by 2, 3, 4, and 5 torches, will not be ſeen at 5, 6, or more leagues diſtance, as he ſuppoſes. To make them viſible at a greater diſtance, ſuch torches muſt not be made uſe of, as can be lifted up and down with the hand, but large wide ſpreading fires of whole loads of ſtraw or wood; and conſequently, boards or ſcreens of a prodigious ſize muſt be employed, to hide or eclipſe them.

Teleſcopes were not known in Polybius's time; they were not diſcovered or improved till the laſt century. Thoſe inſtruments might have made the ſignals in queſtion viſible at a much greater diſtance than bare tubes could have done: but I ſtill doubt, whether they could be employed to the uſe mentioned by Polybius, at a greater diſtance than two or three leagues. However, I am of opinion, that a city beſieged might communicate advice to an army ſent to ſuccour it, or give notice how long time it could hold out a ſiege, in order to taking proper meaſures: and that, on the other ſide, the army ſent to its aid might communicate its deſigns to the city beſieged, eſpecially by the aſſiſtance of teleſcopes.

SECT. VII. PHILOPŒMEN *gains a famous victory near Mantinea, over* MACHANIDAS, *tyrant of Sparta. The high regard paid to that general.* NABIS *ſucceeds* MACHANIDAS. *Some inſtances of his avarice and cruelty. A general peace concluded between* PHILIP *and the Romans, in which the allies on both ſides are included.*

THE Romans, wholly employed in the war with Hannibal, which they reſolved to terminate, intermeddled very little with that of the Greeks, and did not moleſt them during the two following years. A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.

(*a*) In the firſt, Philopœmen was appointed captain-general of the Achæans. As ſoon as he was inveſted with this employment, which was the higheſt in the ſtate, he aſſembled his allies before he took the field, and exhorted them to ſecond his zeal with courage and warmth, and ſupport with honour both their fame and his. He inſiſted ſtrongly on the care they ought to take, not of the beauty and magnificence of the dreſs, which became women only, and thoſe too of little merit; but of the neatneſs and ſplendour of their arms, an object worthy of men, intent upon their own glory and the good of their country.

His ſpeech was received with univerſal applauſe, inſomuch that, at the breaking up of the aſſembly, all thoſe who were magnificently dreſſed were pointed at; ſo great an influence have the words of an illuſtrious perſon, not only in diſſuading men from vice, but in inclining them to virtue; eſpecially when his actions correſpond with his words, for then it is ſcarce poſſible to reſiſt his exhortations. This was the character of Philopœmen. Plain in his dreſs, and frugal in his diet, he took very little care of his body. In converſation he ſuffered patiently the ill temper of others, even when they uſed contemptuous expreſſions: And, for himſelf, he was ſure never to give the leaſt offence to any one. It was his ſtudy, during his life, to

(*a*) Polyb. l. xi. p. 629—631.

ſpeak nothing but the truth: and, indeed, the ſlighteſt expreſſions of his were heard with reſpect, and immediately believed. And he was not obliged to employ a great many words to perſuade, his conduct being a rule of what every body elſe ought to do.

The aſſembly being diſmiſſed, every body returned to their reſpective cities, in the higheſt admiration of Philopœmen, whoſe words as well as actions had charmed them; and fully perſuaded, that as long as he ſhould preſide in the government, it could not but flouriſh. He immediately viſited the ſeveral cities, and gave the neceſſary orders in them. He aſſembled the people in every place, acquainted them with every thing that was neceſſary to be done, and raiſed troops. After ſpending near eight months in making the various preparations, he took the field.

(*b*) Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmonia, was watching, at the head of a powerful army, for an opportunity to ſubject all Peloponneſus. The moment advice was brought of his arrival in the territories of Mantinea, Philopœmen prepared to give him battle.

The tyrant of Sparta ſet out upon his march at day-break, at the head of the heavy-armed infantry, and poſted to the right and left on the ſame line, but a little more advanced, the light infantry compoſed of foreigners; and behind them chariots laden with * catapultæ, and darts to ſuſtain them. It appears by the ſequel, that before him lay a ditch, that run along part of the plain, beyond which his troops extended at each end.

At the ſame time Philopœmen marched his army in three bodies out of the city. The firſt, conſiſting of Achæan horſe, was poſted to the right. The ſecond, compoſed of heavy-armed foot, was in the centre, and advanced to the ditch. The third, compoſed of Illyrians, cuiraſſiers, foreigners, light-armed troops, and ſome † Tarentine horſe, were at the left, with Philopœmen at their head.

The

(*b*) Polyb. l. xi. p. 631—637. Plut. in Philop. p. 391.

* *Engines to diſcharge darts or ſtones*, &c.

† *The Tarentine horſemen had each two horſes.* Liv. l. xxxv. n. 28.

The time for beginning the battle approaching, and the enemy in view, that general, flying up and down the ranks of the infantry, encouraged his men in few, but very ſtrong expreſſions. Moſt of them were even not heard; but he was ſo dear to his ſoldiers, and they repoſed ſuch confidence in him, that they wanted no exhortations to fight with incredible ardour. In a kind of tranſport they animated their general, and preſſed him to lead them on to battle. All he endeavoured to make them underſtand was, that the time was come in which their enemies would be reduced to an ignominious captivity, and themſelves reſtored to a glorious and immortal liberty.

Machanidas marched his infantry in a kind of column, as if he intended to begin the battle by charging the right wing: but when he was advanced to a proper diſtance, he on a ſudden made his infantry wheel about, in order that it might extend to his right, and make a front equal to the left of the Achæans; and, to cover it, he cauſed all the chariots laden with catapultæ to advance forward. Philopœmen plainly ſaw that his deſign was to break his infantry, by overwhelming it with darts and ſtones: however, he did not give him time for it, but cauſed the Tarentine horſe to begin the battle with great vigour, on a ſpot where they had room enough to engage in. Machanidas was forced to do the ſame, and to lead on his Tarentines. The firſt charge was very furious. The light-armed ſoldiers advancing a little after to ſuſtain them, in a moment the foreign troops were univerſally engaged on both ſides; and, as in this attack they fought man to man, the battle was a long time doubtful. At laſt, the foreigners in the tyrant's army had the advantage; their numbers and dexterity, acquired by experience, giving them the ſuperiority. The Illyrians and cuiraſſiers, who ſuſtained the foreign ſoldiers in Philopœmen's army, could not withſtand ſo furious a charge. They were entirely broke, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation towards

the city of Mantinea, about a mile from the field of battle.

Philopœmen ſeemed now loſt to all hopes. On this occaſion, ſays Polybius, appeared the truth of a maxim, which cannot reaſonably be conteſted, That the events of war are generally ſucceſsful or unfortunate, only in proportion to the ſkill or ignorance of the generals who command in them. Philopœmen, ſo far from deſponding at the ill ſucceſs of the firſt charge, or being in confuſion, was ſolely intent upon taking advantage of the errors which the enemy might commit. Accordingly they were guilty of a great one, which indeed is but too frequent on theſe occaſions, and for that reaſon cannot be too ſtrongly guarded againſt. Machanidas, after the left wing was routed, inſtead of improving that advantage, by charging in front that inſtant with his infantry the centre of that of the enemies, and taking it at the ſame time in flank with his victorious wing, and thereby terminating the whole affair, ſuffers himſelf, like a young man, to be hurried away by the fire and impetuoſity of his ſoldiers, and purſues, without order or diſcipline, thoſe who were flying; as if, after having given way, fear would not have carried them to the gates of the city.

Philopœmen, who upon this defeat had retired to his infantry in the centre, takes the firſt cohorts, commands them to wheel to the left, and at their head marches and ſeiſes the poſt which Machanidas had abandoned. By this movement he divided the centre of the enemy's infantry from his right wing. He then commanded theſe cohorts to ſtay in the poſt they had juſt ſeiſed, till farther orders; and at the ſame time directed * Polybius, the Megalopolitan, to rally all the Illyrians, cuiraſſiers, and foreigners, who, without quitting their ranks, and flying as the reſt had done,

* *The late tranſlator of Polybius miſtakes this officer for our hiſtorian, and here introduces him ſpeaking; which is otherwiſe in the original. Polybius the hiſtorian was not born at that time. It is true indeed that this perſon had the ſame name, and was a native of the ſame city, which makes the error more excuſeable.*

done, had drawn off, to avoid the fury of the conqueror; and, with theſe forces, to poſt himſelf on the flank of the infantry in his centre, to check the enemy in their return from the purſuit.

But now the Lacedæmonian infantry, elate with the firſt ſucceſs of their wing, without waiting for the ſignal, advance with their pikes lowered towards the Achæans as far as the brink of the ditch. When they came up to it, whether from being ſo near the enemy, they were aſhamed not to go on, or that they did not value the ditch, becauſe it was dry and had no hedge; and beſides, being no longer able to retire, becauſe the advanced ranks were puſhed forward by thoſe in the rear, they ruſhed into the ditch at once. This was the deciſive point of time which Philopœmen had long waited, and thereupon he orders the charge to be ſounded. His troops levelling their pikes, fell with dreadful ſhouts on the Lacedæmonians. Theſe, who at their deſcending into the ditch, had broke their ranks, no ſooner ſaw the enemy above them, but they immediately fled; nevertheleſs, great numbers of them were left in the ditch, having been killed either by the Achæans, or their own ſoldiers.

To complete the glory of this action, the buſineſs now was to prevent the tyrant from eſcaping the conqueror. This was Philopœmen's only object. Machanidas, on his return, perceived that his army fled; when, being ſenſible of his errour, he endeavoured, but in vain, to force his way through the Achæans. His troops, perceiving that the enemy were maſters of the bridge which lay over the ditch, were quite diſpirited, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves as well as they could. Machanidas himſelf, finding it impoſſible to paſs the bridge, hurried along the ſide of the ditch, in order to find a place for getting over it. Philopœmen knew him by his purple mantle, and the trappings of his horſe: So that, after giving the neceſſary orders to his officers, he paſſed the ditch, in order to ſtop the tyrant. The latter having found a part of the ditch which might eaſily be croſſed, claps ſpurs to his horſe,

and

and ſprings forward in order to leap over. That very inſtant Philopœmen threw his javelin at him, which laid him dead in the ditch. The tyrant's head being ſtruck off, and carried from rank to rank, gave new courage to the victorious Achæans. They purſued the fugitives, with incredible ardour, as far as Tegea, entered the city with them, and, being now maſters of the field, the very next day they encamped on the banks of the Eurotas.

The Achæans did not loſe many men in this battle, but the Lacedæmonians loſt four thouſand, without including the priſoners, who were ſtill more numerous. The baggage and arms were alſo taken by the Achæans.

The conquerors, ſtruck with admiration at the conduct of their general, to whom the victory was entirely owing, erected a brazen ſtatue to him in the ſame attitude in which he had killed the tyrant; which ſtatue they afterwards placed in the temple of Apollo at Delphos.

Polybius juſtly obſerves, that this ſignal victory muſt not be aſcribed either to chance, or a concurrence of circumſtances, but entirely to the abilities of the general, who had foreſeen and diſpoſed all things neceſſary for this great event. And, indeed, from the beginning (it is Polybius who ſtill ſpeaks, and continues his reflexions) Philopœmen had covered himſelf with the ditch; not to avoid coming to a battle, as ſome have imagined, but becauſe, like a judicious man and a great ſoldier, he had reflected, that ſhould Machanidas attempt to make his army paſs the ditch, before he was aware of it, his troops would certainly be cut to pieces, and entirely defeated; or if, being ſtopped by the ditch, he ſhould change his reſolution, and break his order of battle through fear, that he would be thought the moſt unſkilful of generals, in abandoning his victory to the enemy, without daring to come to a battle, and in carrying off no other marks of his enterpriſe, than the ignominy of having renounced it. Polybius alſo highly applauds the preſence

ſence of mind and reſolution of Philopœmen, in his not deſponding or looſing courage when his left wing was routed; but in having made that very defeat an occaſion of his gaining a glorious victory.

Methinks theſe ſmall battles, where there are not many combatants on either ſide, and in which, by that means, one may follow, as it were with the eye, the ſeveral ſteps of the commanding officers, obſerve the ſeveral orders they give, the precautions they take, and the errors they commit; that theſe, I ſay, may be of great ſervice to thoſe who are one day to command armies; and this is one of the chief advantages from the ſtudy of hiſtory.

It is related that in the aſſembly of the Nemæan games which were ſolemnized the year after this famous battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen being elected general of the Achæans a ſecond time, and having then no employment for his forces, upon account of the feſtival, he cauſed his phalanx, very ſplendidly clothed, to paſs in review before all the Greeks, and made them perform their uſual exerciſes, to ſhow with what dexterity, ſtrength, and agility, they performed the ſeveral military movements, without breaking or diſordering their ranks in the leaſt. He afterwards went into the theatre in which the muſicians were diſputing for the prize in their art, accompained by thoſe youths in their coats of arms, all of a graceful ſtature, and in the flower of their age; all filled with the higheſt veneration for their general, and fired at the ſame time with a martial intrepidity; ſentiments with which their glorious battles and ſucceſs, under this illuſtrious general, had inſpired them. A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205.

The very inſtant that flouriſhing troop of youths entered with Philopœmen, Pylades the muſician, who was ſinging to his lyre the *Perſians* of * Timotheus, happened accidentally to repeat the following verſe,

The

* *This was a dithyrambick poet, who lived about the* XCVth *Olympiad,* i. e. 298 *years before Chriſt. One of his pieces was entitled the* Perſians.

The wreaths of liberty to me you owe,
The brighteſt crown the gods beſtow.

Theſe lofty verſes being finely expreſſed by the ſinger, who had an exquiſite voice, ſtruck the whole aſſembly. At the ſame time all the Greeks caſt their eyes upon Philopœmen; and clapping their hands, and raiſing ſhouts of joy, they called to mind the glorious ages of triumphant Greece; ſoothing themſelves with the pleaſing hopes, that they ſhould revive thoſe ancient times, and their priſtine glory; ſo greatly did a general, like Philopœmen, increaſe their confidence, and inflame thir courage.

And indeed, ſays Plutarch, as we find young colts are always fond of thoſe they are uſed to, and that in caſe any other perſon attempts to mount them, they are diſpleaſed, and prance about with their new rider; the ſame diſpoſition appeared in the Achæan league. The inſtant they were to embark in a new war, and a battle was to be fought, if any other general was appointed, immediately the deputies of the confederate powers would be diſcouraged, and turn their eyes in queſt of Philopœmen; and the moment he appeared, the whole league revived and were ready for action; ſo ſtrongly were they perſuaded of his great valour and abilities; well knowing that he was the only general whoſe preſence the enemy dreaded, and whoſe name alone made them tremble.

Can there, humanly ſpeaking, be a more pleaſing, more affecting, or more ſolid glory for a general or a prince, than to ſee himſelf eſteemed, beloved, and revered, by the army and people, in the manner Philopœmen was? is it poſſible for any man to be ſo taſteleſs and void of ſenſe, as to prefer, or even compare, to the honour which the exalted qualities of Philopœmen acquired him, the pretended glory which ſo many perſons of quality imagine they derive from their equipages, buildings, furniture, and the ridiculous expence of their tables. Philopœmen affected magnificence more than they do; but then he placed

it

it in what it really conſiſts; the clothing his troops ſplendidly; providing them good horſes and ſhining arms; ſupplying, with a generous hand, all their wants both publick and private; diſtributing money ſeaſonably to encourage the officers, and even private men: In acting thus, Philopœmen, though dreſſed in a very plain habit, was looked upon as the greateſt and moſt magnificent general of his time.

Sparta did not recover its ancient liberty by the death of Machanidas, the only conſequence of which was its changing one oppreſſor for another. The tyrant had been extirpated, but not the tyranny. That unhappy city, formerly ſo jealous of its liberty and independence, and now abandoned to ſlavery, ſeemed by its indolence ſtudious of nothing but to make itſelf new chains, or to ſupport its old ones. Machanidas was ſucceeded by Nabis, who, though a worſe tyrant, yet the Spartans did not ſhow the leaſt ſpirit, or make the leaſt effort to ſhake off the yoke of ſlavery.

(c) Nabis, in the beginning of his government, was not deſirous to undertake any foreign expedition; but employed his whole endeavours to lay the ſolid foundations of a laſting and cruel tyranny. For that purpoſe he made it his particular care to deſtroy all the remaining Spartans in that republick. He baniſhed from it all ſuch as were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their quality and wealth, and gave their eſtates and wives to his creatures. We ſhall ſpeak of theſe perſons hereafter under the name of the *Exiles*. He had taken into his pay a great number of foreigners, all plunderers and aſſaſſins, and capable of perpetrating the blackeſt crimes for gain. This kind of people, who had been baniſhed their country for their crimes, flocked round the tyrant, who lived in the midſt of them as their protector and king; employing them as his attendants and guards, to ſtrengthen his tyranny, and confirm his power. He was not ſatisfied with baniſhing the citizens; he acted in ſuch a manner, that they could not find any ſecure aſylum, even in foreign

(c) Polyb. l. xiii. p. 674, 675.

foreign countries: Some were butchered in their journey by his emiſſaries; and he recalled others from baniſhment, with no other view but to murder them.

Beſides theſe barbarities, he invented a machine which may be called an infernal one, repreſenting a woman magnificently dreſſed, and exactly reſembling his wife. Every time that he ſent for any perſon, to extort money from him, he would firſt declare, in the kindeſt and moſt gentle terms, the danger to which the whole country, and Sparta in particular, was expoſed by the menaces of the Achæans; the number of foreigners he was obliged to keep in pay for the ſecurity of his government; the great ſums he expended for the worſhip of the gods, and for the good of the publick. In caſe the perſon ſpoke to was wrought upon by his words, he proceeded no farther, this being all he wanted: But, if he was refractory, and refuſed to give him money, he would ſay, "Probably the "talent of perſuaſion is not mine; but I hope that "Apega will have ſome effect upon you." This Apega was his wife. He no ſooner uttered theſe words but his machine appeared. Nabis, taking her by the hand, raiſed her from her chair, and led her to his man. The hands, the arms and breaſt of this machine were ſtuck with ſharp iron points, concealed under her clothes. The pretended Apega embraced the unhappy wretch, folded him in her arms; and laying hers round his waſte, claſped him into her boſom, whilſt he vented the moſt lamentable cries. The machine was made to perform theſe ſeveral motions by ſecret ſprings. In this manner did the tyrant put many to death, from whom he could not otherwiſe extort the ſums he demanded.

Would one believe that a man could be ſo completely wicked, as to contrive, in cold blood, ſuch a machine, merely to torture his fellow-creatures, and to feed his eyes and ears with the cruel pleaſure of ſeeing their agonies, and hearing their groans? It is aſtoniſhing that in ſuch a city as Sparta, where tyranny was

was had in the utmoſt deteſtation; where men thought it glorious to confront death; where religion and the laws ſo far from reſtraining men as among us, ſeemed to arm them againſt all who were enemies to liberty; it is aſtoniſhing, I ſay, that ſo horrid a monſter ſhould be ſuffered to live one day.

(*d*) I have already obſerved that the Romans, employed in a moſt important war, had intermeddled very little with the affairs of Greece. The Ætolians, finding themſelves neglected by that powerful people, who were their only refuge, made a peace with Philip. Scarce was the treaty concluded, but P. Sempronius the proconſul arrived with conſiderable aids; ten thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and thirty-five ſhips of war. He was very much offended at them for making this peace without having firſt obtained the conſent of the Romans, contrary to the expreſs words of the treaty of alliance. The Epirots alſo, tired with the length of the war, ſent deputies (with the proconſul's leave) to Philip, who now was returned to Macedonia, to exhort him to agree to a general peace; hinting to him, that they were almoſt ſure, if he conſented to have an interview with Sempronius, they would eaſily agree upon the conditions. The king was greatly pleaſed with theſe overtures, and went to Epirus. As both parties were deſirous of peace, Philip, that he might have leiſure to ſettle the affairs of his kingdom; and the Romans, that they might be able to carry on the war againſt Carthage with greater vigour; a treaty was ſoon concluded. The king cauſed Pruſias, king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Theſſalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots to be included in it; and the Romans included the people of Ilium, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis the Spartan tyrant, ſucceſſor to Machanidas, the people of Elis, the Meſſenians, and the Athenians. In this manner the war of the confederates terminated in a peace of no long continuance.

A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204.

(*d*) Liv. l. xxix. n. 12.

SECT.

SECT. VIII. *The glorious expeditions of* ANTIOCHUS *into Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, and as far as India. At his return to Antioch, he receives advice of* PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR'*s death.*

THE hiſtory of the wars in Greece obliged us to interrupt the relation of the tranſactions in Aſia, and therefore we now return to them.

(*a*) Antiochus, after the death of Achæus, having employed ſome time in ſettling his affairs in Aſia Minor, marched towards the Eaſt, to reduce thoſe provinces which had revolted from the empire of Syria. He began by Media, of which the Parthians had juſt before diſpoſſeſſed him. Arſaces, ſon to him who founded that empire, was their king. He had taken advantage of the troubles in which the wars of Antiochus with Ptolemy and Acæus had involved him, and had conquered Media.

This country, ſays Polybius, is the moſt powerful in all Aſia, as well for its extent, as for the number and ſtrength of the men, and the great quantity of horſes it produces. Media furniſhes all Aſia with thoſe beaſts; and its paſtures are ſo good, that the neighbouring monarchs ſend their ſtuds thither. Ecbatana is its capital city. The edifices of this city are the fineſt in the world, and the king's palace is ſeven hundred fathoms round. Though all the timber-work is of cedar and cyprus, yet not the leaſt piece of timber was viſible; the joiſts, the beams, the cielings and columns, which ſuſtained the porticoes and piazzas, being covered with ſilver or gold plates. All the tiles were of ſilver. The greateſt part of theſe rich materials had been carried off by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and the reſt plundered by Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator. Nevertheleſs, when Antiochus entered this kingdom, the temple of Æna was ſtill ſurrounded with gilt columns, and the ſoldiers found in it a great number of ſilver tiles, a few golden bricks, and a great many of ſilver.

All

(*a*) Polyb. l. x. p. 597—602.

all this was converted into ſpecie, and ſtamped with Antiochus's image; the whole amounting to four thouſand talents, or about ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

Arſaces expected that Antiochus would advance as far as this temple; but he never imagined that he would venture to croſs, with his numerous army, a country ſo barren as that which lies near it; and eſpecially as no water can be found in thoſe parts, none appearing on the ſurface of the earth. There are indeed rivulets and ſprings under ground, but no one, except thoſe who know the country, can find them. On this occaſion, a true ſtory is related by the inhabitants of the country, that the Perſians, when they conquered Aſia, gave to thoſe who ſhould raiſe water in places where none had been before, the profits ariſing from ſuch places, to the fifth generation incluſively. The inhabitants, animated by theſe promiſes, ſpared neither labour nor expence to convey water under ground from mount Taurus, whence a great quantity flows, as far as theſe deſerts; inſomuch that at this time, ſays Polybius, thoſe who make uſe of theſe waters, do not know from what ſprings the ſubterraneous rivulets flow that ſupply them with it.

It were to be wiſhed that Polybius, who generally is diffuſive enough, had been more prolix here, and explained to us in what manner theſe ſubterraneous canals (for ſuch were the wells here ſpoken of) were built, and the methods employed by Arſaces to ſtop them. From the account he gives of the prodigious labour employed, and the vaſt ſums expended to complete this work, we may ſuppoſe that water had been conveyed into every part of this vaſt deſert, by ſtone aqueducts built under ground, with openings at proper diſtances, which Polybius calls wells.

When Arſaces ſaw that Antiochus croſſed the deſerts, in ſpite of the difficulties which he imagined would ſtop his march, he gave orders for ſtopping up the wells. But Antiochus, having foreſeen this, ſent a detachment of horſe, which poſted itſelf near theſe A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211.

wells, and beat the party that came to ſtop them. The army paſſed the deſerts, entered Media, drove Arſaces out of it, and recovered all that province. Antiochus ſtayed there the reſt of the year, in order to re-eſtabliſh his affairs, and to make the preparations neceſſary for carrying on the war.

A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210. The year following he entered very early into Parthia, where he was as ſucceſsful as he had been the year before in Media: Arſaces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he imagined that in ſecuring ſome paſſes of the mountains which ſeparate it from Parthia, it would be impoſſible for the Syrian army to approach him.

A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209. However, he was miſtaken: for, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, Antiochus took the field; and, after incredible difficulties, attacked all thoſe poſts at the ſame time with his whole army, which he divided into as many bodies as there were attacks, and ſoon forced them all. He afterwards aſſembled them in the plains, and marched to beſiege Seringis, which was the capital of Hyrcania. Having beſieged it for ſome time, he at laſt made a great breach, and took the city by ſtorm, upon which the inhabitants ſurrendered at diſcretion.

(*b*) In the mean time Arſaces was very buſy. As he retired, he re-aſſembled troops, which at laſt formed an army of an hundred-and-twenty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe. He then took the field againſt the enemy, and put a ſtop to their progreſs with the utmoſt bravery. His reſiſtance protracted the war, which ſeemed almoſt at an end. After many engagements, Antiochus perceiving he gained no advantage, judged that it would be extremely difficult to reduce ſo valiant an enemy, and drive him entirely out of the provinces, where by length of time he had ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſhed himſelf. For this reaſon, he began to liſten to the overtures which were made him, for terminating ſo tedious a war.

At laſt a treaty was concluded, in which it was ſtipulated

(*b*) Juſtin. l. xli. c. 5.

lated, that Arſaces ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of Hyrcania, upon condition that he ſhould aſſiſt Antiochus in recovering the reſt of the revolted provinces. A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208.

Antiochus, after this peace turned his arms againſt Euthydemus, king of Bactria. We have already ſhown, in what manner Theodotus had diſunited Bactria from the empire of Syria, and left it to his ſon of the ſame name with himſelf. This ſon had been defeated and diſpoſſeſſed by Euthydemus, a brave and prudent man, who engaged in a long war againſt Antiochus. (c) The latter uſed his utmoſt endeavours to recover Bactria; but they all were rendered ineffectual by the valour and vigilance of Euthydemus. During the courſe of this war, Antiochus diſplayed his bravery in the moſt extraordinary manner. In one of theſe battles his horſe was killed under him, and he himſelf received a wound in the mouth, which however was not dangerous, being attended with only the loſs of ſome of his teeth A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 207.

At laſt he grew weary of a war, when he plainly perceived that it would be impoſſible for him to dethrone this prince. He therefore gave audience to Euthydemus's ambaſſadors, who repreſented to him, that the war he was carrying on againſt their ſovereign was not juſt: that he had never been his ſubject, and conſequently that he ought not to avenge himſelf on their king, becauſe others had rebelled againſt him; that Bactria had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire under other monarchs long before him: that he poſſeſſed this kingdom by right of conqueſt over the deſcendants of thoſe chiefs of the rebellion, and preſerved it as the reward of a juſt victory. They alſo inſinuated to him that the Scythians, obſerving both parties had weakened themſelves by this war, were preparing to invade Bactria with great fury; and that ſhould they perſiſt obſtinately in diſputing it, thoſe Barbarians might very poſſibly diſpoſſeſs both of it. This reflection made an impreſſion on Antiochus, who, by this time, was grown quite weary of A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.

ſo

(c) Polyb. l. x. p. 620, 621. &. l. xi. p. 651, 652.

so unprofitable and tedious a war; and for this reason he granted them such conditions as ended in a peace. To confirm and ratify it, Euthydemus sent his son to Antiochus. He gave him a gracious reception; and judging, by his agreeable mien, his conversation, and the air of majesty conspicuous in his whole person, that he was worthy of a throne, he promised him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other articles of the treaty were put in writing, and the alliance was confirmed by the usual oaths.

Having received all Euthydemus's elephants, which was one of the articles of peace, he passed Mount Caucasus, and entered India, and then renewed his alliance with the king of that country. He also received elephants from him, which, with those Euthydemus had given him, amounted to an hundred and fifty. He marched from thence into Arachosia, afterwards into Drangiana, thence into Carmania, establishing his authority and good order in all those provinces.

A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 204. He passed the winter in the last country. From thence he returned by Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, and at last arrived at Antioch, after having spent seven years in this expedition. The vigour of his enterprises, and the prudence with which he had conducted the whole war, acquired him the character of a wise and valiant prince, and made him formidable to Europe as well as Asia.

A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. A little after his arrival at Antioch, advice was brought him of the death of Ptolemy Philopator. That prince, by his intemperance and excesses, had quite ruined his constitution, which was naturally strong and vigorous. He died, as generally happens to those who abandon themselves to pleasure, before he had run half his course. He was scarce above twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and reigned but seventeen years. He was succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes his son, then five years old.

END OF VOL. V.